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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

TWELFTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART X.

THE

MANUSCRIPTS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JAMES, FIRST EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

Vol. I.—1745-1783.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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MSS. AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES, FIRST EARL OF CHARLEMONT, in the possession of The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and E. Percival Wright, M.D., F.L.S.

James Caulfeild, viscount and subsequently earl of Charlemont, occupied a conspicuous place in connection with public affairs, literature and art, in the second half of the last century. Born at Dublin in 1728, he was but seven years of age, when, on the death of his father, he inherited a peerage and considerable estates in Ulster, which his ancestors had acquired under grants from queen Elizabeth and James I. To complete his education and acquire a knowledge of foreign countries, Charlemont, while yet a youth, left Ireland and passed several years as a resident in Holland, Italy and France, and in travels in Spain, Sicily, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey. He took his seat in the house of peers at Dublin on the 7th of October 1755, and adopted the plan of keeping himself "wholly independent, as a standard to which men could resort," whether actuated by real principle or by other motives which might be rendered useful to the public cause. Lord Charlemont records that the emancipation of Ireland from the control of the parliament of England had from his early days been the dearest wish of his heart. That he had contributed towards this object by the introduction of Henry Grattan into parliament, as representative of his borough of Charlemont, was, he averred, the happiness and honor of his life. Although feeble in constitution, lord Charlemont engaged actively in public affairs, and acquired special prominence as the unanimously-elected commander-in-chief of the Ulster Volunteer force, which numbered twenty-five thousand men fully armed. Of portions of his public career lord Charlemont left a narrative under the title of memoirs of his political life. They open with a brief notice of affairs in

Ireland in 1753, and from that period the narrative was continued by him to November 1783, where it ends.

Much valuable and authentic information is embodied in these memoirs, which are now printed for the first time. They form an important contribution to the historical literature of the empire. It will be seen from them that lord Charlemont has not hitherto received the full appreciation due to him as an incorruptible statesman, animated by a sincere devotion to what he considered to be the true interests of his country.

The period over which the narrative by lord Charlemont extends was memorable for transactions of great importance in Ireland. Among these were the parliamentary contest of 1753, the passing of the octennial act, the defensive measures against apprehended invasion, the establishment of the Volunteer forces, the restoration of freedom of legislature and of trade, the partial amelioration of the condition of Roman Catholics, and the movements in favour of reform in the parliamentary representation. The instruction of his sons was the object for which lord Charlemont primarily designed the memoirs.[1] "A part of them," he wrote, "contains an authentic though imperfect account of the most important transactions that ever happened in Ireland or, perhaps, respecting its own internal interests, in any country; but they also contain, what will to you be still more interesting and, it may be, more instructive, an accurate, true and impartial account of your father's principles and conduct and, as it were, the political history of his heart."

The memoirs are entirely in the autograph of Lord Charlemont, and form a folio volume of large size. The matter is continuous, but without table of contents, index or divisions into chapters or sections. The backs of the leaves were originally left blank, and on many of them the author made several entries in relation to matters mentioned in his text. These additions, when brief, are here printed as foot-notes,[2] and the more lengthy are appended[3] as supplementary to the main narrative. Among the latter are Charlemont's memoranda

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[1] *See* First Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS., Appendix, p. 126, where a succinct account is given of the Charlemont collection.

[2] Indicated thus: [C].

[3] *See* pp. 136–167.

on the following subjects :—Creation of his earldom ; disturbances by Oak-boys and White-boys ; viceroyalties of lords Northumberland, Halifax and Temple ; apprehended invasion ; Edmund Burke, William Eden, William Gerard Hamilton ; officers of "Fencible" regiments ; institution of the order of St. Patrick ; Hervey, bishop of Derry ; repeal and renunciation of English legislative jurisdiction over Ireland.

The first portion of lord Charlemont's correspondence now under notice extends from 1747 to the end of 1783. A catalogue in chronological order is subjoined, together with extracts from the more important letters, and elucidatory notes have been added. The correspondence, in which are included many letters from lord Charlemont, may be considered as having reference to three classes of subjects—public affairs, literature and art.

In the first of these classes are letters from the following peers and personages of note :—Aldborough, Arran, Bruce, Carysfort, Gosford, Halifax, Kenmare, Mornington, Mountmorres, Northampton, Pembroke, Portland, Rockingham, Nugent Temple ; Thomas Adderley, Topham Beauclerk, William Brownlow, sir John Burgoyne, Edmund Burke, Francis Dobbs, Henry Flood, Charles James Fox, Henry Grattan, Alexander Henry Haliday, M.D., Richard Levinge, Charles Lucas, Richard Marlay, sir Capel Molyneux, sir Lucius O'Brien, Richard Rigby, James Stewart, George Stone, primate of Ireland, Thomas Townshend. There are also here several letters in relation to the organization and affairs of the Volunteers.

In connection with literature, the collection contains letters from Joseph Baretti, Richard Griffith, Robert Jephson, Thomas Leland, Edmond Malone, Rev. Edward Murphy, John Carteret Pilkington. There are also communications in relation to Chatterton, the "Rowley" controversy, and Philip Stanhope, to whom the letters of his father, the earl of Chesterfield, were addressed.

In relation to art are letters from the painter, John Parker, concerning pictures and art-objects acquired in Italy for lord Charlemont. Here also we have fuller accounts[1] than have been hitherto accessible of the controversy with Piranesi as to the

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[1] *See* pp. 231–252.

proposed dedication of his work on Roman antiquities to lord Charlemont. This dispute formed the subject of an illustrated publication issued by Piranesi at Rome in 1757. The letters of sir William Chambers, Cipriani, Vierpyl and Wilton furnish details in connection with architectural works, sculpture and art decorations. Charlemont's appreciation of and friendship for Hogarth are attested by letters here printed from the widow of that eminent artist.

Further details on the correspondence and manuscripts of lord Charlemont, and on portions of them referred to in 1810 by Francis Hardy, will appear in the next report on this collection.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

Villa Nova, Blackrock,
Dublin, 12 July 1890.

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Lord Charlemont's Memoirs of his Political Life, 1755–1783.

"As some introduction to the following records, it may not be superfluous that I should give a slight and succinct sketch of the earlier part of my political life, before I was called forth into activity by matters of superior importance. In the year 1755 I returned to England from foreign parts, where I had spent much too long a portion of my time, eleven whole years. In May of that year the marquis of Hartington,[1] afterward duke of Devonshire, was appointed to the lieutenancy of Ireland, for which kingdom he soon after set out. With this nobleman I was well acquainted, but still more intimately with his amiable brothers, whom I had known abroad, and who accompanied him to Ireland. The outset of my politics gave room to suppose that my life would have been much more courtly than it afterward proved.

[Political parties in Ireland in 1753.]

"The bustle of the year 1753 is not yet forgotten, when, during the administration of the duke of Dorset,[2] a formidable party, with Mr. [Henry] Boyle, then speaker, at their head, violently, and sometimes successfully opposed government, in appearance upon public and patriotic ground, but really and in fact from the private motive of keeping out of the hands of Stone,[3] the never-to-be-forgotten political primate, and of the Ponsonby family, a power of which neither party was likely to make a profitable or temperate use. In other words, the struggle was who should 'undertake' for government. While yet abroad, my guardian, Mr. Adderley,[4] had carried on an election [5] in behalf of my brother [6] for the county of Armagh, which had cost me upwards of one thousand pounds, and was meant to support the opposition interest, a measure which had already in some sort enlisted me in that party; but, upon my return to my native country, however young in years and politics, I was soon enabled to see through the intention and probable event of these violent factions, by which, without any possible benefit, the nation was distracted. As an instance of the extreme futility of this interested opposition I shall only mention that immediately after the great question, whether a bill should pass, appropriating to the payment of national debt part of a very great surplus then in the treasury, which had been altered in England by the addition of certain words signifying the king's 'previous consent,' was carried in the negative with the universal applause and joy of the nation, his majesty, by his letters, at once drew, and, by his own authority, appropriated the whole sum.

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[1] William, lord Cavendish, marquis of Hartington, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, by patent, 2nd April 1755. He entered upon office at Dublin on 5th of May in that year. After the death of his father, he returned to England on the 10th of May 1756.

[2] Lionel Cranfield Sackville, duke of Dorset, lord lieutenant of Ireland from 1730 to 1735, and from 1750 to 1755.

[3] George Stone, of Christ Church, Oxford, translated from Derry to Armagh in 1747. *See* Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS., App. I., p. 177, 1881.

[4] *See* pp. 158, 212. [5] *See* p. 203. [6] Francis Caulfeild.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

[Results of mediation.]

"My natural disposition, and my thorough conviction of the evil tendency of these interested broils, induced me to take upon myself the office of mediator, for which I was well suited by my intimacy with the lord lieutenant and my alliance with the Ponsonby family on one side, and on the other by an old-family friendship with Mr. Boyle, and by my having expensively and essentially assisted his party in their efforts. My mediation, which, as I afterwards found, was strongly seconded by motives of personal emolument, succeeded to my wish, and peace was restored, the terms of which, however, an earldom and a pension of three thousand pounds per annum for thirty-one years to the speaker, and various other emoluments to his followers, were totally unknown to me and negotiated without my interference. And this was the first instance that occurred to me, among thousands to which I was afterwards witness, that the mask of patriotism is often assumed to disguise self-interest and ambition, and that the paths of violent opposition are too frequently trod as the nearest and surest road to office and emolument. In one respect the pseudo-patriot[1] resembles the Christian whose hopes are fixed upon an hereafter, and the death of patriotism is not unusually succeeded by a glorious resurrection into the paradise of court favour. My influence at the castle [of Dublin] was now considerable, of which, however, I made not the smallest use, though the lord lieutenant, without my asking it, gave to my brother, who was intended for the army, a cornetcy without pay, the only lucrative favour, if such it can be called, I ever in my life received from government, and this also came unasked.

[Viceroyalty of lord Hartington.]

"Lord Hartington had been sent over merely to restore peace, a purpose for which his conciliatory temper and his near connexion with both parties well adapted him, and this point having been completely attained, his administration went on quietly. Little mischief was attempted, and I lived in friendship with his excellency, with his brothers, and with the good general Conway,[2] who was his secretary. The struggles, however, of [17]53, though certainly without any intention in their promoters, produced an excellent, and, by me, I confess,[3]

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[1] "These frequent apostacies have been used by the corrupt as an inexhaustible source of ridicule, and even of argument, against true patriotism. The same species of false wit and false reasoning has been repeatedly urged against religion itself. But such flimsy prattle does not merit a serious confutation; as well we might say that, because there are many hypocrites, men ought not to be moral or religious." [C.]

[2] Henry Seymour Conway, M.P. for county of Antrim in 1741 and 1761.

[3] "This effect was, however, foreseen by English politicians, as we may perceive by the following passage extracted from lord Melcomb's useful, though whimsical 'Diary,' p. 172, Dublin edition: 'I waited on the princess, . . I endeavoured (by her order) to explain to her the present unhappy divisions in Ireland, and begged her to make the prince [now George III.] thoroughly master of them. I told her that though I did not doubt but that the present heats would, somehow, and in appearance be allayed, yet I was sincerely grieved at the consequences which might, from indisposing numbers of a rich and thriving people, most cordially attached to the family hitherto, arise in a new and young reign: that I did not like the prospect.' And afterwards, in the next page: 'The earl of Home, on Sunday night, brought the account from Ireland, that the Irish parliament had rejected the bill for the appropriation of the surplusses, (which was altered in council here, by the addition of the King's consent only,) by five voices. A dangerous event, and productive of

unforeseen effect. By them the people were taught a secret of which they had been hitherto ignorant, that government might be opposed with success, and, as a confidence in the possibility of victory is the best inspirer of courage, a spirit was consequently raised in the nation, hereafter to be employed to better purpose. Men were likewise accustomed to turn their thoughts to constitutional subjects, and to reflect on the difference between political freedom and servitude, a reflection which for many years had been overlooked, or wholly absorbed in the mobbish misconception of Whig principle. They were taught to know that Ireland had, or ought to have, a constitution, and to perceive that there was something more in the character of a Whig than implicit loyalty to king George, a detestation of the Pretender, and a fervent zeal for the Hanover succession—excellent qualities when they flow from principle, but trivial at best when every principle is made to flow from them. In a word, Irishmen were taught to think, a lesson which is the first and most necessary step to the acquirement of liberty.

[Necessity for change of political system in Ireland.]

"Even in this friendly administration I found myself, though contrary to my wish, sometimes obliged to oppose the measures of government, and thus early formed my opinion, which time and experience have strengthened into a certainty, that, in Ireland at least, a permanent and respectable opposition is absolutely and essentially necessary. If in Great Britain, the seat of empire, where the constitution has been long settled upon the most apparently secure and firm basis, and where there exists an internal strength, which appears sufficient at all times to check the encroachments of the crown, opposition has, by the wisest politicians, been ever deemed necessary to public safety, how much more so must it be in a country comparatively feeble, fluctuating in its constitution, and which has not only to struggle with the crown, but with a powerful neighbour, always willing and ready to encroach, and whose encroachments are facilitated by inevitable circumstances too obvious and too numerous to be here detailed. In a country thus beset freedom can only be maintained by constant alertness, and the sentinel must never be for a moment off his guard. Sensible of this, my plan was already formed of keeping one individual at least of rank and property wholly independent, as a standard to which, upon any emergency, men might resort, whether actuated by real public principle, or, as is too often the case, by motives of an interested nature, which last species, base as it is, may however often be rendered useful to the public cause.

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more mischiefs than I shall live to see remedied.' What these mischiefs were, which were feared by an English statesman, such as Dodington, may be easily conceived, and, thank heaven, he was a true prophet. And having now mentioned this strange, and, I believe, singular production, I cannot omit most strenuously to recommend the careful perusal of it, as it contains, to a good mind at least, the best antidote to the dangerous desire of becoming a man of influence, and, by laying open the tricks of statesmen, guards the honest and unwary against putting too much confidence in them. It may indeed not unaptly be called the statesman's cabinet unlocked, and it were to be wished that every man of that description had been obliged to keep and to publish such a diary. But, as we probably may never meet with another who shall wish so completely to expose himself, I must again recommend the perusal of this valuable and unprecedented performance, which, besides many other excellent and useful purposes, will infallibly answer one, which I think inestimable, since it will clearly show what a pitiful, paltry, dirty animal a statesman is." [C.]

Dodington held under patent the sinecure office of "clerk of the pells" in Ireland. The edition of the "Diary" here quoted by lord Charlemont was published at Dublin in 1784.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

[State of the constitution in Ireland.]

"Another motive power fully co-operated. I saw and deplored the miserable state of the Irish constitution, if such it deserved to be named. Notwithstanding the boasted freedom of individuals, the State was actually enslaved; and even thus early I formed in my mind some vague ideas of a future possibility of emancipating my country, and indulged a distant hope, which, I well knew, could never be realized but by keeping up a respectable opposition, ready at all times to receive such aids as lucky occurrences and some unforeseen fortunate train of events might bring to concur in that great and happy revolution, of which I even then saw, or thought I saw, some distant and obscure prospect. As a proof of this original bent of my mind, I will mention one fact. The privation of judicature in the house of lords was one of our badges of servitude, and in order to endeavour its removal, I had, in the early part of my political life, determined to frame with some confidential friend a fictitious lawsuit, in which being cast, I would appeal to the lords of Ireland. They, who had never relinquished their judicature, but, on the contrary, had strongly and nobly protested against the abrogation of their inherent right, must, I imagined, receive my appeal, and thus the matter would be brought to a trial. Fortunately, however, I was prevented by a long course of illness from proceeding in this my favourite and splendid, though perhaps imprudent and boyish scheme. Fortunately, I say, as most certainly matters were not at this time ripe for any such attempt. The people were not yet thoroughly sensible either of their grievances, or of their strength. England was too strong, and Ireland too weak; neither was the upper house of parliament most certainly the ground upon which to begin an attack, the right honourable personages of which that house is formed, having been in these latter times, of all the members in the community, the least tenacious of their constitutional rights, and the most of their private interest. But, above all, neither Grattan nor Flood were then in parliament; and I have mentioned this circumstance merely to show, at the expense of my character for prudence, that many, many years before the emancipation of our constitution my heart was set, and my endeavours turned towards an object, of which it has been the happiness of my life to have seen the attainment.

[Attempts at public speaking.]

"As the principal wish of my heart was to serve my country in that station to which my birth had called me, I now eagerly desired to become a public speaker, sensible as I was of the high importance of this talent. Nature however strongly opposed my attempt, and perhaps also the course of my education, though certainly liberal, had not been properly conducted, or calculated as it ought to have been, for the attainment of this necessary accomplishment. No man was ever, I suppose, born with a greater degree of nervous diffidence, and proper means had not been pursued to correct this natural defect, which was now grown almost insurmountable. I had however at this time determined, if possible, to get the better of my constitutional weakness. With the assistance of lawyers I had prepared a bill for the better regulation of juries, which I meant to introduce in the house of peers; and had prepared myself to speak to it, when all my favourite schemes were at once dashed by a violent rheumatism, which for the space of two years and a half totally disabled me from every sort of business,

during all which time I was an absolute cripple, and went through an excruciating course of pains and physicians, until I was at length restored to health by the tender care and effectual abilities of the excellent doctor [Charles] Lucas.[1] To this fatal interruption I principally attribute my never having been able to speak in the house of lords. The opportunity of a resolution supported by youth and vigour had been lost. My nerves were rendered still weaker, and my constitutional diffidence was grown inveterate. Often have I tried every possible method to conquer a weakness of which I was ashamed. I have carefully studied such points as were to come before us. I have perfectly understood them. I have gone down to the house determined to speak. Nay, I have often gone so far as to write my speech, and to get it by heart. But all in vain. When I attempted to rise, every effort of my mind was baffled by my bodily weakness. My recollection was lost, my courage was gone, and the aggregate of those very men, whom singly and individually I despised, was sufficient to terrify me from my purpose. What can be the latent cause of this strange defect? Is it modesty? Or is it rather vanity, and a foolish fear of lessening ourselves in the opinion of the world by acting below the character we have already obtained? Should this latter be the real cause, which is not improbable, our efforts should be made in the earliest youth, and previous to the establishment of any character. Once or twice indeed I have been forced up in my own defence, and anger has so far prevailed as to enable me to utter a few words, which my friends have assured me were not inadequate. But for this I must depend upon their assurances, as I spoke at random, and never could recollect what I had said. I have the longer dwelt upon this singular weakness as an admonition to those for whose instruction I write, that, reflecting on their father's defect, they may labour to counteract a constitutional infirmity (which may perhaps be hereditary to them), by exerting themselves in time, and by combating this foolish and fatal weakness before it shall become inveterate, and consequently unconquerable.

[Viceroyalty of duke of Bedford.—Apprehension of French invasion.]

"During the greater part of the administration of the duke of Bedford,[2] in the years 1757, '58, '59, and '60, I was precluded by my disorder from taking any part in public affairs, till in his last years,[3] having at length recovered my health and limbs by the assistance of

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[1] Charles Lucas, M.D., member of parliament for city of Dublin, 1761–1771.

[2] John, duke of Bedford, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, by patent, 3rd January 1757. He arrived in Dublin on the 25th of the following September.

[3] "As illness prevented my attendance, I have omitted to mention in the text that in the first year of the duke of Bedford's administration, 1757, an effort was made in parliament which clearly showed that neither the spirit nor the parties of 1753 were yet entirely subdued, a set of spirited resolutions against pensions passed the commons unanimously, and were sent up to the lord lieutenant to be by him laid before the king. The warm temper of his grace was exasperated by this measure, and he peremptorily refused to transmit them. The house met. The answer was reported, and the commons, instantly adjourning, refused to do any business until their desire should be complied with. When at length, after a perseverance on the one side, and an obstinacy on the other of two days, Rigby acquainted the house from the lord lieutenant 'that their resolutions of the first instant should be forthwith transmitted to his majesty.' They were transmitted, but without effect. Parliament had been impelled by party spirit, not by national strength, and the representative body was neither influenced nor supported by its constituents. Ireland was not yet strong." [C.]

heaven through the means of doctor Lucas, I was again enabled to take my seat in Parliament, where I ranged myself with opposition, the measures of the chief governor, notwithstanding the excellent qualities of which he was possessed, being rendered pernicious by evil counsellors, whose artful conduct profited of that facility, which was the great blemish of his character; neither shall we doubt of the artifice which was used to ensnare and pervert him, nor of the evil tenor of the advice he received, when we reflect that [Richard] Rigby [1] was his secretary, and [George] Stone his principal minister. In the last year of this administration, 1760, an event happened which, though unattended by any important consequences, I will briefly mention, as it serves to evince not only the necessity, but the facility also of strengthening Ireland against the attacks of her enemies by the arms and discipline of her citizens. To restore the reputation she had lost in the war, France was determined to make one vigorous effort, and a triple invasion was prepared to overpower the resistance by dividing the strength of these islands. England was to be invaded from Havre de Grace, but this enterprise was speedily frustrated by the destruction of the flat-bottomed boats which had been assembled in that port, and admiral Rodney began his career of victory with this exploit. The south of Ireland, which from its numerous Catholic inhabitants appeared the easiest of access, was the great object of the second invasion, which was to be executed by a body of 12,000 men, escorted and covered by a powerful fleet under the command of monsieur de Conflans; and, in order to divert the attention of our government from the grand attack, five frigates, carrying upwards of 1,200 land forces, sailed from Dunkirk, destined to invade our northern coasts.

[Landing of French at Carrickfergus, 1760.]

"The grand design was totally defeated by the brave Hawke, who gained a complete victory over the fleet of Conflans on the coast of Britanny; and of the armament designed for the north three ships only, under the command of Thurot, whose experienced bravery and thorough knowledge of our shores, which he had long frequented both as a privateer and as a smuggler, rendered him a dangerous enemy, entered the bay of Belfast on the 21st of February; the two remaining vessels having been separated from their companions by violent storms,

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[1] "This man, the profligacy of whose principles would have scandalized the court of Tiberius, was so prosperous in his trade of secretary, that, after a few years he was enabled to redeem his large English estate which had been mortgaged for more than it was worth, a fact which my residence at Harwich in the neighbourhood of his mansion house, Mistley, has put it in my power to ascertain; and this he accomplished, though his expenses in Ireland were politically profuse, conviviality and a good cook being his only virtues. Bred in the most corrupt and corrupting school of English politics, he even surpassed his masters in that execrable science. . . Yet by this man was the fine understanding of the duke of Bedford implicitly led, and his excellent heart overruled; closely connected with the duchess, they united their artful endeavours, in every sense, to the dishonour of the husband. The duke, a man of excellent parts, though deficient in common sense, was in the highest degree passionate, but perfectly good-natured. By thwarting his temper, her wily grace was wont to provoke him, which was not difficult, to hasty, rude, and even savage expressions of anger, well knowing that his subsiding passion would give way to unbounded penitence; and in those moments of contrition her powers were without limits. Of this lady (the most artful and dangerous of women) I am almost afraid to speak." . . . [C.] It may be added that Rigby held the lucrative sinecure post of Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

which had considerably damaged the whole squadron. In a council of war the judgment of Thurot insisted that the forces should land, and, without regarding the ruinous fort of Carrickfergus, proceed directly to Belfast; but, luckily for us, the opinion of monsieur de Flobert, general of the embarkation, prevailed, who with much military learning, descanted upon the impropriety and danger of leaving behind them 'a strong place.' Luckily, I say, for had the six hundred men, to which number the force was now reduced, immediately assaulted Belfast, they would have found that commercial city wholly defenceless, and rich in money, and in great quantities of linen cloth. Much spoil would have been obtained. The troops might have re-embarked, and, the wind being then favourable, they might have pursued their intended course without danger of being intercepted, and the expugnation of the 'grande ville de Belfast' would have made no inconsiderable figure in the Bruxelles gazette. The stand made by the wretched castle of Carrickfergus, whose whole defence consisted in a half-ruined wall, and a few undisciplined recruits, could not be long, yet was it manfully protracted till the ammunition was consumed, and time was given to alarm the country. Neither was the country alarmed in vain.

[Movements against invaders.]

"The national spirit was instantly roused. From every neighbouring county great bodies of manufacturers and of peasants hastily marched with such arms as they could collect, and in the space of four and twenty hours Belfast was secured from insult.[1] The news of this invasion speedily arrived in Dublin, and, as it always happens, the danger was magnified tenfold. The three shattered frigates were increased into a formidable fleet, and the six hundred weather-beaten soldiers became six thousand veterans. That a great metropolis should by these exaggerated reports be thrown into confusion is by no means surprising, but the alarm of the castle [of Dublin], where the intelligence either was, or ought to have been, authentic, was ridiculous indeed. Orders were instantly dispatched for the march of troops from every part of the island, and the south was left totally defenceless; the whole train of artillery was ordered to the north. Lord Rothes, commander-in-chief,

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[1] "As lords lieutenant are not usually apt or willing to acknowledge the services of those who do not receive the king's pay, the following extract from the duke of Bedford's speech at the close of the session, 1760, is the strongest possible testimony to the spirit of the country, and its salutary consequences: 'And I have farther in command to add that, after by the blessing of God upon his majesty's arms, and through the vigilance and bravery of his fleet, the great plan of invasion was defeated, and only a very small disembarkation of French troops was effected in the north of this kingdom, the spirit of his subjects in those parts was so effectually applied as to prevent any considerable damage to be done by them till the regular troops, which were at a distance, could be brought up; whereby the enemy was intimidated from advancing beyond the walls of Carrickfergus. This his majesty sees with great pleasure, and approves the spirit exerted on that occasion.' We may add that had it not been for the spirit exerted upon that occasion, the town of Belfast could not have been saved from plunder, as the regular troops did not arrive until after the re-embarkation of the French. In justice, however, to the duke of Bedford, I must say that he gratefully recollected those services, and even the trifling part which it had fallen to my share to take. In the year 1763, when directions were given in the English council to the earl of Northumberland to offer me an earldom, the duke of Bedford arose, testified his satisfaction, and expatiated upon what he was pleased to call my merits, and this too though I had uniformly opposed his administration." [C.]

instantly set out with positive orders to give the duke the most frequent intelligence, orders which were so punctually executed that a light dragoon was dispatched to the castle from every post; and the viceroy, as he himself assured me, was determined immediately to follow, and to put himself at the head of the army.

[Condition of Belfast.—Defensive movements.]

"As I was lieutenant of the county of Armagh I thought it my duty to repair to the invaded country, and, waiting on his grace to learn his commands, was surprised and scandalized by his positive declaration that he would meet me there. Arrived at Belfast, I saw with pleasure the situation of the town, which was crowded with defenders. The appearance of the peasantry, who had thronged to its defence, many of whom were of my own tenantry, was singular and formidable. They were drawn up in regular bodies, each with its chosen officers, and formed in martial array; some few with old firelocks, but the greater number armed with what is called in Scotland the Loughhaber axe, a scythe fixed longitudinally to the end of a long pole, a desperate weapon, and which they seemed determined to make a desperate use of. Thousands were assembled in a small circuit, but these thousands were so thoroughly impressed with the necessity of regularity, that the town was perfectly undisturded by tumult, by riot, or even by drunkenness. The few soldiers who had been here quartered, were commanded by a colonel Stroud, who did not most certainly upon this occasion efface the blemishes of the former part of his unmilitary life. The guards had formally rejected him, and his present conduct evinced the justice of such rejection. Unused to command, his orders were confused and contradictory. Upon the first arrival of the country auxiliaries, he had ordered a body of the best armed among them to march towards Carrickfergus, with the avowed intention of attacking the French. They instantly and cheerfully obeyed, but, by the time they had gotten half way, his mind had changed, and he sent his orders to them to halt. In this also he was obeyed, and the corps lay upon their arms the whole night, unsheltered, and exposed to all the inclemency of the season. In the morning he was asked by a brother officer what he had done with this body of men; he replied that he had forgotten them, and desired that they might be recalled. This fact I mention to show the peculiar aptness of Irishmen for military service. A body of undisciplined peasantry, who, in obedience to command, could remain inactive and exposed to the inclemency of a long winter's night without any desertion, was certainly capable of any duty; and though their want of discipline might have subjected them to a defeat from the regular troops they so cheerfully marched to attack, yet it is evident that they possessed all the necessary materials of a perfect soldier; and totally undisciplined they were, for though the old militia laws were at that time still in force, we all know the futility of the old militia laws. But the conduct of the people upon this occasion was a foretaste of what has since happened, and from such men the renown of Irish Volunteers might even then have been foreseen.

[Departure of French.—Death of Thurot.]

"On the day of my arrival at Belfast the French troops had been re-embarked, and when I came to Carrickfergus the ships only were to be seen waiting for a favourable wind. Yet was not my presence wholly

useless. Flobert[1] and about twenty of his men were left behind wounded, and my care to provide them with proper lodgings and assistance was not unnecessary or ineffectual. The town had been pillaged, to the loss of the inhabitants rather than to the gain of the invaders. . . After a few days' stay I returned to Dublin, and beheld with concern the inefficiency of our preparations in a number of cannon which had been broken down after the march of a few miles, and of shattered carriages, by which the road was so thoroughly obstructed as to oblige me to make my way through the adjacent fields. The event of this trifling invasion was happy and glorious. By the spirit of the people the French had been prevented from making any mischievous progress. Their commander was wounded and a prisoner, and the squadron, having been prevented by contrary winds from pursuing its safer course to the northward, was met in the channel by the brave Captain Elliot with three frigates, who, after an engagement of about an hour and a half, and the death of Thurot, had the glory and satisfaction of bringing into the English ports the whole force.

[Death of George II.—Observations on his character.]

[1760.] "This year, on the twenty-fifth of October, in the midst of a rapid succession of victories, which had exalted the British name to the highest pitch of glory, died George the Second, unregretted by the multitude, ever fond of change, but much lamented by those who intimately knew his character, and the education and connexions of his successor. Whatever his weaknesses may have been, he was a man of strict honour, and of genuine Whig principle. A friend to liberty, he was yet tenacious of his regal dignity, and his demeanour always pre-

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[1] "When, in company with lord Rothes, I visited Flobert at Carrickfergus, his eager appeal to the general appeared rather whimsical to us who knew the miserable state of what he called a 'place forte :' 'Vous, milord, qui êtes du metier, auriez vous laissé en arrière une place forte ?' But the truth was, as he himself afterwards told me, that, from their first setting out, animosity and contradiction had taken place between the land and sea commanders. Never, sure, was an expedition more uncomfortable. The men and even the officers were so closely packed that they had scarcely room to breathe. Their provisions failed them. The winds were violent and contrary. The two commanders quarrelled, and, pent up together as they were, their whole time was spent in minuting down articles of accusation against each other, to be preferred at the court of Versailles. In this pleasant occupation they were only interrupted by desperate storms, in which the ships were shattered, separated, and well-nigh lost. At the first conflict the general was wounded in the leg by a musket ball, and though the wound was but slight, he was happy in a pretence for quitting the ship and his disagreeable companion. Flobert, after much intreaty, obtained leave from the duke of Bedford to go to France upon his parole, and, as his gratitude for the trifling services I had been able to do him had made him particularly fond of me, he begged that I would suffer him to accompany me to England, whither I was then going. His wonder at the dexterity of our seamen on board the yacht was to me entertaining and satisfactory : 'Ah, milord, par mer nous serons toujours battus.' At Chester, he delivered to me his whole stock of money, intreating that I would carry it for him to London, as he heard there were robbers on the road, who would not, he imagined, attack me. In London I saw him often, and cannot avoid mentioning one fact, as it appears characteristic of his country. Being one day with me at breakfast, a gentleman came in, and told me that the day was appointed for the execution of earl Ferrers. I saw my friend's surprise, and, upon the departure of the gentleman, he eagerly said : 'Mais, comment? Est-ce vraiment un milord qu'on va pendre pour avoir tué un bourgeois ?' To increase his wonder, I replied, 'Oui, vraiment, et non seulement milord, mais parent du roi.' 'Parbleu,' dit-il, 'cela est singulier, et cependant, cela est beau.' Flobert was afterwards killed in Germany."—[C.]

served that air of conscious superiority so necessary in the first magistrate of a mixed monarchy. Constitutionally brave, he loved and cherished that virtue in others, and possessed all those qualities which usually accompany courage. His temper was warm and impetuous, but he was good-natured and sincere. Unskilled in the royal talent of dissimulation, he always was what he appeared to be. He might offend, but he never deceived. His loss was, however, speedily obliterated, and even his memory lost in the sanguine hopes which were conceived of a prosperous and glorious reign under the auspices of his grandson, who ascended the throne with every possible advantage, crowned with victory, guarded by union and popular favour, of English birth, and with William Pitt for his minister. According to the trite phrase, men adored the rising sun, and surely never sun arose with a clearer promise of a bright day. But aerial prognostics are often fallacious, and the brightest morning is frequently followed by clouds and storms.

[Views on political and social duties.]

"During this time and long after, I had a house in London, where I usually spent the intervening year between the sessions of Parliament. As I had left Ireland when almost a child, I had few or no acquaintance there—at least none of that class, which, holding a place between friendship and acquaintance, are in a high degree interesting to the heart. With the exception of one, who was worth a million, my ever dear Marlay,[1] all my connexions and friendships had been formed among Englishmen, the attractive force of which circumstance I quickly perceived, and being thoroughly sensible that it was my indispensable duty to live in Ireland, determined by some means or other to attach myself to my native country; and principally with this view I began those improvements at Marino,[2] which have proved so expensive to me, and consequently so injurious to those for whom I write. My health, to which sea bathing and the social neighbourhood of a metropolis were absolutely necessary, would not allow me to settle on my estate in the north, and, without some pleasant and attractive employment, I doubted whether I should have resolution enough to become a resident; and residence I must here inculcate as the first of political duties, since without it all others are impracticable. Let it not be said that Ireland can be served in England. It never was; and, even though we were to hope, a vain hope, for the power of serving her there, we are but too apt to lose the desire. It is the nature of man to assimilate himself to those with whom he lives, or at least to endeavour such assimilation, especially where his adopted countrymen, exalted in his own private opinions above himself, affect to deride his native manners and partialities. The Irishman in London, long before he has lost his brogue, loses or casts away all Irish ideas, and, from a natural wish to obtain the goodwill of those with whom he associates, becomes, in effect, a partial Englishman. Perhaps more partial than the English themselves. In the East it is well known that Christians meet no enemies so bitter or so dangerous as renegados. Let us love our fellow subjects as our brethren, but let not the younger brother leave his family to riot with his wealthier elder. Let us at all times act in concert for the universal good of the

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[1] Richard Marlay, son of Thomas Marlay, chief justice, king's bench, Ireland, was appointed dean of Ferns in 1769, bishop of Clonfert in 1787, and bishop of Waterford in 1795.

[2] At Clontarf, near Dublin. *See* p. 335.

empire; but let us consider that we are best enabled to perform that duty by contributing to the prosperity of our own country, which forms so capital a portion of that empire. What can the unconnected Irishman perform in England? Whatever his consequence may be at home, it is lost in the vast circle of English importance. The resident Irishman may be of consequence even in England. The English Irishman never can. He gets into Parliament, and by so doing takes upon himself a new duty, independent of, and perhaps contrary to, that to which he was born, the service of his constituents. He connects himself with a party, and great abilities may render him useful. But where is the English party that is not, more or less, hostile to the constitutional and commercial interests of Ireland? Whatever may be his pious wish, can he hope for influence sufficient to alter this interested prejudice? Or can his single vote avert impending mischief? He may enrich himself as a courtier, or gain applause as a patriot. He may serve his party. He may serve himself. But Ireland must be served in Ireland. The man who lives out of his country is guilty of a perpetual crime, and even his more splendid qualities, when displayed to the advantage of a foreign soil, turn to vices. It is being liberal of that which we hold in trust for a parent. It is the unnatural son who profusely assists in the luxurious maintenance of a beloved alien at the expense of his mother's jointure.

"But I have dwelt perhaps too long upon this favourite topic. My advice, my exhortations are, I trust unnecessary; I cannot doubt the patriotism of my children, it was their father's passion. The love and service of our country is perhaps the widest circle in which we can hope to display an active benevolence. Universal philanthropy is no doubt a godlike virtue, but how few are there who can hope or aspire to serve mankind? Like circles raised in the water by the impulse of a heavy body, our social duties, as they expand, grow fainter, and lose in efficacy what they gain in extent. Self-love is the point of impression, and expands itself into family affection, thence into friendship, charity, patriotism, universal benevolence. All these are duties, and rise in merit in proportion to their distance from the centre, but patriotism seems to be the largest sphere, the widest compass to which our abilities are usually suited, and, though our fervent wish ought always to extend to the service of mankind, our endeavours ought to be more particularly pointed to the practice of that most extended duty to which they are adequate. If every man were to devote his powers to the service of his country, mankind would be universally served.

[Viceroyalty of earl of Halifax.—Rights of Irish peerage.]

"The duke of Bedford was succeeded in October, 1761, by the earl of Halifax,[1] at the time of whose appointment I was in London, and had occasion to exert myself in asserting the honour of my country. The king's marriage had been negotiated, and the future queen was daily expected. Several Irish peeresses, who were then in London, had been taught to believe that they were to walk in the wedding procession, and had accordingly provided expensive dresses for the occasion, when, a few days previous to the expected landing, the duchess of Bedford was ordered to inform them that they were to be excluded from the cere-

[1] George Montagu Dunk, earl of Halifax, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, 3rd April, 1761, entered on office on the 6th of October in that year. In April, 1763, he was succeeded as viceroy by Hugh, earl of Northumberland.

monial. Vexed at this disappointment, and fearful of the ridicule to which their costly preparations would subject them, they applied to me, and desired that I would interest myself in vindicating and asserting the rights of the Irish peerage. At my age the commands of ladies were not to be disputed, and, though sensible that the business was of a trifling nature, I could not, however, but perceive that any degradation of her peerage was in effect a dishonour to Ireland, and that 'hæ nugæ seria ducunt in mala.' I therefore willingly undertook the task assigned me, and began by soliciting such Irish peers as were then in London to assist my operations. But I found them strangely supine. They had no doubt of their right, and anxiously wished for the honour, but feared to controvert the king's pleasure, which had already been made known. In a word their English prejudices got the better of their Irish wishes, and the honour of their country was an idea totally foreign to their thoughts. One alone, lord Midleton,[1] took up the matter as I wished, and promised his assistance; accompanied by him I waited on lord Halifax, who had just then been appointed to the government of Ireland, and resided at Bushy Park. I told him that we waited on his excellency as, by his office, protector of the rights of the Irish nobility; that, notwithstanding numerous precedents in our favour, we were now denied the honour of walking at the royal wedding, and that we relied upon his interference and representations for the acknowledgment and restoration of our right. His answer was polite and proper. He assured us that he would instantly set out for London, wait on his majesty, and exert himself to the utmost in favour of our claim. That evening I received a letter from his excellency, which, I confess, gave me no small disquiet, and reduced me to a situation which my inconsiderate folly in suffering myself to be hurried into an undertaking, to the nature of which I was a perfect stranger, had perhaps deserved. He informed me that his majesty had graciously received the claim of his Irish nobility, and had ordered that a council should be summoned for the next day to examine into precedents, and report their opinion; adding that I was desired to furnish him, for the inspection of council, with such precedents as might tend to establish the right to which I had laid claim. This was to me a thunder-stroke. I had in general been told that such precedents existed, but what they were, or where to find them, I was totally ignorant. I was however pledged, and by the next morning matter sufficient must be prepared for council, while the rights of Ireland, in this respect, were not better known by me than those of China. The time pressed, and I was at my wits' end, when at length a lucky thought occurred. I was well acquainted with lord Egmont,[2] and, from his general course of study, he appeared to me a likely person to extricate me out of this dilemma. After an uneasy night, at seven in the morning I waited upon him. He was yet in bed, and his servant was loth to waken him at that early hour. My peremptory instances however prevailed, and I was shown into his bed-chamber, where, after some time passed in surprise on his part, and apologies on mine, I related to him the subject of my premature visit, and was at once made happy by his assuring me that I could not have applied to one more willing and able to serve me; that he had long since studied the point in question, and had even written a pamphlet[3] upon the precedency of the Irish peerage,

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[1] George Brodrick, viscount Midleton.

[2] John Perceval, second earl of Egmont.

[3] "The question of the precedency of the peers of Ireland in England, fairly stated: In a letter to an English lord by a nobleman of the other kingdom." Dublin, 1739.

and would immediately show me in his library a list of precedents strong enough to confound the endeavours of all our opponents; who, he was well aware, would be numerous in council. He greatly praised the part I had taken, instantly arose, and accompanying me into his library, from various records which he produced, I hastily copied a long list of precedents, which, not having time to transcribe it, I was obliged to send to lord Halifax, roughly drawn as it was, and in a character scarcely intelligible. The council met, and this important matter was violently, not to say virulently, debated. Many English lords, with the old lord Delaware at their head, rancorously disputed our claim. Some also, supported principally by the earls Talbot and Halifax, declared themselves satisfied with the precedents, and convinced of our right. Parties however were so equally divided that the council rose without any decision, and the matter was referred back to the king, that he might act therein according to his pleasure. This was precisely what he wished to avoid, and many other councils were convened without effect. Such was the inveteracy of our opponents that, notwithstanding the clear evidence of precedent, no decision could be had, till at length his majesty, tired with the indecision of his council, issued an order, which was posted in all the places of public resort, that the Irish nobility should walk at the ensuing procession according to their respective ranks, the earls after British earls, and so on. Though at the first not very anxious about this business, the inveterate opposition it had met with made me, I confess, warmly interest myself in its success, and, determining that this precedent should be complete, I contrived that some of every rank should walk, and that their names should be individually inserted in the records of council. During the course of this negotiation, which made a considerable noise in London, an offer was made to me which deserves to be mentioned. I was at that time much connected with the celebrated lady Hervey,[1] whose house I often frequented, and who was intimately acquainted with lord Bute, the favourite and all-powerful minister. Calling me aside one evening towards the conclusion of the controversy, she informed me that she had had much conversation with his lordship on the claim which I had instituted in behalf of the Irish nobility; that he greatly approved my conduct, and believed the claim well founded, but did not see why we should not also lay claim to the right of walking at the approaching coronation; that he had reason to believe that point also might be carried, provided we were content to walk in a separate body, as a distinct peerage after the British peers. To this I answered that the matter was of too great importance for me to hazard any opinion; that I would, however, mention it to my brethren then in London, and know their sentiments; that one objection immediately occurred: In all court ceremonials the established etiquette was that the Irish peerage should walk intermixed with the British, every rank immediately after those of the same class of nobility; and that possibly an acceptance of the proposal now made might be construed into a yielding our right of precedence, and might be used against us on other occasions as a precedent. This objection, she assured me, had struck her also, and she had mentioned it to lord Bute, who had entirely obviated its force by an assurance that a saving for all other processions, the coronation only excepted, should be inserted in the council books. This measure, though proposed by lord Bute, and possibly with a view to the precedence of the Scottish peers, was not I confess, disagreeable to me, and I thought that walking at the coronation upon those terms, as a distinct peerage,

[1] Mary Lepell, wife of John, lord Hervey.

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was by no means unfavourable to Ireland, since a distinct and separate legislature was thereby strongly marked. Neither was it difficult to account for the difference in the mode of walking between this and other processions, the coronation being, strictly speaking, a state ceremonial, while all others were merely court ceremonies.

[Coronation of George III.]

"In this procession, which was essential to royalty, and which was instituted to receive the royal oath, the sacred pledge of our liberties, we walked as an independant body representing a separate kingdom, whereas in all others we joined with our fellow peers in complimentary attendance.—At all events a point was gained without yielding in any other respect.—Impressed by these arguments, yet by no means obstinate in my opinion, I mentioned the proposal at a meeting of the Irish peers, by whom it was disapproved, principally through the influence of the marquis of Kildare,[1] who chose, perhaps, to walk as an English viscount,[2] rather than as an Irish marquis, and possibly might be proud of that distinction, which, upon this occasion, his rank in England gave him over his brother peers of Ireland. I say possibly, because his subsequent conduct would rather incline me to suppose that he gave his opinion from conviction, unwarped by any silly prejudice of vanity. This contest I have the rather thought it proper to detail as it clearly evinces the propensity of England, in those days, to dispute, and, if possible, to subvert the rights of Ireland, even in the most unimportant particulars.

[Lord Halifax.—William Gerard Hamilton.]

"The administration of Lord Halifax was, as usual, hostile to the interests of the country. He was sent to govern, and was rendered more formidable, though certainly more entertaining, by the great parliamentary abilities of his secretary, my old acquaintance, William Gerard Hamilton.[3] My plan of opposition was accordingly continued, and, though our members were not considerable, we contrived, however, to keep government in awe, and consequently to prevent mischief.

[Condition of Irish Catholics.]

"One measure, however, proposed by this administration, was not, I confess, so disagreeable to me, as it certainly was to the majority of Irish Protestants. The situation of the Catholic gentry of Ireland was, at this time, truly deplorable. The hostile statutes enacted against them, however their necessity may have ceased, were still unrepealed, and, respecting devise and inheritance, they laboured under the greatest hardships. In time, however, it might be hoped that these difficulties would be palliated, or perhaps removed; but they were subjected to one inconvenience, which seemed to be so interwoven with the existence of a Protestant interest and government, that sound policy, and indeed necessity, must for ever prevent it's being remedied. Their sons were

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[1] James FitzGerald, created duke of Leinster in 1766.
[2] Viscount Leinster of Taplow, Buckinghamshire.
[3] *See* p. 145.

destitute of profession, and were equally and necessarily excluded from the church, the bar, and the army. The only occupation left them was foreign service, and of this they availed themselves, but as the French service, in which a national brigade had been formed for their reception, was that to which they most frequently resorted, they often found themselves compelled to fight against their king and country, and to exercise their native valour to the destruction of that soil from whence it was derived. At this time, when we were involved in a war with Spain, the Portuguese, then esteemed the natural allies of Great Britain, had warmly solicited some effectual and permanent aid from the English court, and a plan was formed to comply with their request by suffering them to raise, among the Catholics of Ireland, six regiments, to be officered with Irish gentlemen of the same persuasion, and taken into the pay of Portugal. To this effect a motion was made in the house of commons by secretary Hamilton, and supported by a torrent of eloquence, which bore down all before it. Never had such an oration been uttered within those walls, and if, in the more Attic times of our rising state, it may have been surpassed, the superior dignity and importance of the subjects have assisted our more modern orators full as much as their superior abilities. The measure, however, was warmly opposed, and the arguments urged against it were strong and weighty. The danger was alleged of suffering so great a number of Catholics to be arrayed, armed, and disciplined, who, though in a distant and friendly service, might, at some unforeseen but possible crisis, return to their native land, to the manifest danger of the Protestant interest in church and State. It was also said that Ireland could not spare so many of her inhabitants; that the south and west, where these recruits would principally be raised, were thinly peopled, and that the cultivation of these countries would be hereby checked, if not entirely annihilated. Though I strongly felt the weight of these arguments, the liberality of the plan was so pleasing to a youthful heart free from prejudice, and deeply impressed with the wretched situation of my Catholic countrymen, that I could not help wishing it's success; and the bigoted zeal, which evidently appeared to be the real basis of the opposition, undoubtedly added strength to my wishes. The force of the first and most important argument was in some degree lessened by the consideration that of those intended regiments the officers at least would be no very considerable accession to the Popish array, since it was more than probable that the majority of them would consist of gentlemen already disciplined, who would willingly quit the Irish brigades for a friendly and legal service, and thus far the measure would operate favourably, as we should be hereby enabled to recall our brave countrymen from the service of our natural enemies, and at least to direct the course of that valour, which our unfortunate circumstances forbad us to employ in our own behalf. The loss of inhabitants was not much. The defalcation of three thousand men could scarcely be supposed capable of annihilating the cultivation of two great provinces; neither did they seem well entitled to the benefit of this argument by whose oppression double the number was annually compelled to emigration; and it was but too evident that a principle of the most detestable nature lay hidden under this specious mode of reasoning. The Protestant bashaws of the south and west were loth to resign so many of those wretches, whom they looked upon and treated as their slaves. When abroad, I had been intimately acquainted with many of my countrymen in foreign service, and never knew one who did not regret the horrid necessity of bearing arms occasionally against his country. My most particular friend, the brave

and truly amiable general O'Donell,[1] when speaking on this subject, has often wept. These circumstances may certainly have biassed my judgment, and, though in some degree contrary to my wish, it was not, perhaps, imprudent or impolitic that the measure, which undoubtedly might have been carried, was finally given up by government. Yet, whatever may have been the prudence of a concession so unusual in Irish administration, I cannot give them much credit for it, since the real cause of their forbearance most certainly was that of the great 'undertakers' for government in the house of commons. Some of the most powerful were southern bashaws, whose prejudices were to be respected, and whose wishes were not to be controverted.

[White-boy disturbances.]

"During the administration of lord Halifax, the island was dangerously disturbed in its southern and northern regions. In the south, principally in the counties of Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, the White-boys now made their first appearance,—those White-boys who have ever since occasionally disturbed the public tranquillity, without any rational method having been, as yet, pursued to eradicate this disgraceful evil. When we consider that the very same district has been for the long space of seven and twenty years liable to frequent returns of the same disorder, into which it has continually relapsed in spite of all the violent remedies from time to time administered by our political quacks, remedies which have harassed and injured the constitution of the patient without in any degree contributing to his cure, we cannot doubt but that some real, peculiar, and topical cause must exist; and yet neither the removal, nor even the investigation of this cause has ever once been seriously attempted. Laws of the most sanguinary and unconstitutional nature have been enacted. The country has been disgraced and exasperated by frequent and bloody executions, and the gibbet, that perpetual resource of weak and cruel legislators, has groaned under the multitude of starving criminals. Yet, while the cause is suffered to exist, the effects will ever follow. The amputation of limbs will never eradicate a peccant humour, which must be sought in its source and there remedied.

[Causes of agrarian disturbances.]

"As the insurgents were all of them of the Catholic persuasion, an almost universal idea was entertained among the more zealous Protestants,[2] and encouraged by interested men, that French gold

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[1] Count Manus O'Donell, major-general in the service of the emperor of Austria. He died in Ireland at the age of eighty, in 1793, and was buried at Straid Abbey in Mayo.

[2] "The furious and bigoted zeal with which some Protestants were actuated was shocking to humanity, and a disgrace to our mild religion; yet, in behalf of the latter, it must be confessed that religious zeal was in many instances assumed to serve as a decent veil under which motives of a still worse nature were concealed. The bashaws could not brook opposition to their established despotism, and the resistance of Papists was looked upon as the rebellion of slaves. The idea also of French interference, readily conceived and eagerly embraced by those who wished to catch at every plausible pretence for their interested violence, and to hide, if possible, even from themselves the more inexcusable source of their conduct, strongly co-operated; and these three motives, mutually supporting and excusing each other, were powerful enough to induce even some men of decent character to act in a manner unbecoming Christians. The hunting of White-boys was the fashionable chase. . . [C.]

and French intrigue was at the bottom of these insurrections. The real causes were indeed not difficult to be ascertained. Exorbitant rents, low wages, want of employment in a country destitute of manufacture, where desolation and famine were the effects of fertility, where the rich gifts of a bountiful mother were destructive to her children, and served only to tantalize them, where oxen supplied the place of men, and, by leaving no room for cultivation, while they enriched their pampered owners, starved the miserable remnant of thinly scattered inhabitants. Farms of enormous extent let by their rapacious and indolent proprietors to monopolizing land-jobbers, by whom small portions of them were again let and relet to intermediate oppressors, and by them sub-divided for five times their value among the wretched starvers upon potatoes and water. Taxes yearly increasing, and, still more, tithes, which the Catholic, without any possible benefit, unwillingly pays in addition to his priest's money, and by whose oppressive assessment the despairing cultivator, instead of being rewarded for his industry, is taxed in proportion as he is industrious. Misery, oppression, and famine, these were undoubtedly the first and original causes, obvious to the slightest inspection, though resolutely denied, and every public investigation into them impudently frustrated by those whose sordid interest opposed their removal. Misery is ever restless, and the man who is destitute both of enjoyment and hope can never be a good or quiet subject. In our unchristian plantations of the West Indies was any doubt ever entertained concerning the cause of a negro insurrection? The wretch who cannot possibly change for the worse, will always be greedy of innovation.

"Yet, though such were the undoubted sources of the riotous spirit which prevailed, and still unfortunately prevails, in many of our southern counties, I will not pretend to assert that French intrigue may not sometimes have interfered to aggravate and inflame the fever already subsisting. We well know the usual policy of that court to seek and to increase disturbance. We have reason to believe that secret service money is never refused where there is a possibility of its producing any, even distant and precarious effect, neither can we suppose that there is a country upon earth where agents may not be procured for money, and more especially in the south of Ireland, where religious prejudice, present distress, and the sanguine, though fallacious, hope of relief, co-operate with avarice, and almost serve as an excuse for venality. In a country so circumstanced it is by no means improbable that the court of France may have been tempted to tamper with an unhappy and discontented people, and one fact, the truth of which I cannot doubt, would almost induce me to believe that, upon one occasion at least, a small sum of French money was hazarded in Ireland. During the course of these insurrections a very considerable number of French crowns were received at the custom-house, which could not well have been the result of trade, since little or no specie is imported from France in exchange for our commodities, and more especially since they were all of the new crowns, of the same date, and coined after any possible importation could be made by the course of commerce.

[Disturbances in Ulster.]

"In the summer of 1763, while, the earl of Halifax being returned to England, as was usual in the intervening year between the sessions of parliament, the kingdom was governed by lords justices,[1] another

[1] George Stone, archbishop of Armagh, Henry Boyle, earl of Shannon, and John Ponsonby, speaker.

insurrection, proceeding from causes of a very different kind, and the more formidable as the rioters were almost all of them Protestants, disturbed many of our northern counties, and alarmed every well-wisher to his country by the danger which was to be apprehended from disorders in those parts which must ever be esteemed the vitals of Ireland. It began in the county of Armagh, where I was lieutenant, and where my principal property lay, and quickly spread itself through Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. In the quelling these disturbances I myself took a leading part, and have the satisfaction to say that in the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where my exertions were made, the country was in a very short time perfectly pacified, and tranquillity restored without a shot fired, or the death of a single man. But, as I shall treat at large of this transaction in the course of these memoirs, it is needless that I should expatiate further upon it in this place.

[Viceroyalty of earl of Northumberland.—Earldom of Charlemont.]

"In the year 1763 the earl, afterward duke of Northumberland,[1] a nobleman of importance both from character and property, and with whom I had had some previous intimacy, was appointed to the government of Ireland. As a reward for the active and successful part I had lately taken in quelling the disturbances above mentioned, his majesty was graciously pleased, without any the smallest application or expectation on my part, to signify to me through the lord lieutenant, his royal pleasure that I should be promoted to the rank of earl,[2] an honour which I did not accept until after much hesitation, and after having expressly declared that my acceptance should have no influence on my parliamentary conduct, and stipulated its perfect freedom; a stipulation of which I found it necessary to make a speedy use by continuing to oppose, and the measures pursued, notwithstanding the private good qualities of the chief governor, well justified my opposition. Stone was still principal adviser, and the earl, though honest, was by no means proof against the artifice of that refined politician. But all the circumstances and consequences of my promotion will be detailed hereafter. During the former part of this administration my friend Hamilton continued to be secretary, but was, through the intrigues of the primate, removed from that office, and strangely replaced by my cousin, lord Drogheda.[3]

[Viceroyalty of earl of Hertford.—Governmental system in Ireland.]

"In 1765, lord Northumberland was succeeded by the earl of Hertford,[4] of whose administration, though not perfectly satisfied with his character or politics, I had formed some hopes, as he had been sent over by my ever dear friend, the marquis of Rockingham, then prime minister of England, the best man and the honestest statesman that ever directed the British counsels. But, in countries relatively circumstanced like these, the best English minister is not always equally good in Ireland. Removed to a distance from our scene of action, he sees with the eyes of others, and his information can seldom be true, because it is always interested. This island had not, in those days, as

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[1] Sir Hugh Smithson Percy, earl of Northumberland, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, by patent, 27th April 1763. He was created duke of Northumberland in 1766.

[2] *See* p. 136.

[3] Charles Moore, sixth earl of Drogheda.

[4] Francis Seymour, earl of Hertford, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, 7th August, 1765; he entered on office 19th October.

yet attained that pitch of importance, which rendered it an object worthy the accurate investigation and serious attention of a minister busied and wholly occupied by matters seemingly of far greater moment, and certainly of nearer concern. Our interests were little understood. and seldom, if ever considered, and the orders given to a lord lieutenant on his departure for his government, were usually no other than these: by procuring a majority in parliament to preserve inviolate the ascendancy of English government; to employ for this purpose, and gratify that set of 'undertakers' which had already been approved in England; to keep the kingdom quiet, that is to say, in its state of dependency, by quashing all troublesome bills, either in parliament or in council; to prevent the monarch or his ministers from being teazed with, and to deliver them from the odium of refusing the petitions of the people; to load the establishment with unmerited pensions and new places, and to get as much money as would defray all expenses necessary and unnecessary, and bribe the representatives from the scanty purses of their wretched constituents. Such, by prescription seems to have been, in those 'fearless' days, the settled mode of governing Ireland, and the minister who had presumed to depart from this method would have been thought to innovate the constitution. Neither was it always in the power of the minister to choose the person whom he should send to Ireland. Party recommendation was not to be refused. Poverty and a broken fortune were qualifications not to be rejected, and the indigence of Ireland was considered as the appropriated fund to compensate the losses of the gaming-table. Nay, the getting rid of a troublesome and craving associate has often been the only reason that could be assigned for disgracing or plaguing Ireland with knaves or fools.

[Lord Hertford in Ireland.]

"The designation however of lord Hertford was, in all appearance, free from objection. His birth and station were in the highest degree illustrious. His property was immense, and as a great portion of it lay in this country, it might well be supposed that even his avarice, the vice most objected to him, would operate in our favour, and that he would be a friend to the soil from which he drew his beloved wealth. The love of money only excepted, his character was negatively good, and he was at that time closely connected with the Whig party. All these circumstances were certainly sufficient to justify the minister by whom he was sent. But alas, even though the dispositions of lord Hertford, and of his more odious son [1] and secretary had been far better suited to the office than they were, Ireland was then in a situation which rendered it scarcely possible that it should be well governed; and heaven grant that, even at this day, every obstacle to good government may be entirely removed. My sanguine expectations were accordingly frustrated, and I was still compelled to oppose.[2]

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[1] Lord Beauchamp. *See* pp. 82, 279.

[2] "The constant and unalterable tenor of my sentiments respecting the rights of Ireland, and my unremitting view to the emancipation of her constitution, may be seen in the fifth clause of a protest, entered, during this administration, against an act for restraining the exportation of corn, lord's journals, vol. 4, p. 360. In the framing this protest I was considerably assisted by Flood, who wrote the greater part of it. And here it may be proper to mention that till the defection of Flood in the time of lord Buckinghamshire, almost all the protests to which my name is affixed were written with his powerful assistance, from which unfortunate period, being deprived of his political friendship and support, I was compelled to trust to my own weak abilities, and am wholly answerable for all such subsequent protests as are signed by me." [C.]

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[Rockingham and Charlemont.]

"And here I cannot avoid mentioning a trait of lord Rockingham's never-failing goodness towards me, and of that excellent character every part of which does honour to his memory. Happening to be with him one day in London, when one of the company, between jest and earnest, mentioned the singularity of my having opposed my friend's administration in Ireland: 'Let him alone, said he; he is our very good friend here; in Ireland, he ought to act as he thinks most for the advantage of his country.'

[Viceroyalty of lord Townshend.[1]]

"In October 1767, lord Townshend was sworn into office, certainly the most whimsical character that ever was sent to preside over a great nation. His singularities, however, many of which were humorous and entertaining, and his conviviality, rendered him in this jovial and convivial country a not unpleasant chief governor, and procured him many friends. But his irregular caprice, by which the dignity of government was perpetually degraded, disgusted all men of sense and feeling, while his servile connection with lord Bute, and consequent political profligacy, the evil effects of which were only averted or mitigated by a total want of system, and his headstrong impetuosity, uncurbed either by principle or by prudence, alarmed the friends of their country, and rendered his administration at once dangerous and contemptible.

[The octennial act.]

"In his first session, however, was passed the great and salutary law for limiting the duration of parliaments, that root from whence all our subsequent acquisitions have sprung, that basis upon which the frame of our renovated constitution has been raised. And here it may not be superfluous briefly to mention the whimsical manner in which at length this long sought for law was obtained in direct contradiction to the ardent wishes of a great majority in parliament, and beyond the most sanguine hopes of those who desired it most, and had been for many years ineffectually labouring its attainment.

[Charles Lucas.—Henry Flood.[2]]

"Neither is it possible to speak of this law without feeling and expressing the warmest gratitude to my excellent friend, the truly patriotic doctor Lucas, who in every session from his first sitting in parliament had, with a manly and unwearied perseverance, renewed his endeavours towards the attainment of this great point, and whose conduct, influence, and writings had raised a spirit in the people without which all our labours would have been fruitless. My friend Flood, also, whose powerful co-operation was never ineffectual, in this particular, as in many others, merits the thanks of the latest posterity.

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[1] George, viscount Townshend, appointed 19th August, 1767, entered on office, 14th October.

[2] *See* p. 29.

[Impediments to octennial act.]

"Session after session this act had been brought forward, session after session it had been rejected in the commons, stifled in the council, or refused in England by the strength of a great and interested majority, by the efforts of those leaders at whose unnatural influence it aimed a great and deadly blow, or by the domineering spirit of English administration, who feared an increase of trouble and difficulty in the momentous business of corruption, dreaded the renewal of intercourse between the Irish commons and their constituents, and perhaps foresaw, not without reason, that through the operation of this law, their darling object, the arrogated supremacy of British legislature might be shaken.

[Popular movements in Ireland.]

"The people, however, were at length taught to feel the degradation under which they had so long laboured, and to consider the limitation of parliaments as a restoration of those rights of which they had been robbed. The feelings of a people roused from a long state of apathy are usually violent, and never silent, and their wishes were strongly conveyed to their representatives in peremptory instructions, and to Parliament in spirited petitions.

[Passing of heads of octennial bill.]

"The commons, perceiving and dreading a national agitation, the novelty of which rendered it more alarming, and fearing to resist the rapid violence of the current, thought it best and safest to give way to the impetuous desires of their constituents, certain as they thought themselves that the heads of a bill, which they might pass merely 'ad captandum vulgus,' would be unanimously thrown out by the privy council, where they well knew that the influence of England, and of those whose interest would be most particularly affected by the measure, was at all times not only predominant, but indeed all-powerful; and in this persuasion they were the more fortified by the recollection of what had happened upon a similar occasion when they had suffered a bill of the same nature to pass through their house under the certain assurance that it would not be permitted to proceed any farther. In consequence of these fears and of these hopes a considerable majority consented to a measure which in their hearts they detested, and the heads of a bill passed the lower house [1] with the universal applause of the nation. The privy council, irritated against the commons for having thus taken to

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[1] "Another cause strongly co-operated with the hopes and fears of the majority. At this time it was more than suspected that one principal object of lord Townshend's mission was to endeavour the depression of that oligarchical party through which Ireland had for many years been governed, and of which English administration began to be weary, convinced at length that the support they received from the leaders of the faction was far overpaid by the thraldom in which they themselves were held. To distress, therefore, lord Townshend's government was a favourite, though hitherto concealed, object of the great 'undertakers,' who willingly suffered their followers to join with the patriots in carrying a measure which they were convinced would be stifled elsewhere; thus securing to themselves, as they imagined without the smallest risk, a high degree of popularity, while the obnoxious lord lieutenant would alone incur the odium of rejection." [C.]

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themselves the popularity of assent, and thrown upon them the odium of rejection, alarmed also at the clamours of joy which resounded through every part of the kingdom, confident that English administration would stifle the measure, and that the obnoxious bill would never more be heard of, instigated by resentment, and influenced by fear, certified it over to England. The same resentments there took place both against the council and the commons, and, as the best means of revenge and punishment, it was resolved that the bill should be sent back, to the end that the commons, instead of popularity, might incur an additional odium by rejecting that, which, from the basest motives now made clear to the world, they had passed; and in order to secure rejection, a clause was added by which the present Parliament was immediately dissolved.

[Unexpected passing of octennial bill, 1768.]

"On the day when this unexpected account arrived from England I happened to dine with Mr. Ponsonby, then speaker of the house of commons, and the principal 'undertaker' for government. The company was numerous. His English letters were brought to him while we were yet at table. He opened them. His countenance fell. He turned pale, and it was visible to every one that some fatal news had been received. 'What is the matter?' 'By heavens, the limitation bill is returned, and parliament is dissolved.' Never did I see in one group so many doleful faces, nor to me so laughable a sight. I presently left the company, where I was the only person pleased, and hurried to Flood, to communicate the good tidings. Care was now taken that the public exultation should be made manifest, and the city [of Dublin] was one continued bonfire. The country was also immediately informed that the favourite law was returned, and the whole kingdom resounded with acclamation. Neither was this without its effect.

[Reception of octennial act in Ireland.]

"The bill was now brought back to the house of commons, where the real sentiments and wishes of the majority were evidently and comically visible in their embarassed countenance. Detesting the measure with all their hearts, and sensible that in passing it they voted against all their darling interests, they saw in the exultation of the people the imminent danger of rejection in the present stage, and were forced by their fears into an apparently heroic act of self-denial, a virtue which they had never before practised, and which was of all others the most foreign to their hearts. But the people were assembled in crowds at the doors. Their shouts were heard within the walls. The danger pressed, and cowardice assumed the semblance of virtue. Thus did the bill pass the commons and was sent up to the lords, where it was received with undissembled joy, not from any spark of public principle,—my brethren were, I fear, incapable of it,—but, as many of their lordships were possessed of boroughs, the octennial sale of this precious commodity appeared to them a circumstance most highly gratifying, and they saw with pleasure an increase of dependency in what was usually styled their following. The few real patriotic friends of the measure found therefore no difficulty to get the bill read thrice on the same day, and passed with the honourable distinction of the following resolutions:

"'Resolved, that the reading of the bill for the limiting the duration of parliaments a second time, committing it, reporting, and reading it a third time, and passing it in the same day, was done as a distinguishing mark of the approbation of this house of that bill, and is not to be drawn into precedent.

"'Resolved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty to express our grateful acknowledgments for returning the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments in this kingdom, so essential to the constitution, so beneficial to the Protestant religion, and so universally desired by the nation, and to testify, by this early tribute of our thanks, the great satisfaction which we feel from an event which equally contributes to the joy of the nation, and to his majesty's glory.'

"Thus by the manly perseverance of a few, in direct opposition to the interested wishes, and powerful efforts of an immense majority, headed by all the great leaders in the house of commons, and supported by English government, was this great and salutary measure finally carried, and Ireland thenceforth began to be a nation.

[Views of the English cabinet.]

"It must, however, be confessed that another circumstance, not yet mentioned, most probably contributed to the success of this measure. English administration had, for some time past, been weary of that oligarchical faction, through the medium of which they had hitherto governed this kingdom, and now at length perceived that the ease with which their business was carried on, was far overpaid by the thraldom in which they themselves were held by a rapacious party, in whom all emolument was centred, and through whose hands all offices were distributed. A change of ministry had also lately taken place, by which the personal favour of these wholsesale 'undertakers' had been considerably lessened, and with a view to their depression lord Townshend had been sent over with orders to reside during the whole time of his viceroyalty, by which measure, for the future to be adopted, the influence they had obtained by being left lords justices in the absence of the lord-lieutenant was effectually put an end to. The long duration of parliaments was also well known to be a principal source of their authority, and the wish for their diminution co-operated not a little with the indignation which arose in the English cabinet at finding the odium of rejection thrown upon them by those who might with ease have stifled the bill, either in the commons or in the council. To this cause also, as well as to a desire of vengeance and punishment, the immediate dissolution of parliament, a measure in itself just and proper, but certainly pernicious to the leaders, may perhaps be ascribed. Neither, when we consider the usual conduct of the English cabinet respecting Ireland, will it appear uncharitable to suppose that their proper and constitutional concession upon this important occasion proceeded rather from the co-operation of interest and resentment than from any motive of justice or public utility.

[Recommendation of perseverance in pursuit of rights.]

"And here I will stop for a moment to inculcate to those for whom I write, a maxim, which, as far as my experience goes, appears to me infallible, that every measure intrinsically just and good will finally be carried by virtuous and steady perseverance. In the pursuit of that which is salutary and right let no patriot be discouraged by defeat,

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since, though repeated efforts may prove ineffectual, the time will come when the labours of the virtuous few will finally succeed against all the efforts of interested majorities,—when a coincidence of favourable circumstances will conspire with the justice and utility of the measure, and, beyond the reach of human foresight, carry into execution even that which, by the weak and timid, was deemed most impossible. 'Nil desperandum' is a maxim in patriotism which I solemnly recommend to the observance of my children. Let them always endeavour after what is right, how difficult soever it may appear of attainment, since, even though they should not live to witness success, they will lay a foundation for the success of their survivors. The man who lays the first stone of the temple of liberty, has as much, and perhaps more, credit with posterity than he who lives to complete the edifice.

[Lord Townshend.—Parliament in Ireland, 1769.—Money bill.]

"The obtaining this important law conferred a great degree of popularity on the otherwise contemptible administration of lord Townshend, and the principal drift of his mission, namely the depression of the oligarchy, which was long since grown hateful to the nation, was so universally pleasing as to draw a veil over his numerous absurdities, and to conciliate the minds of a people, grateful to excess, and naturally fond of that humorous extravagance which formed a principal feature of his whimsical character. When, in December 1769, an event happened, which at once blasted all his popularity, and must for ever render his viceroyalty one of the most odious in the more degrading pages of the Irish parliamentary annals. At this period the last great effort of English usurpation was exerted. Previous to the calling a new parliament, the old one having been dissolved in consequence of the limitation act, a money-bill, pursuant to unconstitutional usage, grounded upon a forced but received interpretation of the law so well known and so detested by the name of Poynings, had been framed in the privy council, and transmitted to England as a cause and consideration for holding a parliament. When this bill was, on the 21st of November [1769] sent to the commons, it was, by the efforts of the patriots, strongly supported by the silent concurrence of the discontented party, rejected with indignation, the following reason being assigned for such rejection, and recorded in the votes: 'because it had not taken rise in that house.' Government was exceedingly alarmed at this procedure, by which it was supposed and asserted that the supremacy of England and the royal prerogative were deeply affected. Had the commons confined themselves to a simple rejection of the bill, they would not, it was alleged, have exceeded their powers; but the reason assigned was deemed an attack on the constitution, as established by the law of Poynings, that great palladium of English power, and an infringement upon the prerogative of the king in his kingdom of Ireland. It was therefore determined that, as soon as the king's business was done, the session should be put an end to by an angry prorogation, and that the lord lieutenant should solemnly protest against the procedure of the commons, and cause such protest to be entered upon the journal of the house of lords; an illegal and unconstitutional measure, for which, however, two precedents were produced, though by no means agreeing in all circumstances, one of lord Strafford in the year 1633, another of lord Sydney in 1692. But where is the unconstitutional measure for which precedents may not be found in the Irish, or even in the English, journals of parliament?

[Movements by Charlemont and Flood.]

"This nefarious intention was not however kept so secret, but that I had previous intimation of the purposed mischief, and determining as far as possible to weaken its force, with the advice and assistance of Flood[1] my friend and constant counsellor in all matters of public import, the following measures were adopted and pursued: A few days previous to the intended unnatural close of the session, a motion was made in the house of lords, 'that the speaker of this house be desired to direct that no protest of any person whomsoever, who is not a lord of parliament, and a member of this house, and which doth not respect a matter which has been previously in question before this house, and wherein the lord protesting had taken part with the minority, either in person or by proxy, be entered on the journals of this house.'

"This motion was, as we expected, negatived by a very great and courtly majority, neither had it been made with the most distant hope of its being carried, but merely to give ground for a strong protest, by which we were determined that the obnoxious measure should be immediately preceded, as we knew that by the intended prorogation we should be precluded from the possibility of a subsequent protest. Our protestation was accordingly solemnly made and entered.[2]

[Viceregal protest and prorogation of parliament in Ireland.]

"This proceeding happened on Friday the 22nd of December [1769], and on the Tuesday following the lord lieutenant came down to the house, and, having in his speech inveighed against the procedure of the commons, entered his protest, and parliament was immediately prorogued, to the infinite detriment of the country; all the important business of which was left undone. Neither was any method pursued to remedy this inconvenience, which might easily have been done by suffering parliament to meet on the day to which it was prorogued, namely, on the 20th of March 1770. But on the contrary the time of meeting was deferred by subsequent prorogations to the 26th of February in the year 1771.

"The prorogation was immediately succeeded by an exertion of power, which, though perhaps it may not be deemed absolutely illegal, must however be allowed of all other acts of prerogative the most hostile to the freedom of parliamentary proceedings, and consequently the most abhorrent from the constitution. Several

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[1] Henry Flood, of Farmley, Kilkenny, born in 1732, son of Warden Flood, chief justice, king's bench, Ireland, was elected member of parliament for county of Kilkenny in 1759. He married Frances Maria Beresford, daughter of sir Marcus Beresford, earl of Tyrone.

[2] The lords who signed this protest were Louth, Charlemont, Mountmorres, Powerscourt, and Longford. In reference to the precedents above mentioned, they wrote as follows: "We conceive that the earl of Strafford, who first attempted, and that but in a single instance, to enter his protest, as chief governor, upon the journals of this house, was a person of such an arbitrary spirit, and the times in which he lived, of so bad an example, and his said protest so informal and faulty in itself, that such his proceeding ought not to be considered as a precedent. We apprehend that the only subsequent instance, to wit, the protest of lord Sydney, which was made in heat by that governor, whose conduct was disapproved on his recall to England, which soon followed, and founded upon the former example, which ought not to have been imitated, was still more irregular and improper, inasmuch as it related to a matter which had never been before this house, and respected the privileges and proceedings of the other house of parliament."

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gentlemen lost their places evidently for their conduct in parliament, and many of the first distinction were dispossessed of their seats at the council board,—a measure uncommon, violent, and, in its tendency, certainly unconstitutional, and which was the more likely to agitate the public mind, as the vacant places were filled by the most abject and detested slaves of government.

[Opposition to lord Townshend.]

"On the 26th of February, 1771, lord Townshend again met the parliament, where he found the opposition both to his measures and to his person greatly increased; not, I fear, from any increasing prevalence of patriotic principle, but from the resentment of that faction which he laboured to depress, the leaders of which, finding that their depression was resolved on, now openly united themselves with those who had uniformly opposed upon principle, and augmented the party to a formidable minority in both houses, a minority, which from its numbers, and from the superior abilities, rank, and property of its members, was not to be withstood. The country was also, as might well be expected, discontented and irritated. The city, not, as now, under the influence of government, and well informed of every thing which passed to the public detriment through the means of its excellent and active representative, doctor Lucas, was in a flame, and riotous mobs assembled about the avenues of the house, swearing and otherwise insulting the more obnoxious members. For my own part, I uniformly and firmly proceeded in the system which I had predetermined of pursuing every means to invalidate and counteract the noxious tendency of the late alarming measures, and with this view, when, in the address to the king, the usual paragraph of returning thanks to his majesty for the continuation of the lord lieutenant was inserted, it was violently opposed and protested against by no less than sixteen peers, our numbers having, from the cause already mentioned, increased from five to sixteen. In this protest, which will be found in the journals, page 545, the noxious measure was bitterly censured, and the character of the chief governor strongly marked. Not content with this, and with another short protest to the same purpose in a different stage of the address, a motion was made 'that an entry in the journals of last session, beginning with the word Townshend, and ending with the words Great Britain, may be expunged from the journals.' Which motion, after a long debate and much violent invective, being negatived, a strong protest was entered and signed by seventeen lords. And thus this noxious and unconstitutional entry appears upon the journals with every possible guard and antidote, being preceded by one protest, and immediately followed by two others, while the constitution is, as far as might be, vindicated by the recorded sentiments of so many peers; and posterity will readily perceive the genuine sense of the nation respecting this desperate and nefarious encroachment on their dearest rights, as well as their just resentment against the agent and perpetrator of such encroachment.

[Unpopularity of lord Townshend's viceroyalty.]

"From what has been already said the unpopularity of lord Townshend's administration may be clearly inferred, and fully justified; yet to this effect many other causes concurred, some of which I will briefly mention.

"A gracious and very popular concession having lately been made by the crown in England respecting the independency of the judges, lord Townshend, in his first speech from the throne,[1] had strongly recommended to the Irish parliament the same salutary measure in the following explicit words: 'Nothing can be more conducive to these great ends [the honour of the crown, and the just rights and liberties of the people] than the independency and uprightness of the judges of the land, in the impartial administration of justice. I have it in charge from his majesty to recommend this interesting object to parliament, that such provision may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments, during their good behaviour, as shall be thought most expedient. I shall be happy to co-operate with you in this great work so graciously recommended by the king,' etc.

"A recommendation of this sort from the throne is always considered as an absolute and sacred promise from the king, which the viceroy is pledged to perform under the penalty of being accounted either faithless or impotent, of being thought to have wilfully deceived the nation, and to have disgraced the throne by falsehood and imposture, or to have been himself duped and sacrificed by his employers, an alternative which must render him either an object of national resentment and detestation, or of utter contempt. To this despicable or odious situation was lord Townshend reduced shortly after his arrival in Ireland; for when, in his first session, a bill to secure to the judges their offices during good behaviour, copied precisely from the British law, had passed in parliament with universal approbation and applause, it was, in direct breach of promise, returned from England so mutilated and changed as entirely to defeat, and even to counteract the purposes for which it was intended, and to compel the parliament, which had passed it in its original form, unanimously to reject it in its altered state.

[Creation of unnecessary offices.]

"In this administration also the public expense, and the undue influence of the crown in parliament, were considerably and dangerously increased by the erection of new, expensive, and unnecessary offices, and particularly of a board of accounts, consisting of five commissioners,[2] all of whom were members of the house of commons, and many of them actually purchased from opposition by the present appointment. Against this measure, as unconstitutional in its circumstances as in its spirit, a long protest was signed by nineteen peers.

[Augmentation of army in Ireland.]

"But the great object of lord Townshend's mission, and that in which his employers were principally interested, assuredly was to procure the consent of parliament to an augmentation of the Irish army; and, as on this occasion I thought myself obliged to take a part differing

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[1] In house of lords, 20 October, 1767.

[2] The five commissioners and the places represented by them in the house of commons were as follows: Charles O'Hara, Armagh; Gervase Parker Bushe, Granard; Henry Loftus, Clomines; Edward Tighe, Wicklow; James St. John Jeffries, Middleton. These commissioners were entitled to ten pounds for every account audited, stated and certified by them, in addition to a salary of five hundred pounds per annum to each. The grant was under privy seal, St. James's, 31st October 1771.

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from my usual line of conduct, I shall enter into a somewhat larger detail upon the subject in order to account for this apparent change. Immediately after the passing the octennial law it was thought prudent by administration to seize the present fleeting instant of popularity, and, before the sudden swell of gratitude should ebb, to bring forward this their favourite, but, in its nature, unpopular measure. Many causes, besides the general detestation which free countries must ever entertain against the increase of a standing army, concurred to make the measure at this time peculiarly distasteful and difficult.

[War with America.—Riots in London.]

"The unfortunate and fatal American contest was already begun, and Ireland, justly, naturally, and wisely favourable to her oppressed brethren, saw with disgust and apprehension the use which was making, and likely to be made of the British forces; and could not but be sensible that every augmentation of her own army was in effect raising troops against those to whose cause she must be partial,[1] since it, in some degree, resembled her own. The riots also, which had lately taken place in London, had been quelled in a manner which could not but add to her dislike of the military, and this country, the security or restoration of whose rights entirely depended on the spirit of her people, was naturally averse from every measure which could in any degree tend to the depression of that spirit. The season likewise, though apparently propitious, was ill chosen by government. The unexpected disappointment of the public respecting the judges' bill, and their just anger at this flagrant breach of royal promise, had greatly indisposed the public mind, and more than balanced the popularity accruing from the octennial law.

[Proceedings in relation to army bill.]

"The necessity of repealing an English act, by which the king was restrained from maintaining on the Irish establishment a force exceeding twelve thousand men, had taken up so much time that the motion for an augmentation could not be made in the parliament of Ireland till after the committee of supply, by which alone the expense could be regularly provided for, was closed; and the approaching dissolution, in consequence of the limitation act, rendered the members of the house of commons dependent upon their constituents, and unwilling to disoblige those who must so soon have it in their power to repay the disobligation. The degraded, and therefore disgusted aristocracy were happy to seize the advantage-ground which the imprudence of administration had given them, and, cheerfully joining the popular cry, increased the opposition by the important and effectual accession of all their well-disciplined pack.

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[1] This subject was referred to as follows in a protest from lord Charlemont and five other peers, in 1778 against removal of troops from Ireland:—"Because that though America be not specially mentioned in his majesty's message, or in the resolution founded thereon, we conceive that as Great Britain is not at present engaged in any foreign war, the troops now required can be destined only for the American contest, a service in which we would not choose to engage our country. As we cannot approve of the motives upon which this war was commenced, so we would not wish to contribute to its continuation,—the wasting of the British strength, the sufferings of her commerce, and all the increasing calamities of civil war, being, in our minds, strong and melancholy arguments against persisting in an unnatural contest, whose object has not as yet appeared to us to be either just or productive."

Under circumstances like these success seemed to be impossible; and yet, such was at that period the power of government in the Irish house of commons, that when a motion was made to increase the army on this establishment by the addition of 3,235 men, it was negatived by four only. Such a defeat was not likely to discourage government, and in the next session the same measure was again brought forward, but in a shape far different, and so coloured by the addition of constitutional stipulation that its complexion, at least, was wholly altered. 12,000 men were on all hands allowed to be necessary for the defence of Ireland, yet it seldom happened that much more than half that number were left in this kingdom, the remainder being usually, though unjustly, employed in foreign service. Great complaints had from time to time been made against this grievance; the royal promise to rectify it had been often pledged and broken, and, upon the late occasion, had been again offered, though, from the experience of its insufficiency, it had been offered without effect. A proposal was now made, that if the additional number of 3,235 men were paid by Ireland towards the necessary defence of foreign garrisons, etc., the original 12,000 should be at all times kept in this island, and that, as a perfect security, this stipulation, together with his majesty's promise, should be inserted in the bill of supply, by which insertion the contract would stand upon parliamentary record, and his majesty would be positively and legally bound to the strict performance of his promise, nor ever would have it in his power to withdraw any portion of the 12,000 men, without the actual permission of parliament first obtained. This was, I confess, a lure scarcely to be withstood. A restriction of royal prerogative, in so essential a point, by an Irish act of parliament was too creditable, as well as too useful to the nation, too expressive of the importance of a parliament, which had hitherto been an object of ministerial contempt, to be easily refused. Neither ought we to be too much elated, or blinded by our late success. The former measure, it is true, from a concurrence of favourable circumstances which would probably never again happen, had been defeated. But it had been defeated by four only; and nothing appeared more certain than that, at some future and perhaps not distant period, when no such fortunate coincidence existed, it must be carried, and carried unconditionally. We owed the present offer to the strength of opposition—to the weakness of government. How long might opposition be strong or government weak? Party, not principle, had been the efficient cause of our boasted victory; and of party, especially of Irish party, perpetual fluctuation is the peculiar attribute. An interested hatred to the present chief governor had procured us a powerful band of auxiliaries, but the next lieutenant would probably give our new and unnatural friends the wished for opportunity of returning to their old and beloved banners; nay, the former system of government might be renewed. English administration, alarmed by the difficulties which had attended their new plan, might again have recourse to the old 'undertakers,' and from that instant our allies would become our inexorable enemies, and assist in combating the very cause they had so lately asserted. For inconsistency, at least among Irish politicians, is seldom deemed either criminal or disgraceful. But, even though no such occurrence should happen, the ardour of our new friends would, of itself, soon grow cool. Unaccustomed to the profitless side on which they had lately fought, they would quickly return to their old habits. Constrained and awkward in the plain and scanty livery of freedom, they would long for the rich and ample trappings of court service. Upon the first change of general, they would eagerly recur to their former party and principles, and, in order to compensate their late tergiversation, they would probably go farther

in offensive warfare even than those obedient slaves who had remained implicitly faithful to the royal standard. Such would undoubtedly be the conduct of our allies, neither was our own original force entirely to be relied on. Troops who serve without pay will seldom be subservient to discipline, and a premium held out to desertion will usually produce its effect.

"These reasons prevailing with me, and being further fortified by the irresistible opinion of Flood, (either given upon real conviction, or, possibly, for I will not say probably, because he then meditated the future change in his politics, and was therefore more easily convinced,) I acceded to the proposition of government, and voted, the first and last time in my life, for a measure which, in itself, I disapproved, but to which I deemed it more prudent to give way, qualified as it then was, than to oppose it now, under the moral certainty of its being hereafter carried in a manner far more offensive, unguarded by stipulation, unsweetened by those flattering concomitants, which tended so greatly to restrain the powers of the crown, and to add dignity to the parliament and to the nation.

"The same opinion being formed by many other members of the opposition, the measure was carried, though so little to the honour of government, and so much to the displeasure of England that Mr. Pitt was heard to declare that the man who had advised the king to suffer such a disgraceful infringement of his prerogative deserved to lose his head.

"Upon this important transaction I have thought it necessary to be more circumstantial than, in this short sketch, I have usually allowed myself to be, as well to account for my conduct as because that conduct may possibly contain some matter of instruction to my children, and show them, at least, their father's opinion that no personal dislike to administration, however well grounded, no public resentment for public injuries, nor even the dread which an honest mind will anxiously feel, of being thought to waver in our politics, or to deviate from the path we have usually trodden, should compel us to push our opposition beyond the bounds which are marked by the real interest of our country. By that alone our actions should be guided and determined, and, if at any time we find that service may be done, or mischief prevented by a temporary acquiescence with government measures, it is the duty of a patriot to seize the opportunity, and to sacrifice his private feelings to the public good, hazarding even that popularity which is the sole reward of his labours, but which he may be assured he will never lose while the general tenor of his life evinces that public, not private advantage, is the object of his conduct. 'Utili præferre honestum' is a just and noble sentiment, but then we should consider that by the 'utile' of Horace is meant not public utility but private interest. Yet, on the other hand, it must be allowed that the path which I have here recommended is a slippery path. Every deviation from the straight and beaten road must be made at our peril, and therefore none such ought ever to be hazarded but upon the most sure and certain ground, as it is dangerous in the extreme, and naturally leads to remorse. In proof of which I must fairly confess that, though in the transaction above related I acted from the best, purest, and most conscientious motives, though I then was and still am convinced that I acted not only prudently, but justly also, I can not help at this instant regretting that I was ever obliged to vote for a measure which my conscience did not fully approve.

"Let then that incomparable, though trite and vulgar maxim, that 'honesty is the best policy' never be forgotten, and seldom, very

seldom, be in any degree departed from. In following the plain and open road of strict rectitude, even though our conduct may appear erroneous to the political eye, our error will be sanctified by the sacred object of our pursuit; but when we venture to deviate into the winding paths of worldly wisdom, the smallest mistake (and where is the wise man who is not often mistaken?) must be fatal. Honesty is a principle firm and permanent. It is the polar star which can never deceive us in our course. Political prudence must necessarily be uncertain as the human understanding. It is the ship's reckoning which, though it ought always to be kept, can never be solely or with certainty depended upon. The best and most skilful mariner is often deceived into destruction by mistaking a vapour for firm land.

[Recall of lord Townshend.—Earl Harcourt appointed viceroy.][1]

"The administration of lord Townshend was now become so universally odious, and the opposition to his measures so strong, that, after having permitted him for five years to plague us with ill-government, and divert us with his absurdities, the English ministry now at length thought it necessary to recall him; and in his stead was appointed earl Harcourt, an old courtier of abilities more suited to the drawing-room than to the cabinet, who was sworn into office on the 30th of November, 1772.

[Administration of earl Harcourt 1772.—Sir John Blaquiere,[2] secretary.]

"Over this administration, his excellency performing little more than the ceremonies of levees and balls, sir John Blaquiere the secretary, presided, a man of low birth, of no property, and of weak genius, yet possessing in an eminent degree those inferior abilities which are more prized by and perhaps more useful to an evil government than the greatest mental powers, the sublime faculty of exciting venality, and of making proselytes to their country's ruin by corrupting individuals with the public treasure, and thus inducing parliament lavishly to comply with the most exorbitant demands of its corrupters, a manœuvre which may be compared to the common method of extracting a supply of water from a scanty spring by pouring a portion of that necessary fluid into the pump. Cajoling and jobbing were this secretary's principal talents, and consequently the whole period of lord Harcourt's viceroyalty was a continued job.[3] One mischievous transaction, the more mischievous as it has been a precedent for many subsequent exactions, deserves particularly to be recorded. Upon a representation, which the extreme prodigality of government had rendered too true, that the national expenditure greatly exceeded the annual revenue, new and burthensome taxes were invented and granted to equalise the revenue to the expense, in order to prevent the perpetual and ruinous accumulation of debt;

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[1] Simon, earl Harcourt, appointed 29th October 1772, entered on office on the 30th of the following month. His speech to both houses of parliament at Dublin, at opening of his first session, was on 12th October 1773.

[2] *See* Third Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS., 1872, p. 433.

[3] Lord Harcourt left a private memoir, as yet unprinted, on his administration. In this manuscript he entered the names of the members of the houses of lords and commons in Ireland, with memoranda on their political characters and particulars of the emoluments and appointments which many of them solicited and obtained from him.

and this was done under a positive and solemn promise from government that there never should be any future exceeding, a promise which was kept as, in Ireland, government promises always are.

[Proposed tax on absentees.]

"A tax upon absentees, which ever since the days of Swift had been the popular and almost universal wish of the nation, was allowed to be proposed in the house of commons with the approbation, or, at least, the acquiescence of the omnipotent secretary, who hoped by this measure to gain popularity, and was greedy of any new tax of what description soever; another reason strongly co-operating, both with him and with his employers, was that by far the greater proportion of the absentees, whose properties would be thereby affected, were strenuous opponents to the administration in England. This popular measure which was strongly supported by Flood, with my hearty concurrence, and violently opposed by the friends and partizans of those absentees who were likely to suffer, was therefore, to the astonishment of all who did not know the cause, approved of by a government which in this instance alone appeared to solicit popularity, but pretended to yield to this as a compensation for the other taxes, which had been so lavishly granted; a whimsical compensation indeed, where the permission of a new tax is brought forward as a boon to compensate old and scarcely tolerable burdens. Thus supported it was on all hands hoped or feared that the measure would be carried, when, on the eve of decision, an express arrived from England, (where the absentees,[1] though in opposition and consequently out of power, were strong enough to prevail over the wishes of this prostrate kingdom,) with positive orders that the bill should be thrown out; in consequence of which, administration suddenly and indecently changed sides, and the tax was negatived by a considerable majority.

[Considerations on absentee-tax.]

"Though in this transaction, perhaps in some degree prejudiced by the popular cry, and by the weight of great authorities, I was, at that time, extremely zealous, yet must I confess that upon more mature consideration I have begun to entertain some doubt of the propriety or expediency of an absentee tax. The reasons for it are obvious and striking. That a set of gentlemen should for ever draw their rents out of a poor country without in any sort contributing to its support is undoubtedly most unreasonable, and that they should be obliged to pay a sort of land tax as some equivalent for those duties upon consumption to which, if residents, they would have been liable, appears to be highly fair and equitable. The man who, for his

[1] The proposal was that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid upon the net rents and annual profits of all lands in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not actually reside in that kingdom for the space of six months in each year from Christmas 1773 to Christmas 1775. On the division there were 102 votes for and 120 against the tax. An application against the proposed measure was in October 1773 addressed to lord North, then minister, by the duke of Devonshire, lords Rockingham, Besborough, Milton, and Upper Ossory. They mentioned that, while possessing considerable landed property in both kingdoms, their ordinary residence was in England, and that such residence ought not to be regarded as an act of delinquency to be punished, or as a political evil to be corrected by the penal operation of a partial tax. They intimated to the minister their determination to pursue every legal method of opposition to a project which they stated to be in every light unjust and impolitic.

pleasure or his profit, chooses to defraud his country not only of those civil services to which every citizen is bound, but also of the expenditure of that revenue which arises out of the soil, and from the labour of the husbandman or artizan, ought undoubtedly to make some retribution. The expenditure of that wealth which arises from an estate appears to be, like manure, the natural due of the land which feeds the beast; or, to use a less homely comparison, it is the just return in fertilizing rains of those vapours which the sun exhales; neither will the amazing sum remitted out of Ireland to her absentees without any prospect of return perhaps appear the worst effect of non-residence, when we reflect on the various ill consequences which necessarily follow the absence of gentlemen from their estates, and on the sad exchange of agents for landlords. These truths are glaring and undeniable, and yet are the objections on the other side strong and weighty, setting aside that it appears somewhat illiberal, and perhaps not altogether consistent with the strict idea of natural or constitutional liberty, to compel any man under a penalty to a residence from which he is averse, there is certainly an extreme degree of danger in giving a beginning to that ruinous mode of taxation, a land tax, which, were it to be general, would infallibly ruin the kingdom, since, besides many other pernicious consequences with which it would be attended, it possesses exclusively one property that in Ireland must be fatal, that, whereas all other taxes limit themselves, and, if made to exceed their due proportion, become unproductive, the land tax alone knows no self-limitation, but may be productively extended to the full value of the pound. Against this destructive evil one of our principal securities has ever been the power of the absentees, whose interest, for upon their inclinations I lay little stress, has at all times prompted them to exert their great influence in England in opposition to a measure by which they must so essentially suffer; but of which, if they were already made liable to its oppression, and that too in an invidious and hostile manner, instead of opposing, they would wish and labour for the extension, as well from resentment, as because it is too much the nature of man to wish for fellow-sufferers. The difficulty also of ascertaining the value of estates, which has hitherto been one fortunate impediment to a land tax, would by a tax on absentees be in a great measure obviated, since to carry it into execution the devising some method to come at such valuation must necessarily be a preliminary step. But it is idle to expatiate any farther upon this subject, or to tire my readers by producing other arguments against a measure which our present altered and improved situation both in commerce and constitution has rendered, in my opinion, not only inexpedient, but perhaps inadmissible. Enjoying, as we now do, our commercial rights upon an equal footing with the sister kingdom, it would be to the last degree illiberal to prevent our people from migrating thither at their pleasure by laying a sort of embargo upon our gentry; neither, in our present state of constitutional independency, would it be politic in those who wish, as I do most ardently, a perpetual and inseparable connection between the two nations, to check by violence that intercourse which so greatly tends to their mutual union, affection, and brotherhood. The duty of residence I have already inculcated, and, like all other duties, its own advantages, with all but fools, will enforce its performance. Let it be practised, but practised voluntarily, and let its breach be punished only by those penalties which naturally and inevitably follow the crime. The practice of it will daily become more general, more easy. Men of property will naturally wish to reside where their constitutional rights are entire; and as our country grows rich it will every day grow more and more an object of resort. Amuse-

ments, and in all great countries such must be provided, will draw the affluent and idle. The love of gain, where trade flourishes, will attract the merchant. Learned institutions, and such must be encouraged, will decoy the literate. In a word, let us coax, and not compel our people to their duty.

[Claims for commercial rights of Ireland.]

"During this administration, from causes which I shall hereafter endeavour to explain, the powers of opposition daily decreased, and our divisions grew weaker and weaker. Yet still I did not despond, and various circumstances induced me to hope that better times were not far distant. Our apparent strength, it is true, was lessened, but the stamina still remained unsubdued, and the people, who had been in some degree roused by the late exertions of the popular party, began a little to feel their importance, and to be thoroughly sensible of their poverty. The new taxes, which had been granted under the prospect and promise of preventing any future accumulation of debt were grievously and impatiently felt, and all men began clearly to perceive that, in its present unjustly and tyranically restrained state of commerce, the country could never exist. In this state of the public mind, well adapted to receive and to retain impressions, Mr., now lord, Pery,[1] who upon the resignation of Mr. Ponsonby had succeeded to the speaker's chair, had the honour of being the first who openly and in the face of government laid claim to the rights of Ireland in point of trade. Taking advantage of the increased revenue which, as speaker, he brought up and presented to the throne, he addressed the lord lieutenant from the bar of the lords in a speech which deserves to be remembered by the latest posterity, announcing the commercial rights of Ireland, and the impolitic injustice of Great Britain with a manliness of thought and of expression which had long been a stranger to the office he filled. Upon this, however, I will not expatiate, as his words will best speak for themselves.

[Appointment of Flood as a vice-treasurer.]

"But, while from the hopeful circumstances above mentioned, I endeavoured to console myself for the daily, but not unforeseen, defections of the party, and to strengthen and encourage my mind by the sanguine expectation of future success, an event happened which almost drove me to despair, and a defection took place, ruinous, irreparable, and to me most grievous. Flood, the champion of his country, the bulwark of her liberties, her strong tower of defence against all assailants,—Flood, my friend Flood,—the dear partner of my heart and of all its councils,—anchor of my hope, and pillar of my trust,—Flood gave way, and deserted the glorious cause in which he had been for fourteen years triumphantly engaged. At the end of this ill-omened session he accepted a vice-treasurer's place,[2] and was lost to his country, to his friend, to himself. Some time before this lamentable change I had reason to suspect it, and left no means untried to prevent its taking place, but all in vain,—the die was thrown, and ruin ensued. To this ever-to-be-lamented

[1] He was elected speaker on 7th March 1771. For correspondence and papers of Edmund Sexten Pery, see Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS., 1881, p. 174.

[2] Robert Nugent, viscount Clare, Wellbore Ellis, and Henry Flood were appointed vice-treasurers under privy seal, St. James's, 14th October 1775.

event many causes contributed, but above all the incessant falling off, and perfidious conduct of those with whom he acted, and his thorough persuasion that by accepting the place of vice-treasurer, a great and apparently ministerial office, he should be enabled more essentially to serve his country than by continuing to oppose with a set of men, upon whose probity of principle he could ill depend, and to whose daily desertions he was a melancholy witness. But upon this I will not here further expatiate, as the subject will be more fully treated in another place, contenting myself for the present with endeavouring to account for that rapid decrease of numbers in the country party, which was most undoubtedly one principal cause of this fatal disaster.

[Party movements.—Resignation of John Ponsonby, speaker.]

"Lord Townshend, as we have already seen, came over to Ireland with full purpose and powers to destroy the oligarchical faction. This naturally drove the leaders of the party into an interested opposition, and principally gave occasion to that spirited conduct, and to those successful efforts, which were exerted against him; but, as, notwithstanding these precarious successes, the power of the leaders was now likely to be diminished, and their patronage reduced if not annihilated, they quickly began to perceive a fatal desertion of their followers, even among those whom they had deemed their fastest friends. Mr. John Ponsonby, a weak and timid man, well formed by his good nature and social qualities for making a party, but, from his want of understanding and political courage, ill-qualified to conduct or to retain it, who was now, with the earl of Shannon, at the head of the faction, had long filled the speaker's chair, and had derived from thence a great degree of weight and influence. This gentleman, in the latter end of lord Townshend's administration, under the pretence of weak health, but in reality terrified by the threats of government, and fearing, from the defection of his friends, which had already commenced, that he should be forcibly turned out of his seat, a fear, which in this country where personal friendships are as strong and binding as public principle is weak, was absolutely groundless, in spite of all the persuasions of his best friends, and of those who wished to make use of his influence for the public benefit, resigned the chair, and consequently gave up the principal source of his remaining power, though in answer to the entreaties of his friends want of health was his only excuse. To the public he chose, it is true, to assign a more popular motive for his conduct, giving, in his letter to the commons, as the sole reason for his resigning, his aversion from carrying up, as speaker, an address of thanks to a lord-lieutenant, who, in his late protest, had unjustly accused the commons of a criminal entrenchment upon the royal prerogative. But his pretended delicacy gained him little credit, as it was easy to see through this flimsy popular veil that fear not principle was the source of his conduct. His carrying up the address was an act merely ministerial, and by wilfully parting with his remnant of power, and divesting himself of a station which alone could, and still did, render him formidable, he foolishly, and even criminally, served those, whom, according to his own doctrine, he was bound to oppose, and to combat 'à toute outrance.' To prevent this mischief I myself took an active part. Being nearly related to Ponsonby I willingly complied with the request of the duke of Leinster, then a zealous opponent, and ever steady in all he undertook, to try whether by my influence, fortified with his grace's assurance of persevering support, I could prevail on him to revoke a determination, which must be so injurious to himself, and so fatal to the party. On

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

the night preceding the day of final decision I waited on him, urged every argument of honour and advantage, prolonged the debate till two in the morning, while the duke, whose weak health could ill bear such exertion, waited impatient the result of our conversation. At length he yielded, thanked me for having convinced him of his error, and authorized me to assure his grace that he would drop all thoughts of resignation. But, such was the weakness and irresolution of the man, before I had gotten half way to Leinster House, a messenger overtook me with a letter from my unfirm proselyte declaring and excusing his relapse into his former sentiments. Such was the man who led the most numerous party of this kingdom, who had long guided her councils, distributed her honours and emoluments, and ruled her rulers; and such are the wretched tools which patriotism is often compelled to employ in her nicest and most important works. Yet must they not be refused; while they are useful they must be used. The capitol was once saved by geese.

[Appointment of Pery as Speaker, 1771.]

"The speaker now resigned, and government gained a most advantageous victory by the advancement of Mr. Pery to the chair, having wisely brought forward a gentleman, whose superior abilities were perfectly well suited to the office, and whose connections with opposition, (among whom, though now esteemed a courtier, he had long taken a leading part,) by dividing that party ensured his success. This pusillanimous dereliction of Ponsonby was, as had been foreseen, a fatal blow to opposition. All those, who, from the decline of his court favour, had been wavering, immediately fell off, and many of the more steady, who had hitherto adhered to him as a leader, who, from his power and consequence, was likely to force his way, finding that he had now given up the great remaining source of that power and consequence, began to waver and to meditate their retreat. A new administration had commenced, and every new administration, as yet unpledged by promises, is sure of many friends. A new market was opened where parliamentary ware was likely to sell at the highest price, and the profuse corruption and perpetual jobs of Blaquiere were premiums upon traffic, and promised the most profitable and speediest sale of all merchantable commodities. The personal enemies of lord Townshend were satisfied by his removal, and when this their only point was gained, all those, who having been their whole lives used and habituated to the curb and harness of the court manège, found themselves awkward, and even unsafe, in the unbridled freedom of opposition, willingly held out their necks to the accustomed collar, and thought it high time to return to their mangers. A new and glittering prospect was laid open to ambition and to avarice. Splendid promises were profusely lavished. Pensions, the badge and inexhaustible source of Irish beggary and castle influence, were distributed with a prodigality, even in this kingdom, unexampled. New and tempting schemes were projected for raising money. But, above all, the revenues were increased beyond all former idea, and consequently the corrupt saw with greedy eyes their fund augmented to the utmost pitch of their ravening expectation. Like Milton's 'Death,'

> 'With delight they snuff'd the smell,
> . . . . . and upturned
> Their nostrils wide into the murky air,
> Sagacious of their quarry.'[1]

[1] "Paradise Lost," Book x.

and were easily reconciled by sin to Satan in the gluttonous hope of filling their insatiate maws.

[Decline of opposition.]

"Such were the causes of the rapid decline of opposition, and such the situation of the party in earl Harcourt's time,[1] and to this situation may principally be attributed the unhappy defection of my friend Flood—a defection which, on his account, on my own, and on that of my country, gave me the most heartfelt concern, and which, by every possible method, I had laboured to prevent, availing myself of that liberty which friendship authorized and facilitated, to warn him against a danger, which his knowledge of my heart had prevented him from confiding to me, exerting all my argumentative powers to influence his judgment, and even to soothe and bribe his passions; nay, condescending, in the hope of biasing him by public opinion, to write in the newspapers, and state my opinions as those of the people. But all was in vain. The archangel fell, and corruption triumphed in the fall of virtue:

'Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam mihi.'

[Grattan enters parliament, 1775.]

"To compensate however this grievous loss both to me and to my country the goodness of Providence interfered, and the same vice-royalty, which, by every patriot, must ever be remembered with grief for the defection of Flood, will be marked as an era of exultation for the election of Grattan into parliament, while as an ample compensation to my private misfortune, I was made the happy instrument of bringing forward to active life and to the service of the public a gentleman whose great talents, whatever his subsequent conduct may have been towards me, have undoubtedly been a principal source of the emancipation of Ireland, an event, which had been, even from my boyish days, the dearest wish of my heart. Yet did this happiness and honour of my life, such are the inscrutable ways of heaven, take its rise from a most signal and trying calamity. My poor brother[2], who had served for the borough of Charlemont, was lost on his passage[3] from England, and, in his room, Henry Grattan was, by my influence, chosen to represent that borough, and sworn into parliament on the eleventh of December 1775. But of this important event, which was to me a source of so much pleasure and of so much pain, I shall here say no more, as its high importance in my life will afford me frequent occasions to dwell on its various and opposite consequences in the course of the following sheets, where perhaps I may find it necessary to give it a separate article.

[Embargo on Irish trade.]

"In the latter end of this administration, 1776, a measure took place, which, though of the most oppressive, illegal, and destructive tendency, though by its effects it was productive not only of the impoverishment of individuals, but had well nigh produced the ruin of Ireland, may however at the present period be looked back to with much pleasure, since, by driving the nation to despair, it was undoubtedly one great

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[1] 1772–1776. [2] Francis Caulfeild. [3] In November, 1775.

cause of those sueeessful efforts by whieh the commerce of this eountry has at length been freed from the eruel and galling fetters under whieh it had so long languished, and to burst whieh despair alone eould probably have given us strength. Under the pretenee that the Amerieau colonists, then termed rebels for their heroie struggles in vindieation of their natural rights, were elandestinely assisted with provisions from the southern ports of Ireland, and that their allies the Freneh might also obtain a like assistanee, but in reality in order to enrieh by monopoly a few English eontraetors, an embargo was laid by proclamation on the provision trade of Ireland. This arbitrary and tyrannical measure was highly resented by every honest man in Parliament. The base iniquity of its origin was laid open, its illegality was unquestionably proved, and its fatal tendeney foreseen and ascertained. But alas the honest men in parliament were few, and the influenee of eorruption obtained majorities even against the real interest of the corrupted. That the numerous needy adventurers, who crowded and disgraeed the house of commons, and whose only rents were the salaries of their offiees, should be heedless of the public distress, and should lend a hand to that ruin in whieh no property of theirs eould be involved, is, when we eonsider the excess of that depravity whieh ever aeeompanies the slavery to whieh men sell themselves, by no means amazing; but that gentlemen of real landed property should be induced to betray that interest of their country, with which their own is essentially and inseparably joined, is a phenomenon in human nature extraordinary indeed, and ean only be aeeounted for by the difficulty of counteraeting the vieious habit of slavish dependenee, or of thinking for ourselves after having been long habituated tc suffer others to think for us, and by that strange and foolish preferenee whieh is so frequently given by the eorrupt and extravagant to present emolument over every degree of future profit. The justiee of heaven has, in almost every instanee, made our crimes effectual to their own punishment, and it often happens that, as the wages of sin is death, so those of eorruption is ruin.

[Earl of Buekinghamshire,[1] vieeroy.—Sir Richard Heron, secretary.]

On the 25th of January, 1777, lord Hareourt was sueeeeded by the earl of Buekinghamshire, a weak man, who, to the infinite benefit of Ireland, brought with him a mueh weaker man for his seeretary; neither is it necessary that I should delay my readers by attempting a sketch of this eontemptible eharaeter, sinee the stupidity and ignoranee of sir Richard Heron, as well from their exeess as from their salutary eonsequenees, are too deeply engraven on the minds of my eountrymen to be hastily forgotten. Though the eorrupt profusion of the late seeretary,[2] transgressing even the wide bounds whieh his own extortion had set himself, eompelled the present administration to a sort of negative economy, the general system of government remained unaltered, and their intentions were still the same, so that opposition eontinued equally indispensable; and, as their means of earrying those intentions into exeeution were weak in proportion to their own imbeeility, the efforts of their opponents were proportionably effectual, and the minority inereased in strength and in numbers, so as not only

[1] John Hobart, earl of Buckinghamshire, appointed Viceroy of Ireland on 7th December 1776.

[2] Sir John Blaquiere.

by overawing government to prevent mischief, but by raising the hopes and spirits of the people to prepare the public mind for the great and wonderful exertions which were soon to be made.

[Laws against Roman Catholics.]

"The first session of this administration was remarkable for a great and singular change not only in the laws of this kingdom, but in the minds of its inhabitants. The oppressive disabilities, under which the Catholics of Ireland had long groaned are too well known to be here detailed; yet, harsh and tyrannical as they were, it must be confessed that they had been unfortunately expedient, or perhaps necessary. I will not enter into the question of right, nor pretend to decide how far the governing few may be entitled, either naturally or politically, to impose restrictions of rigour on the majority of their countrymen. The question is nice and difficult; and many arguments of weight may be urged on both sides. But it is the nature of man, when possessed of power or of property, to endeavour to retain them; and when the loss of power puts his property in hazard, and involves with it the most imminent danger to his constitutional liberty and personal safety, we cannot be surprised that he should pursue all possible means to preserve that by which alone he can live and be free. A proportionably few Protestants could only keep their ground against a body of Papists ten times their number by the most severe and violent restrictive laws. It was absolutely necessary that the armed few should prohibit and proscribe among their numerous antagonists the possession and use of arms, and of every thing in any wise appertaining to military strength or array, since their inferiority in numbers could only be compensated by such a superiority in arms and discipline as might make one man equal in force to ten. An exclusive legislative power was also obviously indispensable, and therefore every possible influence in the legislature was sedulously to be kept from the Papists by laws restrictive on their landed property, and both policy and religious zeal concurred in advising that every temptation should be held out to encourage, and even in some sort to enforce conformity. Such were the principal sources of the penal code, and when we consider the usual and natural effect of party hostility, and of a confirmed discrepance and contrariety in manners and in religion, and reflect that the governing few had been recently terrified and irritated by frequent rebellions and bloody massacres, though we may lament that they carried their tyrannic expedients too far, we shall not be surprised at their want of charity or constitutional forbearance.

[State of Roman Catholics in Ireland.]

"The relative situation however of the hostile sects by degrees changed. From the natural operation of the laws, and from many other concomitant causes, the Protestants increased in strength, and the Catholics, though still retaining a great superiority of numbers, grew weaker. The greater part of the old Catholic gentry had, either from conviction or convenience, conformed to the established and ruling religion, and the quiet behaviour of the oppressed people had, or ought to have, well nigh obliterated the memory of their former excesses.

[Opposition to relaxation of penal laws.]

That hard necessity which had dictated the measures of oppression, and by which alone they could be justified, no longer existed in equal force,

yet still the venom of party survived its original cause and excuse, and the detestation of Popery seemed interwoven with the nature of an Irish Protestant. A few old members yet survived in parliament, in whom the traditionary spirit of their ancestors still prevailed, and whose fathers had remembered the day of violence. By these, and by the implacable fury of religious zeal, still farther exasperated by interested motives, every attempt in the smallest degree to relieve the oppressed Catholics was not only defeated, but rejected with indignant scorn. An effect like this, bigotry alone was fully equal to produce, but in the present instance its baneful influence was strengthened and redoubled by the habit and love of rule; and the aversion in Ireland from any relaxation of the Popery laws was partly founded upon the same reasons which render the West Indian planters averse from admitting the emancipation of their negroes.

"To prove and exemplify the existence of this intolerant spirit even so late as in the times immediately preceding those of which I now write, I will here mention one instance as some slight alleviation to the sufferings of the Papists, and to encourage the peasantry of this persuasion to benefit the country by building cottages. Heads of a bill were prepared to enable them to take leases for ninety years of the tenement on which their cabbin was to be built, and of a small portion of ground to serve as a potato garden. This bill had been repeatedly moved in the commons, and repeatedly rejected. In 1772 I resolved to try it in the lords, and so far prevailed as to get it read twice, and committed. But all in vain; the house had hitherto been thinly attended, and to this circumstance I owed my success. But the trumpet of bigotry sounded the alarm. To give the wretched cottager a permanent interest in his miserable mud-built habitation was said to be an infringement on the penal code which threatened the destruction of church and state. A cry was raised that the Protestant interest was in danger. The lords were summoned to attend. The house was crowded with zealous supporters of orthodoxy and oppression, and I was voted out of the chair, not wholly unsuspected of being little better than a Papist.

[Public opinion on penal laws.]

"This fact I have the rather mentioned as a contrast to that which follows, and to show the sudden and extraordinary change, which in the short space of six years took place in the minds, or at least in the actions of the same body of men; for in the session of 1778, heads of a bill were, with little or no contest, allowed to be brought in for the relief of his majesty's Catholic subjects of Ireland, and by this law, Papists were enabled to take leases of lands to any extent for 999 years, every real advantage of property being hereby afforded them, the right of freehold only excepted. This was indeed a momentous alteration, and a direct attack[1] upon the very spirit of the popery laws, and yet the same house of commons, which had so lately, with contempt and indignation, repeatedly refused and spurned at the trifling concession above mentioned, granted this real and important boon with little debate, and by a considerable majority; and the same house of lords which had a few years before voted me out of the chair, which I had taken merely from motives of charity, now passed this bill with a

[1] "Such it undoubtedly was, not only on account of the faculty hereby granted to Papists of taking long leases, but especially by a clause therein contained disabling the eldest son of a Popish family from making his father tenant for life by his conformity." [C.]

minority of five peers present, or of twelve including proxies; and here, though I must confess myself unequal fully to account for a phenomenon so very singular as this sudden change in the public opinion, it may not be superfluous that I should endeavour to investigate the possible sources from whence it may have derived, and communicate to my readers such causes as have suggested themselves to me, however inadequate they may seem to produce the effect.

"Whether derived from real Christian principle, or, what is much to be feared, from that indifference to all religion which the prevalence of infidelity had produced, the spirit of toleration was lately gone abroad, and had spread itself through all the polished nations of Europe. The effect was excellent from whatsoever cause it arose, but, as it was now grown fashionable to be tolerant, I should rather suppose that it took its rise from fashionable deism than from Christianity, which was now unfortunately much out of fashion. But be this as it may, toleration prevailed, and perhaps a portion of this excellent spirit may have reached our western isle, and in some degree concurred to disarm bigotry by making men ashamed of that persecuting spirit with which they had hitherto been possessed and actuated. I say 'in some degree,' for I cannot so far flatter my contemporaries as to ascribe their change in any great degree to so honourable and virtuous a cause.

[Operation of penal laws.]

"The restrictive laws which were meant to operate to the diminution and impairment of Catholic property, had amply produced the desired effect, and by far the greater part of those Papists who possessed large estates had, in order to rescue themselves and their families from the destructive operations and galling yoke of those tyrannic institutions, become converts to the established religion. Many of these had now seats in parliament, and, however we may be inclined charitably to suppose their conversion real, the close connection, both by blood and friendship, which still subsisted, must naturally have induced them to love, assist, and protect as far as in them lay, their former brethren, whose faith and principles, most probably, many of them had deserted from motives, to say the least, of a mixed nature. These gentlemen likewise, whose estates lay in the more Popish counties, where lands are let in very large portions, had tenants under them of that persuasion, and consequently found it their interest, as well as their inclination, to procure for their tenantry such immunities as might the better enable them to pay the great rents to which, from the enormous extent of their farms, they had subjected themselves. Neither were they without some distant hope that the present projected relief might be a step to future perfect enfranchisement, by which possible event, not only their interest, but their influence in their respective counties would be increased even to the exclusion of the old Protestant landlords. Thus by degrees was a Popish party formed, not wholly inconsiderable even in the house of commons.

[Condition of Roman Catholics in Ireland.]

"The kingdom also, and more especially those southern parts of it where the provision trade had, in spite of English jobs, necessarily flourished during the French and American wars, was growing into wealth, a great portion of which naturally devolved upon Papists, who being precluded from purchasing, and having no other way to dispose of their money, turned it into trade, and became wealthy merchants.

This circumstance, principally in the southern and western counties, could not fail to raise a considerable Catholic party, strong from that union which among the oppressed is ever the consequence of civil oppression, and, even in elections on account of its riches and consequent influence of importance sufficient to be courted by one or other of the candidates. Hence arose a sort of Popish patronage in both houses of parliament, where the members were influenced not only by this motive, but by another still more cogent, many of them being deeply indebted to Papists, for obvious reasons the principal money lenders, and consequently in a great degree dependent on them. Nay, it has been asserted, and positively asserted, that in the present instance, Catholic money had an effect still more immediate than any I have yet mentioned. With these causes another concurred, which had certainly a great and singular effect. The emancipation of Ireland from the fetters of English tyranny was now in contemplation, and the virtuous few from various symptoms perceived that the hour was approaching when every effort must be exerted to produce this great end, all legal means were to be pursued, and none appeared more essentially necessary than that the whole nation should be united, and by such union rendered strong and formidable. It was vain to hope that the Catholics would sincerely join their efforts to forward the emancipation of their oppressors, of those whom they could not but regard as their implacable enemies, of those who would probably make use of any additional power and importance still more to oppress them ; that they whose prejudices usually leaned the other way, would be ardent in the pursuit of freedom (in which they could not hope in any degree to participate,) of a free constitution, the effects of which would in no degree alleviate their sufferings. Concession and kind treatment, by raising their hopes and dissipating their fears, could alone conciliate their affections, and the only way to induce them to love and to serve their country was to make that country really theirs by giving them a real and substantial stake in it. The unhappy divisions among our people had been the principal source of our long servitude. Ireland was naturally strong; her inhabitants were brave, hardy, and numerous, amounting to more than three millions. But of these a small minority by artificial force despotically governed an immense majority of unwilling subjects, whom they treated as an inferior race, their slaves by conquest, and whose claims, however antiquated, were a perpetual source of restless impatience on the one side, and of anxious distrust on the other. Thus did we possess many inhabitants, but few citizens.

[Position of Protestants in Ireland.]

" The Protestants, ill confiding in the paucity of their numbers, had been long accustomed to look up to England for support, and were ever fearful of offending that kingdom, from whose powerful interference, in case of emergency, they hoped for protection. Nay, there were not wanting among them wretches who were base enough to crouch to, and even to encourage English usurpation as a means of strengthening their party, and who, with the usual propensity of tyrants, willingly suffered themselves to be enslaved that the exercise of their tyranny might be continued to them. In the course of time, however, and of favourable events, their comparative strength had considerably increased, and was daily increasing, but their invincible prejudices, their habitual terrors still retained an inveterate dominion over their minds, prejudices and terrors that had from time to time been artfully fomented according to the

suggestions of that well-known principle of Machiavellian policy, 'divide et impera.' This artifice, which had so long been successfully practised, was now however either forgotten, or had perhaps been superseded by the fears of a weak and embarrassed administration, who, finding the Protestants growing into strength, dreaded their spirit, and wished perhaps to temper it by Popish connection; or, what is still more probable, because less refined, government was now induced to court the Papists by their fear of the Protestants, and wished to oblige and to strengthen that party, which, as well from the influence of a servile religion, as from its precarious situation in the country, was likely, they thought, to be wholly dependent on them, thus raising what they deemed a necessary barrier against those encroachments which they now began exceedingly, and not without reason, to dread. For of late, from various causes, a genuine spirit of liberty, and consequently of resistance, had diffused itself among our citizens, and had brought with it, as must ever be the case, a train of liberal sentiments, which not only silently operated towards their own emancipation, but more immediately produced a relaxation of bigotry, and of that implacable hatred with which they had hitherto pursued their oppressed fellow subjects. Taking advantage of this spirit among our people, and of these fears by which the usual policy of our rulers had been superseded, and in order to remove, as far as might be, the impediments to union, Mr. Grattan took an active and effectual part in the Catholic question, and his transcendent abilities, together with the efforts of many who were connected with him in principle, and the acquiescence of all, contributed not a little to its success. Thus have I endeavoured to assign some probable causes for this important and unforeseen event; an event by which, I must confess, my heart was more completely satisfied than my understanding.

[Views on toleration.]

"Toleration has ever been with me a predominant principle, and I clearly saw the necessity, previous to our intended efforts, of conciliating the affections of a body of men so very considerable from their numbers, and of dividing at least between government and parliament that attachment, which, for obvious reasons, had hitherto been confined to the former. But then it appeared to me that this great and necessary end might have been gained by concessions of a nature somewhat less extensive. In a country unfortunately circumstanced like Ireland, where the many are to be governed by the few, where a rooted antipathy has long subsisted between the parties governing and governed, grounded on mutual injuries, and nourished by antiquated and abortive claims on the one side, and on the other by a perpetual dread that these claims might one day be successfully asserted,—where the great mass of the people profess a religion perfectly distinct and even averse from that by law established, and not only in its principles and tenets hostile to civil liberty, but, intimately connected with the claims above mentioned, and from its identity with that of the surrounding nations, likely on every struggle to be protected by them from motives both religious and political,—in a country, I say, so circumstanced, there are two points which never can with safety be ceded by the governing few; namely, the free and uncontrolled use of arms, and a share in the legislature. Neither of these points were, I allow, ceded by the act in question, but by this, and by another act passed in the year 1782, of which mention will be made hereafter, every thing short of these fundamentals was given to the Catholics. Now it is the nature of man, when all is granted to him excepting only that which must be withheld, ardently to wish

for and eagerly to endeavour the attainment of that one forbidden thing. Possessed of all that Eden affords, he will long for, and even to his own destruction, snatch at the forbidden fruit.

[Extent of concessions to Catholics.]

"Our liberality, in the paroxysm of its fever, was madly profuse. We gave too much at a time, never reflecting on the necessary prudence of reserving something to satisfy future cravings, something which might without ruin be still conceded. By giving all we put every future conciliation wholly out of our power, and we might have equally pleased, and, for the present, contented our Catholic fellow subjects without this hasty and precipitate grant of all that ever could be granted. A time might possibly have arrived when long and friendly intercourse, sweetened by boons from time to time accumulating, and joined with that polish and refinement of manners which is the necessary effect of good government, and of increasing property, might have entirely effaced all prejudices, and have made it practicable, consistently with constitutional safety, to have rendered all the inhabitants of Ireland perfect citizens. But that time was not yet come, and our too hasty and premature concessions may possibly have postponed, if not prevented, its arrival. Such was at this important period my opinion, and time has shown, as will appear in the following memoirs, that my opinion was not without foundation. This weighty and delicate subject I have, however, here but slightly touched on, as I shall hereafter have occasion to enter fully into it; but as it is a matter which will, I fear, for a long time yet, be liable in this country to be repeatedly discussed, I could not avoid, even here, expressing my sentiments for the information of those to whose lot it may probably fall to decide upon questions of a similar nature.

[Condition of Ireland in 1778.]

"The time was now big with events. The Irish annals of 1778 will be famous in the history of mankind, but in Ireland they must ever be remembered with wonder, reverence, love, and thankfulness. To this year the Volunteers of Ireland owe their origin. I shall not however in this place enter into a circumstantial detail of the auspicious institution, of the rise and progress of those illustrious associations to which my country owes its liberty, prosperity, and safety, and I, if after my country's obligations I may mention my own, the principal and dearest honours of my life. The subject is too great to be circumscribed within the narrow limits of a prefatory discourse, and can only be treated, if there it can be treated, in a separate essay. I shall here therefore content myself with relating the circumstances of their first appearance, and with a short account of that distressed situation of our affairs, which not only gave rise to their first formation, but, in a great measure insured their establishment, and subsequent success. Notwithstanding the lavish grants which during the administration of lord Harcourt had been made with the view and promise of equalising the revenue to the annual expenditure, the exchequer was, in that of his successor, reduced to a state of absolute beggary, insomuch that the few troops, which the necessities of England had left for our defence, could not otherwise be paid than by a remittance of fifty thousand pounds from the English treasury. This poverty might well enough be accounted for by the ruinous and corrupt extravagance of government; yet, in the present instance, other causes contributed to produce this near approach to bankruptcy. With

the stagnation of our slender stream of commerce the revenues had sunk and declined. The unnatural and wicked war with America still raged with unabated rancour, and one great vent for our linens was consequently cut off. France had taken part in the contest, and under the pretence of excluding her from purchasing our provisions, that nefarious job the embargo had been laid, and still continued the first and fundamental cause of all our misery. Our black cattle, in consequence, everywhere fell in their value, and even at the lowest price could not be sold. Our wool remained upon our hands. Its clandestine exportation, that necessary effect and only remedy of tyrannic restriction, from various causes was now at an end, and the madness of our gentry for English cloths prevented its being worked up at home. Remittances from Ireland daily increased, as well from the increasing number of our absentees, who redoubled our poverty while they fled from it, as on account of the forces which were now paid abroad. Luxury, however, which always survives that opulence which can alone excuse it, still remained undiminished, and the importation of every sort of manufacture from England, while it deprived the poor of the only benefit that can accrue to them from the follies of the great, drained the country of its small remaining cash, and starved our native artists. The streets of our metropolis were filled and disgraced by crowds of famishing wretches, riotous from want of employment, and desperate through hunger. Charitable subscriptions, a miserable and temporary resource, alone kept them from death or rapine. Dublin was, what it ought not to be, the principal seat of the woollen manufacture, and therefore was a principal seat of misery. In the country the price of land was fallen to nothing. The farmer was undone, and rents remained unpaid, while our estated gentry were at length taught by sad experience a truth, which they acknowledged with regret, that to the poor alone they owed their subsistence. Unpractised in distress, they also began to want, though not the necessaries of life, at least those superfluities, which long habit made them mistake for necessaries. Even they were roused from their lethargy, and, for the first time, began to feel.

[Governmental inaction.]

"Meanwhile in England our situation was known. Our loud complaints were distinctly heard, and could not fail to make some impression. In her parliament efforts were made to relieve or to mitigate our distress. Many members there had estates in Ireland, and sensibly felt the effects of our poverty. Some few also, from more liberal motives, concurred, and all agreed that something ought to be done towards relaxing the chains of our commerce. Many resolutions passed unanimously, which, though by no means importing what we had a right to expect, bore at least some semblance of relief, and of a departure from those arbitrary and monopolising principles, which, in defiance of sound and liberal policy, had hitherto prevailed. But, alas, a few manufacturing towns took the alarm, and, in the English political scale, a few manufacturing towns will ever outweigh Ireland. The minister was not firm in his seat. The American war, whose infamy was only felt in its ill success and exorbitant expense, was grown unpopular, and members were not to be disgusted. Lord North had been apparently our friend; perhaps his good sense had induced him to be really so, but a single vote in the English house of commons was in those days of more consequence to the minister than the kingdom of Ireland. Petitions, founded in insolence and folly, were presented against the bills which had been prepared in consequence of the resolutions, and in

spite of all the efforts of our few real friends, among whom the foremost was my dear lord Rockingham, then unfortunately out of power, our sanguine hopes were frustrated, and nothing was granted that was worth our acceptance.

[Promotion of native industries.]

"In Ireland distresses daily increased, and, made desperate by our late disappointment, a liberal and angry spirit began to show itself. No longer able to flatter ourselves with any hope of relief from our hard-hearted sister, we began to be sensible of the infallible truth of that maxim, that national grievances will never be removed but by national efforts. Our first spirited exertion was an association to wear our own manufactures, and to prevent, by every possible method, the importation of English commodities. This effort naturally produced a double effect. It gave employment and consequent bread to our own starving manufacturers, and it taught the English that their market in Ireland might be lost through the spirit of our people in spite of all their restrictive laws, which being thus proved to be nugatory would consequently be less anxiously contended for. The association was general and effectual, numbers even of our gentry entered into it, some from feeling, others from fear, and many because they were weary of charity. Importers were compelled to quit their injurious traffic by the dread of infamy, and, still more, of popular fury, while the necessary consequence being immediately felt throughout England, especially in the clothing towns, our monopolising competitors began to fear the effects of a resentment which, by carrying too far their tyrannic oppression, they had at length excited, and the opposition to our wishes was likely to become less violent because less effectual to the unjust and rapacious purpose for which it was intended. But this effort alone would not have been sufficient; our spirit would have relaxed. We should have been fooled by promises, and intimidated by threats. The artifices of former times would have been renewed, and we should have again been told, and even taught to believe, that the wearing our own manufactures was in effect to separate ourselves from England. Our association would have been dissolved, and we should speedily have returned to poverty, famine, and importation.

[Apprehended invasion from France.—Defence of Belfast.]

"But an event now took place far more effectual to our relief, and of a higher and more dignified nature, which quickly changed our prayers into demands, our humble petitions for redress of grievance, into proud claims of right. By the courtly permission of parliament the twelve thousand men which were destined to the defence of Ireland had been so drafted for foreign service that scarcely more than one-third of them remained in this country, and the fleet of England was too much occupied to be suffered in any degree to attend to the inconsiderable object of our protection. In consequence of this unprotected state not only our merchant ships were taken by French and American privateers, which swarmed in our seas, but our coasts were threatened, and even insulted. Serious invasion was hourly looked for, and we had neither force internal nor external to repel it. From want of money government had been prevented from embodying the militia, as enabled by act of parliament, and our standing army was so reduced as to be scarcely equal to the common garrison duty. At this critical period the town of Belfast, which had, not many years since, experienced the dangers of

invasion, from intelligence received of an intended attack took the alarm, and applied to government by memorial for a sufficient number of troops to defend it from those perils which were then deemed imminent. The answer of Sir Richard Heron[1] to the mayor's letter is in the memory of every man, 'that no other assistance could be afforded than half a troop of dismounted horse, and half a company of invalides.' With men of spirit and resolution an intimation of this kind could not fail to produce its natural effect. Abandoned by government in the hour of danger, the inhabitants of Belfast were left to their own defence, and boldly and instantly they undertook it; associations were formed, arms were purchased, uniforms were provided, officers were chosen, parades were appointed, and every diligence was exerted towards the necessary acquirement of military skill and discipline. The fire was now kindled, and rapidly spread itself. Almost at the same instant many companies were formed throughout the neighbouring counties, among which mine at Armagh was one of the foremost, and my correspondence upon this memorable occasion with my friends of that town will be produced in its proper place. Soon the whole province was in arms, and shortly after the whole kingdom. The dragon's teeth were sown, and the fertile soil everywhere produced a plenteous crop of soldiers.

[Establishment of armed associations.]

"The natural effect of this exertion was quickly perceived both by administration and by those few who panted after the prosperity and emancipation of their country. The latter accordingly, having soon got over those patriotic fears, which the novelty and possible tendency of an event so unprecedented could not fail to excite, and which were best removed by their taking part themselves in the armament, with all their influence protected and encouraged the salutary idea, which by strengthening the people, had, beyond their utmost hope, strengthened their hands towards the effecting the great designs then in contemplation. And not only they, who acted from principle, but many others, amounting to a great majority of the gentlemen of Ireland, from interested, and more especially from electioneering schemes, joined in the popular ferment, and put themselves at the head of the several companies. Government, on the other hand, dull as it was, could not but perceive the impending danger. A great army, wholly independent of the crown, self-raised in times of grievance and of universal complaint, in a country deemed and affectedly styled subordinate, when England was weak beyond all former example, beset on every side by enemies whom her own arbitrary follies had brought into action, would certainly have been an object of terror even to the wisest and strongest administration, and the present was neither wise nor strong. Neither had they any means of resisting the impetuosity of a torrent which hourly gathered strength and rapidity. A spirit was raised which nothing could quell, a spirit the more formidable as it was temperate. A nation was in arms; a nation, too, naturally brave, irritated by oppression, and desperate of relief but by their own exertions, who had little to lose and everything to hope from courage and perseverance. The use of arms and military discipline can make even cowards valiant, what then must it have done to Irishmen associated in the best of causes, the defence and protection of their country? The dread of invasion had first arrayed

[1] Chief secretary to earl of Buckinghamshire, lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1777, created a baronet in 1778. *See* p. 42.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

them, but was it to be expected that an aggrieved people, armed and disciplined, would stop at simple safety?

[Policy of English ministry.]

"Some cavils indeed might be raised against the strict legality of the associations. But how would these cavils be supported? The necessity of arming for our defence was self-evident, and, unless we were embodied and disciplined our arms were useless. The more distant consequences indeed of this spirited measure were clearly seen, but every honest man saw them with exultation, and many causes concurred to make honesty at this period more fashionable than usual. The representatives of the people were likely to be honest because the exchequer was empty, and government had therefore nothing to hope, nor the Volunteers to fear from parliament; from the same cause disunion could not be sown among them by purchasing off any of their less steady leaders; neither could country gentlemen be consoled and compensated for the defalcation of their rents, and this formidable body would therefore be steady to the cause into which they had entered. To support the legal cavils by force was still more desperate. There were scarcely troops in the kingdom sufficient to oppose the new levies even in their infancy, and the rapidity of their progress soon rendered all opposition impossible, especially as England, in her present situation, could afford no assistance. Under these circumstances we shall be the less surprised at the acquiescence of our affrighted rulers, and, when we consider the matter in another point of view, we shall perhaps be of opinion that their conduct, however apparently timid, was still, from the necessity of their situation, excusable even to their English employers. The measure of military association in its more distant consequences was certainly of the most alarming nature to the maintainers of English usurpation, but then, on the other hand, its immediate effects were highly beneficial, and, at the present critical period, even necessary to government. Ireland was hourly threatened with invasion. The enemy was at our doors, and administration had no possible means of resistance. Unsupported by England, and destitute both of men and money, they shuddered at the idea of the most trifling incursion. They feared and consequently hated the Volunteers, yet to them alone they looked up for assistance, for safety; and they saw, with a mixture of grief and joy, the country, which they were unable to defend, completely protected by its own efforts, without that expense to which they were wholly unequal. All their faculties had been inadequate to the arraying even a small and weak militia, but now a militia was arrayed throughout the whole kingdom, in strength far exceeding any armament of the kind ever yet thought on, not only self-raised, but self-clothed, self-paid, and, in a great measure, self-armed also. Thus circumstanced, government pursued the best course, perhaps, that was left them. After having made some feeble efforts in the south where their strength principally lay, and where by their connivance some of their most assured friends had taken a leading part in the associations, to prevail on the officers to accept of commissions from the king, under pretence that, in case of action, such commissions would protect them if made prisoners, and ensure their exchange (an idea which, though brought forward by the earl of Shannon,[1] was universally spurned at), they determined to steer with the current which they could not stem,

[1] Richard Boyle, earl of Shannon, succeeded to that title on the death of his father, Henry Boyle, in September, 1764.

to make use of the Volunteers as a sure protection against invasion, and to take every possible method of gaining their confidence, for which purpose, as well as to enable them the better to defend their country, and to repel those foreign enemies, which, at this period, were still more dreaded by administration than the Volunteers themselves, sixteen thousand stand of arms were issued from the arsenal and divided among the lieutenants of the several countries, to be by them distributed to the associated corps throughout the whole kingdom.

[Viceroyalty of duke of Portland.[1]—Colonel Fitzpatrick,[2] secretary :—Marquis of Rockingham.[3]]

"In the month of April of the never-to-be-forgotten year 1782, when, by the successful efforts of the people, animated and supported by a few honest men, ardent and zealous lovers of liberty and of their country, parliament had at length been brought to a sense of its duty, and immediately previous to that ever-memorable address of grievances, by the operation of which Ireland was finally emancipated, the duke of Portland was appointed lord-lieutenant. This designation of a nobleman, who, from his birth and family, from his education, his connections, and, above all, from his acknowledged and tried principles, was known to be a steady and warm friend to general freedom, inspired the well-wishers to their country's cause with the most sanguine expectations of success in those persevering endeavours, in which, spite of all obstacle, unallured by favour or emolument, unawed by power, and undismayed by the consideration of private danger, they had so long and so firmly persisted, and which were now brought near to a crisis, when our rights must be either safely, honourably, and quietly ceded to us, or extorted by the unanimous efforts of a brave, armed, and injured nation. Their hopes were also still further animated by the appointment of Mr. Fitzpatrick, brother to the earl of Upper Ossory,[4] to be secretary. This gentleman, with whom I was well acquainted, and whose political character rendered him an agent well adapted to the feelings and intentions of his noble principal, preceding the duke, arrived in Ireland some days before the necessary preparations would permit his grace to attend the duties of his high office, and preventing my visit by calling upon me, delivered to me a letter from my ever dear, and ever lamented friend the marquis of Rockingham, then first lord of the treasury, and prime minister of England. Of this virtuous, accomplished, and truly amiable man I will say nothing, as whatever even friendship might inspire me to say, would fall far below not only my own feelings, but the love, gratitude, and respect of every good citizen, of every good man throughout the British dominions:

" —— cui pudor et justitiæ soror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem ?"

"The following is a faithful transcript[5] of his letter to me :—

1782, Tuesday, April 9, London.—" 'The long and pleasing friendship which has so mutually and so cordially existed between your lordship

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[1] William Henry, duke of Portland, appointed 8th April 1782.

[2] Richard Fitzpatrick, M.P. for Tavistock, member of privy councils in England and Ireland.

[3] Charles Watson Wentworth, earl of Malton, K.G., second marquis of Rockingham.

[4] John Fitzpatrick, second earl of Upper Ossory and baron Gowran.

[5] Here printed from the original in this collection.

and me for many, many years, may now, I trust, facilitate what I am sure has been the object of our public conduct, the mutual advantage and prosperity of our countries.

"'National distrusts and jealousies will not have the smallest weight in either of our minds. It is the most pleasing consideration to me, that your lordship possesses the confidence of the persons in Ireland, who having been the foremost in liberating their country from unjust and ill-judged shackles or restraints which had been laid upon it, may perhaps till this moment have been inclined to take some steps, under the idea of securing its freedom, which by being precipitated might rather endanger all government whatsoever, than produce a new system between Ireland and England which might settle all disputable matters, on a plan calculated, for the reciprocal interests and for a cordial connection between the two countries.

"'The duke of Portland being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, is, I think, my dear lord, a pretty good pledge of the fair intentions of his majesty's present ministers.

"'His grace's character and disposition of mind, as well as the principles on which he had long acted, are well known to your lordship, and I cannot but hope, that many advantages will arise from a trust and confidence in his character, which may produce the happiest effects, both in the commencement and progress of such plans as may be suggested. I can assure your lordship, that his majesty's present ministers have not, nor will not loiter in a business of such magnitude.

"'Mr. Secretary Eden[1] arrived a few days ago, in much warmth; your lordship will soon hear of the whole of his conduct. He thought proper to decline giving information to his majesty's ministers, and yesterday in the house of commons, without any notice, he thought proper to move the repeal of the act of the 6th of George the First. The house of commons were much offended at the manner of his proceedings. Mr. Secretary Fox answered him with the greatest ability and sharpness and informed the house that a few hours more would have shown, that his majesty's present ministers were active in the preparation of measures, that would prove their attention to the state of Ireland.

"'This day, his majesty sends a message to the house of commons, stating that distrusts and jealousies have arisen, and that it is highly necessary to take them into immediate consideration in order to a final adjustment.

"'The duke of Portland will set out for Ireland to morrow evening. His grace is empowered to send the same message to the parliament in Ireland. I should hope that an adjournment of the house of commons of Ireland for a fortnight or three weeks, in order to give the duke of Portland the opportunity of inquiring into the opinions of your lordship and of the gentlemen of the first weight and consequence will be readily assented to. I can not think, that it would be good policy in the house of commons of Ireland to carry on measures, at this juncture, which should appear as measures to extort. It would be an ungracious method of behaviour towards persons, who, I trust and am confident, will show every desirable disposition.

"'Matters so obtained might also not be secure. In truth, my dear lord, I think the time is come, when a new system and new arrangement of connexion between the kingdoms must be settled, to the mutual satisfaction and the reciprocal interests of both. Let us unite our endeavours in so good a work. I cannot conclude without expressing to your lordship how anxious I shall be to hear from your lordship.

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[1] *See* p. 147.

I write in much hurry as I expect colonel Fitzpatrick to call for this letter every moment. He sets out from hence.'"

"This letter, coming from the man in the world whom I wished most to oblige, and containing a request, clearly its principal object, which at the first glance appeared plausible, could not fail of making some impression upon a heart truly devoted to the amiable writer. But, a moment's consideration having demonstrated to me the fatal effects usually produced by postponement in matters of high national concern,

[Letter from Charlemont to Rockingham.]

I consulted with Grattan, gave my opinion against the adjournment, in which he concurred, and immediately after the meeting of parliament on the 16th answered his lordship in the following words:

"'As in writing to your lordship I find it indispensably necessary that I should follow and communicate the immediate feelings of my heart, I cannot at this conjuncture begin a letter to you without expressing my joy and exultation at the late happy change of administration, a change in which I rejoice as a patriot and as a friend. For since the welfare of the empire at large is, I trust, one of my warmest wishes, can anything be more truly pleasing to a mind so impressed than to find that empire rescued from ruin principally by the man whom I have been so long used in the most eminent degree to love and to honour. The gratification of another darling passion, indeed the ruling passion of my soul, intervenes also to complete my satisfaction, and my love to my country. My ardent wish for its emancipation and consequent prosperity induces me to exult in the exaltation and power of a man whose well-known love of general liberty gives me the best grounded reason to hope, and confidently to expect, that he will employ that power in restoring the invaluable blessing of freedom to every part of those dominions which liberty herself has intrusted to his care. From what I have now said, your lordship will readily conceive that no greater misfortune could possibly befall me than to be in any way prevented from giving my whole support to an administration which is in every respect so dear to me; but, thank heaven, I have little reason to dread any such event, confident as I am that such measures will be pursued as, by perfectly restoring the uncontrovertible rights of this much injured nation, will enforce support from every honest man, and will particularly enable me to take the wished for part by reconciling the dictates of my heart to those of my conscience, and yet unfortunately a difficulty occurs at the first setting out. The adjournment proposed by your lordship was absolutely impracticable, and a thorough knowledge of the state of this country would, I am sure, convince you that it would have been extremely imprudent to have hazarded the proposition. The parliamentary declaration of right was universally looked up to as an essential and necessary preliminary. It was a measure pointed out by the people from which nothing could ever have induced them to recede, and, if an adjournment had been proposed, the new administration would undoubtedly have been defeated at their first setting out; whereas the carrying the declaratory question must necessarily be accounted a defeat of the old ministers; who had uniformly opposed all such questions, and of them only. The message sent to parliament rendered an immediate proceeding still more indispensable. The king desired to be informed of the causes of discontent, and those causes could not have been too soon ascertained and declared in order to their speedy removal. The nation was to the last degree anxious, and the minds of all men were attentively fixed on the event of the sixteenth,

and so decidedly was the sense of the people against any adjournment that, by giving way in a matter so very repugnant to their wishes, we, whose power of support consists principally, if not wholly, in our popularity, might have endangered that influence, which, upon the expected and necessary redress of all our grievances, we wish to employ in your behalf. These reasons, and many others too tedious to be now detailed, induced me to think the measure proposed not only improper and impracticable, but highly imprudent also ; and they seemed to have some weight with the duke of Portland, who honoured me with a long conference upon the subject, and who, with great prudence, as well as goodness, gave up the point; neither will he, I am confident, have any reason to repent his concession. At the same time, lest it should be thought that our aversion from postponement concealed under it any the least distrust of the present administration, I think it necessary to declare to your lordship, as I did to the lord-lieutenant, that my mind is incapable of harbouring any such principle ; that I have every degree of confidence in the good wishes of the present ministers, and in their sincerity; and that, if my life were at stake, and they should desire the postponement of a question upon the decision of which my being depended, I should not hesitate to consent to it. But for the nation I could not venture so far, for a nation whose sense I was to speak, and whose wishes I was to represent; my intimate knowledge of you must naturally and necessarily banish all distrust. Yes, my dearest lord, I look up to you with the most unbounded confidence, a confidence founded upon a thorough knowledge of your principles, and of your wisdom ; nor, can I entertain the smallest doubt that you, to whom the empire looks up for her salvation, will hesitate to restore the blessing of liberty to this injured country. We ask but our rights, our uncontrovertible rights. Restore them to us, and for ever unite in the closest and best rivetted bonds of affection the kingdom of Ireland to her beloved, though hitherto unkind, sister. Bind us to you by the only chains that can connect us, the only chains we will ever consent to wear, the dear ties of mutual love, and mutual freedom. So shall you gain a kingdom in the place of those provinces which your predecessors have lost, a kingdom strengthened by liberty, and endeared by every bond of amity ; strengthened by your means, and consequently engaged and bound by every tie of gratitude to the support of your administration. But I have already detained you much too long. Pardon this unconscionable letter. I shall hasten to conclude by returning you my most sincere acknowledgments for the honour and favour of yours, and by assuring you that, as I loved you out of office, my affection still equally continues, even though you are 'a great minister,' a rank of men with which my heart has not often been much connected.'

[Charles James Fox.]

"Immediately previous to the receipt of lord Rockingham's letter, I had received by the post the following letter from Mr. Charles Fox, secretary of state for the home department, a gentleman with whom I had the honour and pleasure of an old acquaintance, and whose wonderful talents and astonishing parliamentary exertions will be remembered with the highest applause as long as oratory is held in estimation, that is to say, as long as the constitution exists :

1782, April 4, Grafton-street, London.—" 'If I had had occasion to write to you a month ago, I should have written with great confidence that you would believe me perfectly sincere, and would receive any thing that came from me with the partiality of an old acquaintance, and one

who acted upon the same political principles. I hope you will now consider me in the same light, but I own I write with much more diffidence, for I am much more sure of your kindness to me personally, than of your inclination to listen with favour to any thing that comes from a secretary of state. The principal business of this letter is to inform you that the duke of Portland is appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland and colonel Fitzpatrick his secretary, and when I have said this I need not add that I feel myself on every private as well as public account most peculiarly interested in the success of their administration. That their persons and characters are not disagreeable to your lordship I may venture to assure myself without being too sanguine, and I think myself equally certain that there are not in the world two men whose general way of thinking upon political subjects is more exactly consonant to your own. It is not therefore surely too much to desire or to hope that you will at least look upon the administration of such men with rather a more favourable eye, and incline to trust them rather more than you could do most of those who have been their predecessors. Why should not the complete change of system which has happened in this country have the same affect there that it has here? and why should not these who used to compose the opposition in Ireland become the principal supporters of the new administration there upon the very grounds upon which they opposed the old ones? In short why should not the Whigs (I mean in principle not in name) unite in every part of the empire to establish their principles so firmly that no future faction shall be able to destroy them? With regard to the particular points between the two countries I am really not yet master of them sufficiently to discuss them, but I can say in general that the new ministry have no other wish than to settle them in the way that may be most for the real advantage of both countries where interests can not be distinct. This is very general indeed, and if this language came from persons whose principles were less known to you, I should not expect you to consider it as any thing but mere words; but when it comes from those of whom I know your good opinion, I trust it will pass for something more. All we desire is favourable construction and assistance as far as is compatible with your principles, for to endeavour to persuade men to disgrace themselves (even where it is practicable, as in this instance I know it is not) is very far from being a part of the system of this ministry. The particular time of year at which this change happens is productive of many very great inconveniences, especially as it will be very difficult for the duke of Portland to be at Dublin before your parliament meets, but I can not help hoping that all reasonable men will concur in removing some of these difficulties and that a short adjournment will not be denied if asked. I do not throw out this as knowing from any authority that it will be proposed, but as an idea that suggests itself to me and in order to show you that I wish to talk with you and consult with you in the same frank manner in which I should have done before I was in this situation so very new to me. I have been so used to think justly ill of all ministers whom I did know and to suspect those whom I did not, that when I am obliged to call myself a minister I feel as if I put myself into a very suspicious character; but I do assure you I am the very same man in all respects that I was when you knew me and honoured me with some share in your esteem, that I maintain the same opinions and act with the same people. I beg your pardon for troubling you with so long a letter, but the great desire I feel in common with my friends that we should retain your good opinion must make my apology. Pray make my best compliments to Mr. Gratian and tell him that both the duke of Portland and Fitzpatrick are thoroughly impressed with the

consequence of his approbation and will do all they can to deserve it. I do most sincerely hope that he may hit upon some line that may be drawn honourably and advantageously for both countries, and that when that is done he will show the world that there may be a government in Ireland of which he is not ashamed to make a part. That country can never prosper where what should be the ambition of men of honour is considered as a disgrace.'

[Charlemont to Fox.]

"To this letter I immediately returned the following answer, which the reader will observe was written previous to the meeting of parliament :

"'Give me leave, in the first place, to return you my most sincere thanks for the honour and favour of your letter. Your finding leisure at this busy period, when every moment of your time is precious to yourself and to the empire, for the recollection of an old friend is a kindness which I had no reason to expect, and for which I shall ever be grateful. You do me also honour and justice in supposing that I should at all times receive anything that comes from you with a great degree of partiality, and though your idea of the difference between the man and the minister be, in some respects, a just one, my thoughts, respecting ministers in general, being nearly similar to what yours were, yet still I can conceive that a man in high ministerial office may be perfectly an honest man. Indeed the arrangement of the present administration would alone be sufficient to persuade me of this possibility ; and such is my regard and affection for many of the members of which it is composed that any doubt upon this head would render me truly miserable. No man can be more rejoiced than I am at the late happy, though tardy, change. I rejoice in it as a friend to individuals, but more especially as a member of the empire at large, which will probably be indebted to it for its salvation. I hope also, and doubt not, but that I shall have reason to rejoice in it as an Irishman ; for I cannot conceive that they who are intent upon the great work of restoring the empire, should not be ardently attentive to the real welfare of all its parts, or that true Whigs, genuine lovers of liberty, whose principles I know, honour, and strive to imitate, should not wish to diffuse this invaluable blessing through every part of those dominions whose interests they are called upon to administer. The appointment of the duke of Portland, and of his secretary, is a good presage. I know and respect their principles, and should be truly unhappy if anything in their conduct, respecting this country, should prevent my perfect co-operation with them. For, my dear sir, with every degree of affection for our sister kingdom, with every regard for the interests of the empire at large, I am an Irishman. I pride myself in the appellation, and will, in every particular, act as such ; at the same time declaring that I most sincerely and heartily concur with you in thinking that the interests of England and Ireland cannot be distinct, and that therefore in acting as an Irishman I may always hope to perform the part of a true Englishman also. With regard to what you hint, respecting an adjournment, I sincerely hope it will not be desired, as the matter seems to me to involve some great, not to say insurmountable, difficulties. The eyes of all the nation are eagerly fixed on the meeting of the sixteenth.[1] The house is convened for that day by this very particular summons, 'that every member should

[1] Of April, 1782.

attend as he tenders the rights of parliament.' The declaration of independent legislature is, on that day, to be agitated. It is expected by the people with the most anxious impatience; and the minds of all men are so fixed upon the event of that day, which they have every reason to imagine will be favourable to their wishes, that I should greatly fear the consequence of any postponement, especially as, from sad experience, the people have been taught to suppose that a question postponed is, at the least, weakened. This, too, is an act of the house, and of the house alone. Government has nothing to say to it, nor will any popularity be gained to the administration which may happen to be present at the carrying this question. On the contrary, success will be looked upon rather as a defeat than as voluntary acquiescence.[1] Such are the difficulties which occur. However, though they appear insuperable, so strong is our wish not to throw any unnecessary obstacle in the way of the present administration, that we shall wait to be determined by events.

"I have seen Grattan, and have communicated the kind paragraph in your letter respecting him. He desires his most sincere thanks to you for your goodness and friendly opinion of him. We are both of us precisely of the same mind. We respect and honour the present administration. We adore the principle on which it is founded. We look up to its members with the utmost confidence for their assistance in the great work of general freedom, and should be happy in our turn to support them in Ireland in the manner which may be most beneficial to them, and honourable to us; consulted but not considered. The people at large must indeed entertain a strong partiality for the present ministers. True Whigs must rejoice in the prevalence of Whiggish principles. The nation wishes to support the favourers of American freedom,—the men who opposed the detested, the execrated American war. Let our rights be acknowledged and secured to us, those rights which no man can controvert, but which to a true Whig are self-evident, and that nation, those lives and fortunes, which are now universally pledged for the emancipation of our country, will then be as cheerfully, as universally, pledged for the defence of our sister kingdom, and for the support of an administration, which will justly claim the gratitude of a spirited and grateful people by having contributed to the completion of all their wishes.

"You have thought it necessary to apologise for the length of your letter, though such apology was needless, as I never received any which gave me greater pleasure. What then ought I to do for the enormity of mine? But excuses will but take up more of your precious time. I will therefore at once conclude, begging you to present my most affectionate compliments to all my friends, and particularly to my dear lord Rockingham, whom I called dear when out of office, and have therefore a right to do so now. Be assured, my dear sir, that nothing can be more valuable to me than your friendship and esteem, and that I desire nothing more ardently than constant opportunities of cultivating them.'

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[1] "This part of my letter was written upon a supposition that the adjournment was desired in order to give time for the duke of Portland to be in Ireland when the declaratory resolutions should be carried; through a fear lest lord Carlisle should, by his grace's absence, obtain for himself and the old ministers that popularity which would be the result of our success. The duke, however, hurried over, and was sworn into office before the meeting on the 16th, and it was then clear that the motive of the wish of administration was to give his grace leisure, not for travelling, but for consideration and dangerous consultation." [C.]

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[Duke of Portland.—Henry Grattan.—Declaration of independence of Ireland, 1782.]

"The duke of Portland, making all possible expedition, arrived in Dublin before the meeting. Conferences were held on the proposed adjournment, which was firmly refused, and wisely given up. Resolutions in answer to the intended royal message were drawn up by Grattan, with my concurrence, and that of our few steady friends. These were communicated to the lord lieutenant, who thought them rather too strong, but did not at first disapprove, till the old courtiers getting about him, and making their last effort, he began to waver, and even on the morning of the meeting seemed resolved to oppose them, if not altered both in mode and matter to the manifest injury of their dignity, weight, and effect. Upon this unforeseen difficulty I waited on his grace. and laboured to persuade him to adhere to his former sentiments, when, after some altercation, we parted with a firm declaration on my own behalf, and on that of Grattan, that we would at all events persist. The house of commons met,[1] and we were still in doubt; when administration, finding our firmness, and knowing our strength, wisely waived all opposition. Grattan, though extremely ill, from the effects of a fistula, for which he had been lately cut, introduced the matter in a long oration,[2] which cannot be sufficiently praised, and with an exertion both of mind and of body far beyond what could be expected from one in his weak state of health. Indeed, if ever spirit could be said to act independent of body, it was upon this occasion. The answer was carried unanimously, and everything succeeded to our wish, and to that of the people.

[Edmund Burke.]

"Having in my answer to lord Rockingham's letter mentioned that I had received one from my friend Burke,[3] I here insert a copy of that letter, as it cannot be superfluous to record, what posterity would most certainly wish to know, the sentiments, upon transactions so truly important, of a man whose wonderful abilities had not only then placed him in the most conspicuous point of view, but will, by means of his writings, hand him down an object of admiration to all ages while the English language subsists, and while men are curious of examining the history of former times:

1782, June 12, Whitehall.—"'The slight mark of your lordship's remembrance of an old friend in the end of your lordship's letter to lord Rockingham gave me very great satisfaction. It was always an object of my ambition to stand well with you. I ever esteemed and admired your public and private virtues; which have at length produced all the effects which virtue can produce on this side of the grave, in the universal love of all your countrymen. I assure you, my lord, that I take a sincere part in the general joy; and hope, that mutual affection will do more for mutual help and mutual advantage between the two kingdoms, than any ties of artificial connexion whatsoever. If I were not persuaded of this, my satisfaction at the late events would not be so complete as it is. For born as I was in Ireland, and having received, what is equal to the origin of one's being, the improvement of it, there; and therefore full of love, and I might say even of fond

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[1] On 16th of April, 1783.

[2] *See* speeches of Right Hon. Henry Grattan, London, 1822, vol. i., p. 123.

[3] *See* p. 148.

partiality for Ireland, I should think any benefit to her, which should be bought with the real disadvantage of this kingdom, or which might tend to loosen the ties of connexion between them, would be, even to our native country, a blessing of a very equivocal kind. But I am convinced that no reluctant tie can be a strong one; and that a natural, faithful, and cheerful alliance, will be a far securer link of connexion than any principle of subordination borne with grudging and discontent. All these contrivances are for the happiness of those they concern; and if they do not effect this, they do nothing, or worse than nothing. Go on and prosper, and improve the liberty you have obtained by your virtue, as a means of national prosperity and internal as well as external union.

"'I find, that Ireland, among other marks of her just gratitude to Mr. Grattan, (on which your lordship will present him my congratulations) intends to erect a monument to his honour; which is to be decorated with sculpture. It will be a pleasure to you to know, that at this time, a young man of Ireland is here, who I really think, as far as my judgment goes, is fully equal to our best statuaries both in taste and execution. If you employ him, you will encourage the rising arts in the decoration of the rising virtue of Ireland; and though the former, in the scale of things, is infinitely below the latter, there is a kind of relationship between them; I am sure there has been ever a close connexion between them in your mind. The young man's name, who wishes to be employed, is Hickey.'

[Levy of Irish seamen for British navy.]

"Not long after that illustrious period when by the repeal of the obnoxious and detested act of English usurpation, and by the complete restoration of judicature in all its branches, the constitution of Ireland had been vindicated and disenthralled, the house of commons, as the first fruits of the new connexion, and to evince the national desire of straining every nerve to assist the sister kingdom, now truly a sister, in her present pressing necessity, unanimously passed a vote, granting a sum not exceeding 100,000 pounds for the immediate levying 20,000 seamen in Ireland, in order that the fleet under the command of lord Howe, upon the strength and consequent success of which the fate of the empire was thought in a great measure to depend, might be thereby augmented and speedily manned. This necessary and honourable service, in which I ardently interested myself, was for a while proceeded in with the greatest alacrity, the Volunteer corps pledging themselves to exert their utmost efforts, and vieing with each other in raising recruits; when on a sudden the national ardour was at once abated, and our good humour changed into discontent, by some circumstances as unlucky as they were unforeseen, which, in as few words as possible I will endeavour to explain, such explanation being necessary to the better understanding the following letters, and also to account for my own conduct upon this important and delicate occasion.

[Questions of repeal and renunciation.]

"It had been wished and expected by many, and by me, I confess, among others, that, when the obnoxious act of the sixth of George the First was repealed, such repeal should have been preceded by a preamble, or accompanied by a clause, formally renouncing all right and claim to the usurped power of binding Ireland by British acts of parliament.

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The repeal was simple, and, as such, was left liable to cavil. It was however received with the most universal joy; but, when communicated to parliament, it was objected to as incomplete and ineffectual by some, who, though repeatedly asked, at the previous passing the address of grievances, whether they had anything to add, and solicited to give their opinion, had suffered it to pass without any mention of renunciation, and without then starting any objection whatsoever to our demand of simple repeal, which had been literally complied with by the parliament of England. The objectors however were very few, and an address to the king, expressive of perfect content, was carried with three negatives only. Undoubtedly by the repeal it would seem that the claim as well as the power was relinquished, and when such repeal was considered as coupled with the preceding transactions, and as the immediate consequence of, and answer to our address of grievances, it was evident that the national faith, the only security we could obtain, exclusive of our own internal strength, was as completely pledged as it could have been by any form of renunciation which we could have dictated, while at the same time the pride of England was less alarmed and hurt than it would have been by that sort of declaration, which must in so many words have declared the uniform proceedings of themselves and of their ancestors, for near a century, positive usurpation. It had been commonly objected to our address of grievances, and even by some who wished well to the cause, that it went too far, and asked too much, and we had thought it wise, in securing our national independence, to interest and to injure as little as possible, consistently with our security, that pride of nation, which is often apt to produce more obstacles, and is with more difficulty departed from, even than interest itself; neither would it have been generous, nor indeed prudent to have attempted the unnecessary humiliation of that sister country, with which it was our desire, when our rights should be restored, to be for ever united in the strictest bonds of amity. We stood upon the firm ground of unalienable right, which might be weakened by a demand of renunciation, as such demand might be construed into an acknowledgment of some prior title; neither did the formality of renouncing appear necessary on the part of those who by the unqualified repeal of their own former declaration, tacitly acknowledged its futility and injustice. A great deal was said, on the other side, of legal security, and lawyers had given their opinions, as they would have done upon a deed of mortgage; but, between nations, where there is no tribunal to be resorted to, legal security can be of no avail, national faith being the only pledge which can be demanded or relied upon; and the same insincerity, which could be supposed capable of infringing the treaty now solemnly concluded, might as well hereafter renounce and revoke any renunciation though ever so strongly worded. Some lawyers had indeed given their opinions against the validity of our present security; but party will affect even the judgment of lawyers. Many others differed from them, and the judges of the land, in a cabinet council where I was present, had pronounced the security sufficient; declaring that they should ever consider the repeal as an absolute renunciation on the part of England, and would look upon themselves as bound in their several courts to take cognizance of no law but such as had originated and passed in the parliament of Ireland.

[Positions of Flood and Grattan.]

"The country was now divided into two parties, the supporters of renunciation, and those of simple repeal. At the head of the former was Henry Flood, a man of consummate abilities, and with whom I had

long lived in the most intimate friendship. This gentleman (who, for the fourteen first years of his parliamentary life had uniformly acted the most patriotic part, actively and incessantly exerting those wonderful talents with which he was endowed to the honour and benefit of his country, and to the terror of every bad administration), had, during the government of earl Harcourt (partly induced by the base desertion of many pretended patriots, partly allured by a supposed stipulation that certain popular points should be yielded to the country, partly wishing to reimburse himself the heavy expense of a long contested borough election, and partly stimulated by the ambition of obtaining an office, which had never before been possessed by any residentiary Irishman), accepted a vice-treasurer's place, hoping, I doubt not, that by means of that high, and, in all appearance, ministerial office, he should be enabled to serve his country more effectually by his advice and influence, than he could have done by a continuance of that opposition which, from many shameful defections, was then grown weak, and, except in his person, inconsiderable; not enough considering how fatal to public confidence, and consequently to public welfare, is the desertion of a great popular leader; nor enough reflecting that in a country circumstanced like Ireland, and governed by delegated sway, precarious in its nature and circumscribed in its powers, authoritative influence, in matters of national import, seldom or never follows office. His hopes were accordingly disappointed. Such servants, or rather slaves, of the crown as would go all lengths with every administration, and even prevent and go beyond their wishes in every measure of oppression, were naturally preferred as counsellors to the man who wished to be a popular minister. He kept his place, and was silent,—silent in that parliament which had hitherto resounded with the thunder of his eloquence. Disdain at finding himself slighted, and the indefensibility of the measures, prevented him from taking an active part with administration; while the hope of better times, the shame of openly confessing his disappointment, the fear of being accused of inconstancy, and, possibly, the convenience of present emolument (though as avarice made no part of his character, this last may well be accounted an invidious surmise), prevented him, on the other hand, from resigning his office and rejoining his former friends. Inactivity, he thought, might in some sort palliate his defection, as if a passive neutrality could in any degree reconcile his country to the loss of her invincible champion, or his dejected friends to the abasement of his character. But Achilles was retired to his tents, and the deserted Greeks lamented. In the late struggle, however, finding matters drawn near to a crisis, actuated by the love of liberty and of his country, by the desire of sharing that popularity which was now likely to be gained, and possibly by resentment for the treatment he had received, he joined the popular party, reassumed his former activity, and consequently lost his place. A sacrifice so great and so unexampled, his unquestioned abilities, and his former merits, he naturally expected would have placed him at the head of the party, the only station his temper could brook; and, as ambition, though tempered by many amiable and estimable qualities, was ever his ruling passion, he found himself extremely disappointed, disgusted, and exasperated by the preference given to Henry Grattan, whose amazing abilities had from the beginning been so wonderfully, so warmly, and so successfully exerted in behalf of the emancipation of his country as to have given him the uncontrovertible lead in the house of commons. Of the intimate, and on my part, most tenderly cordial connection between me and this gentleman I shall now say nothing, as, from causes which my heart can never forget, it now no longer exists.

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[Change in system of administration in Ireland.]

"Upon the arrival of the duke of Portland the system of administration seemed to be totally changed. The old drudges of the court seemed to be disgraced. They who had hitherto acted in firm opposition to court measures, and who had been principally instrumental in the late constitutional revolution, seemed to possess the confidence of government. New principles and new men seemed to be adopted. In order the better to persuade the people that popular measures would now at length be pursued, some sacrifices were made to popular opinion, and, as the fittest scape-goat, [John] Scott, that tool of every minister, that degrading instrument of English usurpation, that impudent assertor of slavery, who had dared to oppose his single negative to the just claims of the nation, supported and declared by a parliament now at length inspirited, or perhaps intimidated and shamed into an assertion of its own rights, was deprived of his office of attorney-general, and his removal was universally received as an additional pledge of security. Some also who had lost their places on account of their parliamentary conduct, were either actually restored, or encouraged by promises to expect a speedy restoration.

[Objections to Flood.]

"But the duke had come over, unfortunately, prepossessed against Flood, and his private friends in Ireland were by no means partial to the late vice-treasurer.[1] He had been taught to believe that his aid was unnecessary, and his enmity not to be feared. His impractibility had been insisted on and magnified; and he had been described as a man in whom government ought not to confide. Perhaps also some of the party were not over-willing that so dangerous a competitor should share with them in their newly-acquired confidence. His office had, by the late administration, been given to the earl of Shannon, a man allied to the duke, too greedy to resign, and too powerful to be removed. From these causes, or from some fatality, Flood was disregarded,—an evil policy, and productive of much mischief. I clearly foresaw the consequences, and laboured to prevent them, but in vain. He was neither restored to office, quieted by promises, nor taken into confidence. Many weeks after the arrival of the lord-lieutenant it was indeed proposed to him to re-possess his seat at the council board, but he looked upon the offer as an insult, and rejected it with disdain,—a privy councillor's place, both in England and in Ireland, having been a trifling appendage of his late office. Neither was this ministerial neglect repaid by popularity, and he found himself at once rejected by the court and slighted by the people. Government, perhaps as a warning to such as should forsake them in the time of need, seemed determined to affront him, while the people, in this single instance, seemed to have forgotten their usual versatility, and his present merits remained unnoticed or absorbed in the memory of his former tergiversation.

[Position of Grattan.]

"Grattan, on the other hand, was universally applauded. Court favour and excessive popularity were miraculously united in his behalf. He was caressed and consulted by government, and even idolized by the people. All parties concurred to exalt him; the patriot, as a faithful

[1] Flood.

and successful leader in the late struggles; the courtier, as one favoured at the castle [of Dublin], and who was not likely to be a competitor for office; the Protestant revered him as an assertor of liberty; the Dissenter, as a champion for the rights of the people; and the Papist adored him as an active instrument in the late repeal of the Popery laws. Subscriptions were talked of for erecting a statue to his honour, and, on the motion of Mr. Bagenal,[1] an inflexible patriot, but a singular man, and a zealous supporter of Catholic claims, fifty thousand pounds were voted to him by the house of commons as a reward for his services.

[Chagrin of Flood.—Doctrine of renunciation.]

"Flood meanwhile remained unthought of; his former services forgotten, his late sacrifice unrewarded even by applause. A motion made in the house of commons by one of his few friends that his services should also be rewarded, was scarcely listened to. Enraged at this neglect, conscious of his proud abilities, and wishing to depreciate his rival, whose merits were, he well knew, indissolubly linked with the security of our late acquisitions, he first broached the doctrine of renunciation, disseminated on all sides doubts and jealousies, harangued in parliament, and inflamed the people. Grattan, on the other hand, contended strongly for the validity of that repeal which he had been so instrumental in obtaining. Bitter altercations ensued. The one wished, at all events, to lessen and invalidate that acquisition upon which his rival plumed himself, and to be the apparent means of procuring what he had now persuaded a majority of the people to believe the only real security, hoping thus to arrogate to himself the whole merit of the late transactions, from any share in which he had been injuriously shut out, as nothing in effect can be said to be obtained which is not secure. The other, grounding himself upon reason, upon the decision of parliament, and upon the solemn promise of absolute contentment, which had been pledged to England by the address whenever the grievances therein stated should be removed, strenuously supported his own opinion, and perhaps the more obstinately as he considered the attack as personal, and meant to crown his competitor with laurels which must be torn from his own brow. A personal dislike also, which I had long and anxiously laboured to remove, concurred the more to irritate him, and private spleen, as is frequently the case, inasperated and exalted the venom of party animosity. The weight of argument was apparently on his side, and he could not fail of effectual support.[2] The old courtiers united

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[1] Beauchamp Bagenal, M.P. for county of Carlow.

[2] "Besides his merits, and the cogent reasons assigned in the text, there were many other causes of the marked preference given to Grattan over his rival. Long in opposition and distinguished for invective, Flood had made all the old courtiers his inveterate enemies, as there was scarcely one among them who had not, at some time or other, been lacerated by his eloquence; neither had his temper, which in politics was suspicious, intractable, and too fond of preeminence, tended much to conciliate the minds even of the party with whom he had acted. He had also been long engaged in a borough contention, which had not only created him many enemies, but, by the natural effect of that nasty kind of litigation, where, besides the exasperating ill-treatment he had continually experienced, he had often been obliged to oppose craft to knavery, had unfortunately influenced not only his temper, but in some degree his manners, which, from a long course of necessary suspicion, had become unnecessarily suspicious. Grattan, on the other hand, had not been long enough in parliament to offend many, and, his pursuit having been directed to one object only, in which also he had been but little thwarted, had not had the same occasions of giving offence. The unimportance of his situation, except in point of abilities, which, when not obnoxious, are generally admired and loved, had kept him

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themselves to him as the castle where their consciences were in pawn, highly disapproved of any further demand from England. The party, for the most part, made his cause their own. They, who considered the advantage of tranquillity to a country just emerging into commerce, ranged themselves on his side, and a great majority of that house of commons, which had already approved the measure, continued warmly to join with him.

[Attempts to depreciate Grattan.]

"But every possible effort had been exerted, by inflammatory speeches, virulent publications, and active agents, to prejudice the minds of the people. They had been taught to believe their security imperfect, and he had accepted a gift from parliament, which, however well merited, unexpected, unsolicited, and not only honourably but even reluctantly received, however it ought to have been considered, contrary to the nature of gifts from the crown, not as the wages of dependence and corruption, but as the means and pledge of independence, was still an emolument, and, as such, unpopular. For nothing is more certain than that, in Ireland at least, the man who wishes to retain his influence with the people, must cautiously abstain from every species of emolument, the idea of which is never separated from that of a dereliction of principle, a prejudice, if such it may be called, naturally arising from the perpetual instances of apostasy for gain. In short, every engine having been set at work to traduce his character and to vilify his person, to render the one flagitious, and the other contemptible, the 'man of the people' became almost universally odious, and in proportion as Grattan was debased Flood was exalted,—perhaps the most striking instance of sudden reverse that ever occurred in the eventful history of popular inconstancy.

[Motion of earl of Abingdon in house of lords, England, 1782.]

"In this inflammable disposition of men's minds the smallest spark was sufficient to raise a flame, and a trifling circumstance now happened, which greatly increased the public alarm. The earl of Abingdon,[1] a man of genius, but eccentric, and irregular almost to madness, had taken it into his head to declaim, in the English house of lords,[2] against some of the concessions made to Ireland, and had read, as part of his speech, a bill[3] derogatory to Irish rights, which, as he told their lordships, he meant to move in the ensuing session. As no motion had been made, administration, knowing the unsettled nature of the man, certain that he would never proceed farther in the business, and unwilling that the late transactions should be brought into debate, suffered his speech to remain unanswered, and his bill to lie on the table; never supposing that the sentiments of such a man could produce any disagreeable effect in Ireland. But in this they were mistaken. His own country indeed knew him too well to mind him; but here [in Ireland] his rank only

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clear of envy, and, together with his youth, had hitherto inclined him to conciliatory manners, neither had his late accession of fortune as yet had time to operate, especially with those who do not greatly care how much a man is enriched, provided it be with public money, every profusion of which they look upon as a precedent in their own favour, ignorant to distinguish between what is justly given, and what is wantonly or wickedly lavished." [C.]

[1] Willoughby Bertie.

[2] On 5th July, 1782.

[3] Entitled "A bill for a declaration of right over all the dependencies of Great Britain,"

was notorious, while his character, excepting to a few, was perfectly unknown. He was considered, by the generality, as an English earl, who, unanswered, had ventured to impeach the late compact, and his bill was dreaded as an instrument of danger suspended over our liberties. The alarm was universal, and the progress of the recruiting service was at once stopped. At this period I was attending my duty as reviewing general in the north, and luckily was well enough acquainted with the character of the man to be able in a great degree to quiet the apprehensions of the people. Yet the task was by no means easy. Wherever I went I found discontent and alarm, and the service, which I had so much at heart, entirely suspended. Yet had I the satisfaction, before I left the country, to palliate matters[1] so far as that the business of recruiting was again set on foot. But in spite of all I could do, this unlucky occurrence, mixing itself with the former causes of dissatisfaction, and aggravated by those who, for their own ends, wished to inflame, increased exceedingly the general discontent and contributed to render the people still more ardently obstinate in their demand of positive renunciation.

[Second meeting of Volunteers at Dungannon, 1782.]

"At this juncture the second meeting of Volunteers was held at Dungannon, by far the most numerous that ever has at any time met, consisting of delegates from 304 corps. In such an assembly it was impossible but that the question which now agitated the nation should be brought forward, and the result of the contest was of the utmost importance to national tranquillity. The Volunteers of Ulster consisted of near twenty-five thousand men, well appointed and disciplined; and there were some reasons why this class of men, more than others of their fellow citizens, should be averse from tranquillity, and inclinable to new requisitions. The use of arms not only inspires courage, but unquiet thoughts also, as our wishes and expectations are usually raised in proportion to our means of gratifying them; and an armed body, not under military control, is at all times liable either blindly to follow the dictates of their own passions, or rashly to receive sudden impressions from the more turbulent among them. History can furnish, through all her annals, no instance of moderation in like circumstances, equal to that of the Irish Volunteers. But it was now indeed to be tried. Their power was great, and they had lately felt it in its effects. They had, in some sort, controlled the legislature, or at least had been highly instrumental in producing that wonderful change which had lately appeared in parliamentary majorities. Patience in adversity we entitle philosophy, but to act with moderation in prosperity is a still greater effort of human wisdom. When men have tasted the sweets of power, they are apt to wish its continuance, and, if the present settlement were considered as perfect, much of the utility of Volunteers was at an end, and they might possibly be thrown back into the mass of the people. These considerations, and the quality of its members, rendered the decision of the present

[1] "The account I was enabled to give of lord Abingdon's character had much effect, but the following seemed to be the most prevailing argument: 'If this matter be never more taken up, as is likely to be the case, it must be considered as the unimportant effusion of a wild individual. If it shall be proceeded on, it will be the better for us, as the lords of England will then be compelled, unasked by us, positively to declare the intentions of parliament in the repeal, which declaration will be the most eligible species of renunciation.' One of my own corps, the goldsmiths, entered into violent resolutions upon lord Abingdon's speech, which they sent to me, as their colonel. My letter to them will be hereafter inserted." [C.] *See* p. 95.

meeting precarious and highly important. Here however my influence was great,—an influence wholly proceeding from the thorough confidence which my kind fellow soldiers reposed in the rectitude of my principles and intentions. I was not personally present,[1] but my sentiments were made known by active and intelligent agents well chosen for that purpose. Some others of the most esteemed leaders ardently cooperated with me, among whom I cannot forbear to mention colonel James Stewart,[2] as his co-operation must for ever do me the highest honour. But of this gentleman I will say no more, lest I should detain my reader too long by the vain attempt to delineate a character whose excellence no words can describe. In short, prudence prevailed. The virtue of the people showed itself to be proof against all the efforts of incendiaries, and a great majority appeared in favour of contentment. A whimsical measure however took place, which, though its impropriety was glaring, as it was found to be pleasing to the assembly, and flattering to the vanity of some individuals, it was not thought prudent to oppose.

[Address to the king.]

"Five officers were chosen and delegated to present to the king an address from the meeting expressive of loyalty, contentment, and gratitude. The only disagreeable consequence that could be feared from this measure was that the Volunteers, who certainly expected an answer to their address, might be disappointed and displeased when they found that such answer was positively precluded by the settled etiquette of the court, and my endeavour to obviate this difficulty, which was attended by the desired effect, will be seen in my answer[3] to lord Rockingham's second letter.

[Election as commander-in-chief in Ulster.]

"At this meeting I was, almost unanimously, elected perpetual commander-in-chief of the army in Ulster, which province was indeed the principal seat of the Volunteer force, a power which I had before possessed in effect, though not in title, having been constantly called upon to act as reviewing general at all the great reviews in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Ulster. I have said above that I

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[1] "I had generally abstained from being present at the great Volunteer meetings principally for the two following reasons, which being communicated to my kind fellow soldiers, who, certain of my principles, were ever inclined to approve my conduct, were deemed of strength sufficient to excuse my absence. As it was highly important that the sentiments of the people should appear to be genuinely their own, my appearance in the chair of their assemblies, where I should certainly have been placed, would have given room to those who wished to depreciate the importance of their resolutions, to assert that they were not the genuine sentiments of the Volunteers, but had merely proceeded from the exertion of my influence, which must certainly have weakened their effect. In all such popular assemblies there would always be some wild spirits, whose zeal would be apt to betray them into unwarrantable expression, and, as parliament might sometimes be thought to deserve reprehension, this would possibly be conveyed in words, which it might not be very proper or decent for a member of that body to hear without reproof, from whence might arise ill blood and consequent disunion, than which nothing could be more fatal to the cause. For these and many other reasons I usually absented myself, and my sentiments were conveyed through such channels as clearly showed them to be mine." [C.]

[2] Member of parliament for county of Tyrone.

[3] *See* p. 91.

was elected almost unanimously,[1] though there was not a single negative to my appointment, but two or three of the delegates, wishing to keep the power of election in their hands, objected to the perpetuity of the office, and were desirous that I should be chosen from year to year. An address was drawn up, replete with every sentiment of confidence, love, and esteem, and five of the members were appointed to present it to me. This address I afterwards received at Belfast, when at the head of near four thousand men, whom I had just then reviewed, and by whom I was received as general with all the pomp of military applause and acclamation.

[Satisfaction of lord lieutenant.]

"The great importance of what had been done at this meeting evidently appeared from the exultation of the lord lieutenant, to whom I immediately communicated an account of the proceedings. His grace was pleased to express his satisfaction in the warmest terms, not forgetting to assure me of his gratitude on a personal as well as on a public account for the part which I had taken; and concluded by a declaration that no part of the transaction gave him greater pleasure than my having been elected to the chief command, an election which he considered as an infallible proof of the good disposition of the Volunteers, and an undoubted security for their future conduct.

[Popularity.—National interests.—Public appreciation.]

"How far his grace was founded in this observation I shall cheerfully leave to the impartial judgment of my country, and particularly of those who were more immediate witnesses of the manner in which I have ever employed the influence resulting from the office to which I was raised. To the judgment of the same tribunal I will also submit the treatment I have since received in recompense for my toilsome, but unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare by securing the tranquillity of my country, and to guard her constitution against the violence of faction, and the misguided zeal of her imprudent friends, to the perpetual risk of that popularity, the desire of which has been objected to me as a crime, and which I confess to have cultivated as a desirable object, but principally so because I have ever thought it the best and surest mean by which I could essentially serve that country, whose interests have ever been far more dear to me than my own. Happy, however, I must esteem myself in being able to say that I have hitherto met with the kindest return and most constant affection from my virtuous fellow citizens, who have in all instances overrated my services, and even when I have been forced, as has often been the case, to disagree with their humours, and to controvert their prejudices, have ever put the true construction upon my conduct, never for a moment withdrawing their kind and partial favour. Happy indeed must I esteem myself, since I have met with ingratitude only from those to whose conduct towards me I am perfectly indifferent. But to return from this digression, which can only be excused by an irresistible impulse, whose cause may hereafter be explained.

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[1] "Upon looking over my documents, I find that the election was perfectly unanimous, one single person, Mr. Thompson, of Belfast, having made the objection mentioned in the text, adding another respecting the inconvenience that might occur from having the appointment of reviewing generals absolutely in the power of the commander-in-chief, and concluding by a wish to be enabled to consult his corps upon the subject. These objections however he withdrew, and voted with all the other delegates for the election." [C.]

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

[Increase of discontent.]

"A considerable advantage had now most certainly been obtained, yet was not even this victory by any means decisive. The opposite party redoubled their assiduity, and the nation grew more and more discontented; nay, even some of the delegates, who had voted for contentment, were persuaded to repent of their vote, and to join the popular cry. But still the parties were balanced, and tranquillity might at length have taken place had not government, by a most imprudent, not to say insidious measure, exalted to the highest pitch the general discontent, and forced many, who wished them well, to take part against them. Though this transaction took place some time after the writing of the following letters, and, indeed, after the ever-to-be-lamented death of my dear lord Rockingham, during whose administration it never, I am confident, could have happened, yet, as this essay was meant to give a sketch, however slight, of the progress of parties in Ireland, and as my conduct upon this occasion may be interesting to that posterity for whom alone I write, I will endeavour, as succinctly as possible, to give some account of this singular business, and of the part I took therein.

[Removal of troops from Ireland.]

"But, before I enter into the detail, I must premise that early in the session, upon a motion of Mr. Gardiner,[1] who wished for court favour and a peerage, of which he was ambitious because the grandson of a footman, a vote and consequent act had passed, allowing the king in his present necessity, to take out of Ireland five thousand men for foreign service, notwithstanding the positive law by which she was at all times to keep twelve thousand in this kingdom, and though it was evident that by reason of a similar grant[2] of four thousand men made in the year 1775, not more than three thousand of our establishment would be left. Though this measure appeared to many highly imprudent, it could not well be opposed, as any opposition would have seemed timid and ungenerous, and might have been construed into a want of confidence in the protection of our Volunteers, which would have been productive of bad effects both abroad and at home. Whether this was a premeditated and preconcerted measure of government, and meant to pave the way to what immediately followed, I will not pretend to say, though many from its consequences and from the character of its mover, were inclined to suspect such pre-concert. If these suspicions were well grounded, the duke of Portland must be allowed to have acted his part extremely well, as I have often heard him bewail the imprudence of the vote, and declare that he would, notwithstanding, keep the troops in Ireland as long as he possibly could, and till such time as English administration should compel him to send them.

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[1] Luke Gardiner, privy councillor, Ireland, M.P. for county of Dublin; subsequently baron and viscount Mountjoy.

[2] "This measure took place during the administration of earl Harcourt, and had been strongly opposed and protested against by me. The grounds of this opposition are stated in the protest, vide journals of the lords, vol. iv., page 803. At this period Volunteers did not exist, which rendered opposition more necessary, and not liable to the objections which in the present instance were strong against it." [C.]

[Project for provincial regiments.]

"Sitting one morning in my library I received a visit from Mr. Cuffe,[1] a gentleman with whom I had long been intimately acquainted, whose endowments had been able to conciliate an almost universal affection, though he was, from education and connection, a professed latitudinarian in politics; a man, however, of strict honour, though usually a friend to government, and in this transaction certainly confidential with some of the prime promoters, as was evident from his habits and connections, and from his well-known addiction to military pursuits. After the first compliments were passed, he told me that he was come to impart a very important business, but must previously beg that I would not desire to know from whom he came, or how warranted in what he should say. 'A scheme,' he said, 'was likely to be adopted by government in the present pressing necessity, (when invasion was daily to be dreaded, and when, after our late generous grant of five thousand men to England, the kingdom was left almost destitute of troops,) for raising four provincial regiments, to consist of one thousand men each. These regiments were to be raised for three years, or during the continuance of the war. They were never to be sent out of Ireland, and were to be officered by Irish gentlemen only, who, in compensation for their commissions, were to raise, each according to his rank, a stated number of men. We were now threatened with an invasion from France. Troops were indispensably necessary, and this mode of making new levies was approved of as the easiest, most constitutional, and most popular. My opinion upon this plan was earnestly wished for, and, in case I should approve, it was also earnestly desired that I should take a part in it; what that part should be was entirely at my discretion. I might either command the whole with the rank of major-general, or take to myself such portion as I would wish to command.' To this information, which I confess a little surprised me, collecting my thoughts as well as I could on the sudden, I immediately answered, 'that I should not desire to know from whom the message came, or under what authority it was now delivered. That I was obliged to whoever had thought me of importance enough to be consulted, and so amply considered. That as the business was highly important, and perfectly new to me, I would give no opinion upon it. That if the lord lieutenant had any such scheme in contemplation, and, having allowed me sufficient leisure for reflection, would himself desire my opinion, I would freely and honestly give it to the best of my judgment, but to him only. That, though totally unprepared to give any answer to that first part of the message, I found myself fully equal, even on the sudden, to give a firm and categorical answer to the second part, 'that I would upon no account whatsoever accept the command either of the whole, or of any part of these intended levies. That my situation in the country, and my wish to employ the influence arising from that situation to the benefit of Ireland, would have insured and justified this positive refusal, even though I had been willing, as I was not, to accept of any office under government. That my influence, and consequent utility, depended entirely upon my being considered absolutely independent and unbiassed, and that nothing should induce me to part with this capacity of serving the public by hazarding the forfeiture of its esteem, particularly at a crisis when the influence of moderate and disinterested men might be peculiarly necessary. That I finally begged he would receive this as my ultimate answer, and would please to inform the

[1] James Cuffe, M.P. for county of Mayo.

person by whom he was employed that I desired to hear no more upon this subject, as my determination was fixed and irrevocable.' My friend Cuffe patiently heard me out, approved of my sentiments, applauded my resolution, and departed.

[Interview with duke of Portland.]

"I now set myself seriously to consider the plan that had been proposed, and, after the most mature reflection, found it so pregnant with mischief, that I thought it my duty to wait on the duke of Portland, and, even though unasked by him, to give him my opinion upon it. The confidence with which he had hitherto honoured me induced me to think this proceeding a positive duty, and, having consulted with Grattan, then my most confidential friend, his opinion fortified mine. Having immediately obtained an audience of the duke, I told him that I was come upon an errand which even to myself appeared somewhat impertinent, though I trusted he would not deem it unfriendly. That my business with him was to give my advice upon a matter of which I was not certain that he had the smallest cognizance, and upon which, at all events, he had never desired my counsel. I then related to him my conversation with Mr. Cuffe, without however mentioning the name of that gentleman, assuring him 'that I did not wish to know whether the message came from his grace, or from any person acting under his authority, neither did I desire to be informed whether he had ever thought of the measure, or intended to pursue it. All I wished was to perform my duty towards him by giving him faithful, honest, disinterested, and, if I might use that familiar term, friendly advice in case he should possibly have any such scheme in contemplation. That this was perhaps the only subject upon which I would venture to obtrude my opinion, as from my situation it was likely that I might be better informed relative to its probable consequences than the generality of those with whom he was in the habit of advising.' I then proceeded to state the measure in every light in which I myself had viewed it. 'I considered it as useless to the end proposed, which was to secure the kingdom against a threatened invasion. But it was now late in the spring. If an invasion was intended it must take place within a few months. Could these forces possibly be raised and disciplined so as to be of any use in so short a time? They were to be raw recruits officered by country gentlemen. Was there much chance of their being speedily disciplined by those who had their duty to learn? The war, which as his grace well knew could not be of long duration, would probably be over before they were able to take the field. It was true the generosity, or perhaps rather the folly of parliament, which feared the imputation of lukewarmness in his majesty's cause if they should have refused their assent to the proposal of an interested mover, had left the country not sufficiently furnished with regular troops. But would these levies supply that defect? And were not the Volunteers, who upon a late occasion,[1] in lord Carlisle's time, when an immediate invasion was thought certain, had clearly shown their spirit and alacrity, sufficient to defend that country to whose service they had devoted themselves? At least it must be allowed that they were better fitted for such service than troops newly raised, perfectly undisciplined, and commanded by officers who were themselves to be taught the rudiments of their new vocation. Supposing them then useless how could the measure be

[1] *See* p. 146.

justified respecting the expense, which would be enormous? Parliament was not sitting to give the sanction of its advice, or to provide money; and the situation of the country with respect to its finances was ill able to bear any new burthen. Even in the most popular measure an expense equal to that which must be incurred would infallibly create murmurs, at a period when every fresh matter of discontent should be cautiously avoided; but the plan in question, even though unattended by any other inconvenience, would of itself be in the highest degree unpopular. The Volunteers, who were in effect the people, would instantly take fire at it, as an insidious attempt to impair their consequence, and to diminish their numbers. As the inutility of the measure with regard to defence would be obviously apparent, they would naturally suppose some latent purpose, some hidden design, and this they would be persuaded was no other than a premeditated intention to injure their body by thinning their ranks and debauching their officers. Indeed it was clear that no country gentleman could be of service in this scheme but such only as having served among the Volunteers had acquired some degree of military knowledge. The private men would also for the same reason be aimed at, and from the proposal which had been made to me there was reason to suppose that similar offers would be made to other popular leaders. Is it imagined that, by putting such popular leaders at the head of it, the plan will become popular? The very contrary effect will be produced. Every man who leaves the Volunteers for this new service will become odious, and the plan itself will be detested as the cause of such desertion. I do not ask whether your grace, under cover of this measure, meditates any design to lessen the Volunteer power. I cannot indeed believe it. Your known liberality of sentiment is above any such covered attack, and your conduct towards the Volunteers, which has always been friendly and liberal, allows no colour for any such suspicion. But this design will notwithstanding be attributed to you; and we will for a moment suppose that such was the intention, what then would be the effect? It can not be denied but that the Volunteer force, though it has been, and still continues to be of the greatest utility, is of a nature liable to danger. Moderation, however, that certain guard against every possible inconvenience, has hitherto been its undeviating characteristic. And why? Because in every meeting there has been at all times a majority of moderate men, who have outvoted and quelled the attempts of the rash and violent, of which in numerous bodies there ever will be some, and because a majority of its leaders are inclinable to moderate measures. But should any considerable number either of the privates or of the officers be induced to take part in this new service, they will undoubtedly be of the more moderate sort, and thus a majority may be left of the rash and ill-inclined, whose violence, untempered and unopposed, may render this most respectable institution as dangerous as it has hitherto been salutary and useful. I myself, whose influence has hitherto been serviceable to allay ferments and preserve tranquillity, could not exert this influence without proper agents, and the assistance of those in whose principles I can confide; but should that assistance, should these agents be taken from me, I could not answer for the consequence. This then is the alternative, either you do or you do not mean to seduce volunteers into the new service. If you do not, your levies must be unserviceable to any present use, and as for a distant purpose, the situation of affairs absolutely precludes any suspicion that the war can continue. If you do, besides the unpopularity which must ensue, you will dangerously weaken that influence, which is now successfully exerted in the cause of tranquillity, and you will render this useful and virtuous body dangerous to government, and, which is far worse, to

their country. Suppose for a moment, what I hate to suppose even for a moment, that I were to quit the command to which the kind partiality of my fellow-soldiers has raised me for a high station in the new levies, what must necessarily ensue? The Volunteers, justly enraged at my desertion, would naturally look out for a leader of principles opposite to those by which they had been deserted. Such a leader they might find; need I dwell upon the probable consequences? But as this can never be, it is useless to suppose it. Let us then consider what effects must, at all events, arise from the measure in question. Civil commotion would undoubtedly be the first effect, and is this a time even to hazard it? The provincials will be detested by the Volunteers, as a body of men raised to their disadvantage, and in manifest opposition to their associations. Perpetual bickerings will ensue, and the people at large will take part with that body of which they themselves are the constituents. Your recruiting parties will be everywhere insulted. They, on the other hand, will be equally inflamed against the Volunteers, and government will perhaps think it a duty to protect the king's troops. Both parties will be armed; discord universal, and civil broils of the most dangerous nature must necessarily ensue. Consider, my lord, the danger of initiating the Volunteer force into civil dissension, and of inuring them to perpetual broils. I tremble to think of it. But to conclude, believe me, my lord, when I assure you that the plan will be in the highest degree unpopular; and your administration, for which I have the truest regard, must unquestionably be involved in its fate. In nations where men's minds are unsettled, all novelties should be cautiously avoided. Mischief may ensue even from useful innovations. What then may be expected from this?'

"To this long discourse, and much more, for I have here recapitulated but a small portion of my arguments, his grace listened with patient attention, and presently replied: 'That, far from looking upon my visit as an intrusion, he was greatly obliged to me for the step I had taken, and should at all times wish to see me when I had any advice to give him; that the measure in question had indeed been under consideration, but that nothing was determined concerning it; that my arguments were weighty indeed, and had much effect upon him, and that he should give them every due consideration; that the country was indeed almost destitute of regular troops, and required a speedy supply; that, with respect to invasion, he thought with me the Volunteers a security perhaps sufficient, and relied, as firmly as I could do, on their loyalty, patriotism, conduct, and courage, but that there were not in the kingdom regulars sufficient to do common garrison duty, and he should be sorry to call upon the Volunteers to execute this common duty of routine, which must be highly inconvenient to them, a loss to the country of their civil services, and by which they could possibly gain no honour. He concluded by repeating that nothing was determined on, and that my arguments, the importance of which he strongly felt, should be considered with the most serious attention.'

"I told his grace 'that I was highly obliged by his kind manner of pardoning my intrusion. That I had now satisfied my conscience both with regard to him and to my country, and that my mind was perfectly at ease.' Having said this I retired; but, recollecting myself, again opened the door, and, asking pardon for this second intrusion, I begged his grace would allow me a few words more: 'I was aware that something was likely to happen which might tend to invalidate one of my principal arguments. I had assured him, and I was confident with reason, that the measure in contemplation would be in the highest degree unpopular, and would render his administration odious; that

however, I knew my countrymen well enough to be certain that, if, unfortunately, any intention of government with respect to these regiments should take wind, he would, in a day's time, have fifty applications for commissions from men of rank, property, and even of popularity; that I entreated, however, that such applications might not induce him to believe my opinion respecting the unpopularity of the measure erroneous; that no scheme, though ever so wicked, could be devised, by which rank or emolument was to be obtained, which would not, in this country, produce many claimants of the descriptions I had mentioned, but that a thousand such competitions would never secure a chance of popularity. On the contrary I begged leave to repeat that the more popular the officers were, the more unpopular would be the measure.'

"I now departed, happy in the reflection that I had acted the part of a friend to my country and to the duke, and that I had done my utmost to prevent a measure, which I was persuaded would tend to embarrass his administration, and to plunge the country into tenfold confusion.

[Methods for augmentation of army.]

"And here I must remark upon what his grace had said of there not being a sufficient number of troops in Ireland to do common garrison duty; that the fact was by many disputed. But, supposing it true, there was a much better and more effectual method of augmenting the army than the scheme of the new regiments, which was by completing the shattered regiments, (of which there were many on the establishment that were mere skeletons,) to their full complement. A proclamation might have been sent forth addressed to the Volunteers, acquainting them with the destitute situation of the kingdom; that government, firmly relying upon them for defence in time of need, was too well acquainted with their situation, and too tender of their interests, as well as of those of their country, to call upon them to do common duty, and that it was therefore hoped that, for their own sake, and for the public service, they would assist in raising recruits, etc.[1] This the volunteers would have taken as a high compliment; they would have exerted their utmost efforts in the service, and the regiments would have been speedily completed. The measure would have been popular; the pay of officers would have been saved to the public, and the new levies would have been immediately disciplined, because they would have been grafted upon the old regiments, where some veteran soldiers still remained, and because they would have been under the command of old experienced officers. This plan I afterwards suggested, but without success.

[Establishment of "Fencible" regiments.]

"My annual duty now called me to the country, and I went my course of reviews from Dublin to Derry, and from thence by Limerick to Cork, at which last city I heard with astonishment that the measure had taken place; that six regiments were to be raised, which were now styled Fencibles; that all the colonels and many of the inferior officers were taken out of the Volunteer service, and, for the most part, from

[1] "The Volunteers were at this very period busily employed in raising men to man the fleet, and their alacrity upon this occasion was notorious. One principal argument against the provincial measure was that it must infallibly check this most necessary service." [C.]

among the more popular. All my prophecies were fulfilled to a tittle. The Volunteers, thinking the measure aimed directly at them, were enraged almost to madness, and consequently the mass of the people. All who had accepted Fencible commissions were expelled their respective corps with indignation and obloquy. Riots were everywhere frequent. Recruiting parties were insulted, their drums cut. The very children were taught to lisp scurrility; and 'Fencible' was the universal word of reproach. Perpetual affrays ensued, and the whole country was a scene of confusion. Neither was there ever perhaps any measure, this only excepted, where it could with truth be said that all parties concerned in it were losers. Government lost its popularity; the country lost its peace, together with the enormous sum expended in this useless service; and the individuals, who were disbanded soon after the conclusion of the war, not having had time to reimburse themselves the expense of raising their complements, not only lost their characters with the Volunteers and people, but, to the utter ruin of many, their money also. Resolutions were entered into through the whole kingdom by the Volunteers against the 'Fencible' service; perpetual excommunication was denounced against such of their members as should desert to those whom they deemed their enemies. Nay, the violence proceeded so far that, hostile as I had been to the measure, I thought it my duty to exert all my influence to check it, and hourly risked my popularity in defence of that which I had been so anxious to prevent. One curious circumstance I cannot omit mentioning: upon my return to town I waited on the lord lieutenant, and told him that I only came to ask his grace whether he recollected what had passed between us respecting the provincial scheme. He replied that he did. 'My mind then, my lord,' said I, 'is at ease; and were not my prophecies true?' 'They have, to my astonishment, been literally fulfilled.' 'And, pray, had you not fifty competitors in a day for commissions?' 'A hundred and fifty, by G—,' replied he. Nay, what was still more extraordinary, the very men, as I know to a certainty, whose applications had been negatived, were the most active to inflame the people, and to form the most violent resolutions against that service in which they had wished to take a part, and from which they were anxious to reap advantage. Such is the excess of political duplicity, and such are too often our most zealous patriots.

[Disappointed politicians.]

"And here I cannot avoid taking notice that in these times there appeared a revolution in men's apparent principles and conduct extremely whimsical, not to say ridiculous. Many, who had all their lives been the most abject tools of the court, who had uniformly resisted every effort which in the smallest degree tended to the advantage or honour of Ireland, who had trembled at any the most distant idea of resisting the ordinances of English government, or of daring to oppose what they affected to call 'the mother country,' and who had never given one patriotic vote, that only excepted into which they had been frightened, now at once became the most flaming patriots. Leaving far behind them such men as had at all times steadily adhered to those principles and to that line of conduct which had in the end produced the late salutary effects, and pretending dissatisfaction at all that had been done as inadequate to the intended purpose, though in reality actuated by the vile motives of disappointed avarice or ambition,—they impudently assumed the mask of patriotic zeal, factiously seized this and every other opportunity of increasing the public discontent, threw in their

dirt as fuel to the general flame, abused the government, and out-clamoured clamour. Such is the usual demeanour of unprincipled pseudo-proselytes even to the true faith.

[Unpopularity of "Fencible" regiments.]

"This unlucky measure, in itself sufficiently fraught with mischief, was rendered still more dangerous to the public tranquillity by a circumstance which government ought to have foreseen. A general election was not far distant, and four out of six of those who had accepted the command of these regiments were county members, and would naturally again be candidates; neither could it be imagined that such as meant to oppose their future pretensions would miss this favourable opportunity of rendering them unpopular, which could best be done by making the service into which they had entered as odious as possible to the people; and so well did they succeed in this attempt at the next ensuing election, that two of the candidates,[1] who had formerly carried their respective counties with the greatest facility, were fairly outpolled by such antagonists as without this advantage would have had little chance of success, and the other two were scarcely able to carry their elections at an enormous expense. To bring matters to this point, it may well be supposed that every effort was exerted to inflame the public animosity agains the 'Fencibles,' and to this cause much of the general inflammation must certainly be attributed.

[Efforts to allay disquietude.]

"I had now a delicate and difficult part to act, as I highly disapproved the measure, and as even an affected coldness with regard to it would have endangered that popularity by which I could alone be useful, I could not do otherwise than openly condemn it; yet my ardent wish for tranquillity, and my dread of the fatal consequences which might ensue from the turbulent spirit that had now been raised, induced me to use all my endeavours to allay the violence of the people, and particularly of the Volunteers. Resolutions had been entered into by some corps of a dangerous and seditious tendency, and others were preparing to follow the example. These I endeavoured to moderate, and with much difficulty prevailed so far as to confine their general tenor to a disapprobation of the measure, and a declaration that all such as had entered into the new service either as officers or as privates, should be incapable of serving as Volunteers. I clearly saw that, absurd as the measure was, the spirit of the times, roused and exalted by interested men, had given it more importance than it really deserved, and my consequent endeavours to put the matter rather into a ridiculous than a formidable light were in some degree useful, and served somewhat to allay the general ferment. Yet, notwithstanding all my efforts, this unlucky occurrence uniting itself with the former subjects of discontent, increased to the highest pitch the universal disquietude. Parties raged with tenfold violence. Government was everywhere reprobated. The country was in confusion, and the people were in a flame.

[Relations with the viceroy and his officials.]

"From this period I may also date a visible diminution of that court favour, which with me, thank heaven, could never be of long duration.

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[1] *See* p. 149.

I had ventured to disagree with those in confidence. I had resolutely supported my own opinion. I had strongly remonstrated against a favourite measure, and consequently, though every appearance of respect was artificially kept up, all confidential intercourse between me and the castle [of Dublin] was at an end. My services, for which however I must confess government, though it had undoubtedly profited by them, had no obligation, as they had been performed with no personal nor partial view, but with the sole intention to benefit my country, were totally forgotten, and the warm and cordial friendship, with which I had hitherto been treated, was frozen by degrees into cold complaisance; verifying a maxim, which I have ever held as uncontrovertible, and which my experience has at all times justified, that in Ireland, as in a country governed by delegated authority, court favour, and that kind of half confidence, which is all that an honest man can ever enjoy, ought to be despised and avoided as injurious to its possessor, and no way serviceable to the public.

[Position of viceroys in Ireland.]

"The viceroy himself is but a minister, usually entrusted with powers extremely circumscribed, and to be one of the many ministers of a minister is neither honourable nor useful. Limited to a certain line of conduct, he can seldom follow his own opinion, much less that of the persons with whom he consults. His plan of operation, which is always as favourable to British interests as the nature of the times will permit, is decided at his appointment, and his inability to depart from it, joined to his national partiality, and his desire to execute the task assigned, upon the performance of which his future interest depends, induces him ardently to espouse the prosecution of the original plan, and to disapprove of every measure which can in any degree impede or thwart it, careless of popularity in a country where he is not to remain, and where the love of the people might rather tend to injure than to serve him with his employers. Advice, if not followed, (which, by ministers at least, it seldom or never is, if contrary to their wishes,) always displeases the party to whom it is given, and the apparent confident of government, if he should venture to assert his principles, is sure to forfeit both influence and favour, and without having it any way in his power to forward good measures or prevent bad ones, will often find himself made in some degree responsible for them to that public, which sees his intercourse, but is ignorant of his inability. The man, whose only object is the power of serving himself and his dependents, and who consequently will go every length with every government, may preserve his influence, and obtain his wish. But let not the honest man deceive himself with the vain expectation that by [Dublin] castle favour he will be able to serve his country. His disappointment is certain. Even that disinterestedness, which he may think will both please and oblige, will strongly operate against him.[1] Government has in all instances a confirmed predilection for mercenaries, and will never place any real confidence in such servants as take no wages.

[Affairs in connection with demand for renunciation.]

"I shall now mention, as succinctly as possible, my conduct with respect to the contending parties upon the business of renunciation;

[1] In support of this observation, lord Charlemont refers to passages in the life of Pyrrhus, by Plutarch.

and, that the relation may be more satisfactory, shall carry it down to the final settlement under the administration of lord Temple, beyond the date of those letters to which what I have written was principally meant as an explanatory introduction.

"When first the doctrine of renunciation was broached, I viewed it in its true light, as the offspring of envy and disappointed ambition. Its first few abettors were all of them men, who, to my certain knowledge, had been frustrated in their views, interested, or ambitious. I was persuaded that the repeal, in consequence of our previous resolutions and requisitions, was a security as valid as any that could be obtained or desired. I clearly saw that our demand of renunciation might be construed into a presupposition and acknowledgment of a previous right existing in the British parliament, and an act framed at our request on purpose to renounce the right of binding Ireland, might, I feared, be construed to imply some such right pre-existing. I was therefore fixed in my opinion that no such demand ought ever, publicly, to be made, an opinion and determination from which I never could be induced to recede. I dreaded a refusal on the part of England, whose national pride, roused by reiterated, and, as she might deem, degrading applications, might prevail over her fears, and replunge us into those dangers we had so fortunately escaped, and which, though I would willingly have encountered them for the substance, it would have been foolish indeed to have hazarded for the shadow. I feared also that the policy of England might overreach us, and that her cunning dexterity, in union with her pride, might so word the renunciatory act, as to put us on worse and weaker ground than that we already stood upon, which however, as the present object of popular desire, would be eagerly seized and occupied by the people, without its being possible to open their eyes to any change of situation however disadvantageous. I was moreover thoroughly aware of the importance, and indeed the necessity of settlement and of national tranquillity at the present juncture, without which we should never be able to realize those great commercial advantages we had lately acquired. I clearly saw that the want of capital in Ireland disabled us from embracing those opportunities of trade which were now laid open to us, an obstacle which could only be obviated by an influx of money, as well as of skilful adventurers from England; and we had every reason to hope and to expect such an influx from the convenience of our situation for commerce, and still more from the enormous increase of taxes in our sister kingdom. But a state of political uncertainty, and a continuation of disturbances, which at a distance would be aggravated tenfold, must totally frustrate our expectations, as no man will transport his property and his trade into an unsettled country. Nay, the very contrary might be our lot, as England, apprehensive of commotion, might suddenly recall those great sums of money which were due to her from Ireland, to the utter ruin both of individuals and of the public. These considerations, together with my own conviction, induced me to use all my efforts to convince the people of the validity of their present security; neither will I venture to affirm, for who can always answer for the workings of his own mind, which is sometimes impressed and actuated by motives unknown even to himself, that the great share I had in procuring the present settlement might not in some degree have prejudiced me in its favour. Of this however I am confident that I acted upon honest principles, and argued to the best of my judgment, counteracting every possible influence even to a leaning towards the other side. But the situation of affairs was now essentially altered. Circumstances had changed, and I thought it my duty to change with them, and in some measure to alter my conduct,

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though my principles remained invariable. The efforts of the renunciators, aided by the folly of government, had succeeded even beyond their most sanguine expectations, and the people were inflamed even to madness; no tranquillity was to be hoped, unless the favourite object was somehow obtained. Our security, which at first was undoubtedly valid, had now been questioned by ourselves. The people had declared it weak, and by such declaration having essentially weakened it, something more might therefore be necessary. If England was sincere, as there was every reason to believe, a renunciation would cost her nothing. If, by any possibility, she meant unfairly, it might possibly be right to make the trial, provided it could be done without weakening our present ground; and I should never forgive myself if any future event should prove that I had been wrong in resisting the wishes of the people. Actuated by these considerations about this time,[1] I began to act a double, though I trust it will be deemed an honest part. Determined, for the reasons above mentioned, never to consent to a parliamentary demand of renunciation, and fearing that it could by no other means be obtained, I continued strenuously, at the risk of all my popularity, to controvert the popular opinion, and to persuade the people into contentment; while, on the other hand, careless of my private credit, which might be injured by any security being accepted in addition to that the validity of which I was hourly preaching, and which I had been instrumental in obtaining, I used my utmost endeavours to persuade government that, though in my private opinion enough had been done, renunciation on the part of England was now become absolutely necessary, and that the country would never be quiet without it.[2]

[Position of Grattan.]

"In this conduct I was however perfectly singular. Most of the party continued obstinate in support of our original measure, and Grattan in particular could hardly be induced to quit the ground he had first taken, and which he had so long and so ably defended. He looked upon the parliamentary promise of contentment as binding upon the nation, and peculiarly so upon him as mover of the address. Resentment naturally operated upon his mind, and however he might desire to serve, he could not warmly wish to oblige that people which had treated him so injuriously. The success of renunciation would be victory to his hated rival,[3] from whom the doctrine had first proceeded; and he detested the child for the sake of its parent. After what had been done for Ireland, after all he had asked had been granted, he deemed any further requisition on his part unwarrantable, and thought himself pledged to the support of the Portland administration not only in Ireland, but of the same connection in England also, whether in or out of power; and thus his private credit and his private animosities uniting themselves with party principle, he became in effect, perhaps even unknown to himself, a party man.

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[1] "I did not however fully adopt this line of conduct until the arrival of earl Temple, who succeeded to the duke of Portland on the fifteenth of September 1782." [C.]

[2] "The necessity of quieting the minds of the people by removing their doubts, and satisfying their wishes, was alone a motive sufficiently strong to induce me to take the part I did, respecting government. A renunciation, unasked by parliament, at the worst, was nugatory, and could possibly be productive of no bad effect. The public mind required it. . " [C.]

[3] Flood.

[The author's principles and views.]

"For my part I conceived myself perfectly at liberty, and pledged to nothing. As I acknowledged no party but that of my country, it was impossible I should be pledged to any private connection. I was too well acquainted with English parties to place, after the death of my dear and honest friend, much confidence in any of them. A steady Whig from principle,—I had almost said from nature,—I loved the Whigs, and would have hazarded my life firmly to establish their genuine tenets. But as I loved them for their principle, whenever they departed from that my affection must naturally give place to disapprobation. The truest friend to Christianity cannot always approve the conduct of churchmen. Besides the Whigs were splitting among themselves. Schism and separation had taken place, and I must necessarily adhere to those, who, in my opinion, adhere to the true faith. All principle, merely of party, I had long learned to despise, and could not help looking upon it as but one degree removed from the vile and degrading motive of private interest, or, at best, as no more than a wretched succedaneum to public virtue in a declining empire where every other tie was dissolved. Ireland, I thought, ought to be kept as clear as possible from the baneful influence of English faction; and, as for parties at home, I was determined to be no further connected with them than the service of my country required, firmly resolved never to suffer my public conduct to be influenced by any private motive whatsoever. Whether Grattan, or Flood, or indeed I myself were to enjoy the credit of liberating our country I looked upon as an object secondary indeed. My country's liberation, by what hand soever, was my first and dearest object. Her contentment, and consequent tranquillity, by which alone her strength could be established, and the independence of her constitution secured, united itself with this, and became, as it were, a part of it. Compared to this, all other objects could scarcely be styled secondary, nor was there, in my idea, 'quidquam simile aut secundum.'

[Change in English ministry.]

"The death[1] of my beloved friend lord Rockingham had now brought about, as I ever imagined it must, a great change in the English ministry. Those discordant spirits, which had only been held together by the universal confidence in his character, now flew asunder. Such is the prevailing influence of virtue even in a depraved age, and among those who value her least. The party was broken to pieces. Fox was displaced, and was followed by the Cavendishes, etc.; but such of the Whigs as were not his immediate adherents remaining attached to the royal party, lord Shelburne was put at the head of the new administration, which with such a head promised but little stability.

[Resignation of Portland.—Earl Temple appointed lord lieutenant.[2]]

"In consequence of this change the duke of Portland resigned, and was succeeded in his office by earl Temple,[3] the man indeed the best fitted of

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[1] On 1 July, 1782.

[2] George Grenville Nugent Temple. His patent of appointment as lord lieutenant was dated 17 August, 1782.

[3] "Immediately after his nomination, and previous to the formality of his appointment, I received a letter from him, a copy of which, together with my answer, will be inserted after my correspondence with lord Rockingham." [C.] *See* p. 97.

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any I ever knew for the conduct of Irish affairs. Endowed by nature with excellent abilities, he rendered their effect tenfold, by a diligence of which, in a man of his age, for he was not thirty, there never before had been an example. His love of business was such that he seemed to have no other passion. He did everything himself, and consequently everything was well done. His first object was to rectify the monstrous abuses into which all our numerous boards of expenditure had been indulged. This was indeed an Augean stable, and he was the Hercules who would have cleansed it. No subterfuge, no cunning could conceal the public defaulter. His piercing eye followed him through all the intricate mazes of confused accounts. No interest, no power could shield him. He threw himself upon the public, and set the great leaders with all their connections at defiance. But alas, his administration was too short for the vastness of his undertaking, and at his departure peculation rejoiced through all her various boards. Respecting matters of a more public nature, a review of which is more peculiarly the business of this essay, he came over strongly impressed with the idea that enough had been done by England, and that every new requisition should be strenuously withstood; and as a degree of warmth and perseverance in his own opinion, which bordered upon obstinacy, was perhaps the principal failing in this excellent chief governor,[1] there was reason to believe that he would be firm in resisting all innovation. His arrival however produced that kind of calm which is the usual effect of novelty, the people flattered themselves that a new lieutenant would seek popularity by complying with their wish, and that the present ministry would favour their demands, if it were but in opposition to the conduct of their predecessors, and to gain themselves the applause of perfecting what their antagonists had only begun, ignorant of this truth that, in respect to Irish constitution, all English ministers, of what party soever, think nearly alike. This calm however was but of short duration, and was, as is usual, succeeded by an increase of tempest.

[Publication ascribed to lord Beauchamp.]

"A pamphlet[2] now made its appearance, written by lord Beauchamp, or by some one for him, as many thought the composition too good for that cold-headed nobleman. Its object was to evince the insecurity of our present settlement, and the necessity of renunciation; and the arguments, though sophistical, were urged with so much ingenuity and apparent strength, that, coinciding with the public prepossession, it had much effect on the minds of the people, who were moreover influenced in its favour by the high rank of the supposed writer, and by the consideration of the immense property which his father possessed in Ireland. Party was undoubtedly the source of this publication, as it was difficult to believe that the son of the earl of Hertford,[3] who had also been his secretary during that administration when every claim of Ireland, either constitutional or commercial, was discountenanced and defeated, and who had, until now, uniformly espoused the usurped domination of England, should now have taken up the pen merely for the sake of this country. But his lordship was a violent opponent of the present English ministry, and to foment disturbances in Ireland was a party measure by no means unworthy of or foreign to the

[1] *See* p. 156.

[2] "A letter to the first Belfast company of Volunteers in the province of Ulster." Dublin: 1782.

[3] *See* p. 22.

character of the noble publisher. This manœuvre had all the desired effect. The renunciators extolled the pamphlet as the first of political productions, and the people, having now an authority on their side, whose influence in the British parliament might powerfully support their wishes, grew more and more anxious for their favourite point. Armed and unarmed they again became clamorous, and with one voice called aloud for renunciation.

[Cabinet council at Dublin.]

"Government was alarmed at the outcry, and the lord lieutenant under pretence of asking advice, but in reality wishing for authority in that line of conduct which he was previously determined to pursue, summoned a cabinet council, consisting of the chief judges and principal law officers, together with a very few laymen of the first weight and importance. Lord Temple opened the consultation by setting forth in strong colours the unreasonable clamours of the people, and desired the sentiments of all present respecting the validity of the present security, and the expediency of complying with the popular wish by any further requisition. The chancellor began, and the chief judges delivered their opinions seriatim, all of them declaring the security valid, and adding that they should think it their duty, in consequence of what had been done, never to suffer in their several courts any British act of parliament to be pleaded, or even to be read. The whole assembly joined in the same opinion; and all of them denied the necessity or expediency of any farther concession on the part of England, the lord chief baron Burgh[1] and myself only excepted; and when I join the name of that incomparable man, whose premature death his country will ever lament, with mine, I cannot but feel that perfect satisfaction which is always the result of having acted right. The sum of our joint opinion was that, though we heartily concurred with the other gentlemen in thinking the present settlement perfectly secure, yet were we convinced that to settle men's minds, and to procure national tranquillity, something more must be done, without which we were certain the country would never be quiet. It was very apparent that the lord lieutenant was somewhat displeased with this our declaration, which offended him the more as he was wholly unprepared for it, little suspecting that a servant of government, such as the judges have to their infamy been heretofore, too frequently with some degree of justice, supposed to be, should venture to differ from him in sentiment; or that I should give an opinion contrary to the interest of my own credit, and to that doctrine which I was daily preaching to the people.

"When every man had spoken his sentiments, and the council was upon the point of breaking up, he applied himself directly to me, and asked me to explain myself farther, as, from my manner of expressing myself, he could not be certain of my opinion on the question propounded. To this I answered by thanking him for giving me an opportunity of farther explanation, by repeating what I had already said of my firm faith in the validity of the repeal, and by enforcing in the strongest manner the absolute necessity of a speedy compliance with the wishes of the nation. This was undoubtedly a bad method of paying my court, and I plainly perceived that his excellency was not a little displeased. His good sense, however, his knowledge of the service I did by

[1] Walter Hussey Burgh, prime sergeant, Ireland, 1776, appointed chief baron in 178[1], died in 1782.

the manner in which my influence was employed, and perhaps his opinion of the honesty of my intentions, soon put an end to his resentment.

[Interviews with lord Temple.]

"I saw him often. Our interviews usually produced a conversation upon the subject that had been discussed in the council, and commonly ended in a sort of half quarrel, he insisting 'that the people were unreasonable, that there would be no end to their requisitions, influenced as they were by some who had an interest in keeping them perpetually agitated; that they must no longer be humoured in their fantastic desires; that, since the present security was allowed to be perfect, a stand should here be made, and that he was determined never to give way;' and I as constantly answering him, that, 'though I allowed his arguments their full weight, yet was I confident, from my knowledge of the people, and of their persevering spirit, that it would be necessary in this particular to comply with their wishes, without which tranquillity could never be expected; that this also must be done without any demand on our part, to which I would never consent;' and our conversations generally concluded by my positively assuring him that, notwithstanding his present firmness, he himself would ere long be convinced of the necessity, and prudently give way.

[Movements of Dublin lawyers.]

"About this time a committee, which had been long since appointed by the lawyers' corps to take into consideration the question of repeal and renunciation, and to declare their opinion thereon, met, and continued for some time sitting. As this corps was supposed to consist of lawyers, and consequently of adepts in legal and constitutional knowledge, the result of their deliberation would naturally have much weight with the people, as well as with their brother Volunteers, and government therefore anxiously endeavoured to prevail on them to give an opinion conformable to its wish. All efforts however were fruitless, and strong resolutions were entered into and published in favour of renunciation, which had the stronger effect upon men's minds in proportion to the well-known exertions of government. A measure, very weak in my opinion, was now pursued. Counter-resolutions, in the nature of a protest, were drawn up and signed by several of the crown lawyers, and by a few gentlemen; and it was farther proposed that the signature should be increased by the names of as many lawyers and laymen of consequence as could be procured. As I had not been called to the meeting where this measure was resolved on, for reasons sufficiently obvious, the result was communicated to me by Grattan, who warmly desired that I should add my name to those of the protestors. But, certain as I was of the futility, as well as the unpopularity of the measure, knowing that a protest so fabricated would be looked upon by the people merely as a court manœuvre, and by no means as a collection of legal opinions, confident that this proceeding would tend still more to incense the multitude; unwilling to degrade myself, and a great and peculiar privilege of the peerage, by protesting in company with a parcel of lawyers, and determined not to pledge myself to a point, which I was persuaded must, in the end, be given up, I positively refused; and in consequence of my refusal, and of some vain efforts which had been made to draw in others, the scheme dropped, and was heard no more of, unless in the exultation and derision of the adverse party.

[Decision of chief justice Mansfield.[1]]

"Affairs were thus circumstanced when an event happened in England which brought on an effectual crisis. Previous to the late settlement a certain cause had, according to the usual course, been brought by writ of error from the courts here before the king's bench in England, and, having been for some time delayed, was now moved upon, and judgment demanded. By the perfect restoration of Irish judicature no such writ of error could lie, nor could any cause be determined out of the kingdom; but the lord chief justice Mansfield, either from his usual leaning against constitutional principle, or wishing to embarrass an administration to which he was no friend, or because he thought himself justified by law, or probably from all these reasons put together, received the appeal, and decided upon it in affirmation of the judgment of the Irish court, declaring that he had no judicial knowledge of what had been done in Ireland, that he must act in conformity to the inveterate usage of the court uncontradicted and uncontrolled by any English statute, and that, at all events, this writ of error had taken place previous to the late innovations.

[Results of lord Mansfield's decision.]

"As soon as this transaction was known in Ireland the nation was universally inflamed. Though in effect there had been no infringement upon our legislative rights, and though with respect to our judicial powers what had now happened could never again take place, as no man would ever bring a writ of error which could not in any way avail him, yet it was apparent that an attack had been made upon the late settlement. The alarm was general. The most moderate grew violent, and the renunciators exclaimed that the futility of their adversaries' arguments was now evident, as, notwithstanding the boasted compact, a direct attack had now been made upon national independence; that England had shown her insincerity, and would not stop here, but would continue her efforts till the kingdom was again enslaved.

[Interview with lord Temple.]

Upon this occasion lord Temple sent for me. I never saw a man more thoroughly enraged. He abused lord Mansfield in the harshest terms, and proceeded with such precipitation and violence that for a long time I could not get leave to utter a word. Indeed it was not surprising that he should be agitated, as the manœuvre had broken through all his schemes of unpurchased pacification. At length, his passion subsiding, I took advantage of the pause, and coolly replied, 'that I could not help seeing this matter in a light very different from that in which his excellency viewed it. That I looked upon the event as the most fortunate that could have happened; that though lord Mansfield had never been a favourite of mine, and though even in this transaction I would by no means justify his intention, yet, in consideration of the effect which would be produced if a subscription were set on foot for erecting a statue to him, I would myself subscribe largely. That a glorious opportunity was now given of contenting the people without any possibility of injuring our security, or even our credit. That it was obviously

[1] William, earl of Mansfield, chief justice, king's bench, England.

certain that an English law must now pass binding upon the king's bench of England, and positively enacting that no writ of error from Ireland should ever more be received there, and that in the preamble, or in some other part of this act, a positive renunciation might, with the utmost propriety, be inserted. That the law would be enacted purely in consequence of an English transaction, and would have its operation upon an English court of justice, and that therefore my strongest argument against renunciation, to wit, that any English act made at the requisition of Ireland on purpose to give up all right of binding this kingdom by British acts of parliament, would be in them so enacting a declaration, and in us so demanding a recognition, of previous right, was completely done away; that such declaration of the independence of Irish legislature as should be thus obtained would be merely accidental and unasked, and as such must be highly satisfactory to all parties, whose reasons or prejudices would by these means be all of them perfectly satisfied; and that the credit of government would also thus be saved, as it would appear that this law was enacted merely upon the spur of the occasion, and not in compliance with popular clamour, or from any fear of its consequences. I was therefore happy in what had passed, certain as I was that, if taken advantage of and properly managed, this occurrence would be in the highest degree advantageous to the empire, to Ireland, to the people, to government, and to the parties.'

[Conduct of lord Temple.]

"His excellency seemed highly pleased with what I had said, though the idea was probably by no means new to him, and immediately set himself seriously and strenuously to negotiate the business with English administration. Some difficulties however yet occurred. The form of an act, which he transmitted, was drawn in terms so strong as a little to affect and mortify the pride of England, and he had also, to satisfy the more violent repealists, taken care to insert some expressions which justified their doctrine and consequent conduct. The draught was, with all possible expedition, forwarded to England, and lord Temple declared that he would not depart from a tittle of its present tenor, but that, if it did not pass precisely as he sent it he would instantly resign the government of Ireland, a threat which he had it in his power to put into immediate execution, having stipulated, when he first accepted the vice-royalty, that a clause should be inserted in his patent empowering him to resign when he should think proper, without even the formality of asking leave. Notwithstanding this, the draught was sent back somewhat modified, a little impaired in strength of expression, though not in effect. A letter from lord Sidney, secretary of state, accompanied it, beseeching his excellency to accept it as it then was, since, by insisting upon the harsher terms of his own draught, much disturbance might be created. Lords Thurloe and Loughborough, those inveterate enemies to Irish constitution, and other law lords of the cabinet, had declared that, if it were to be forced upon them as at first framed, they would protest against it in the house of lords. This intelligence lord Temple communicated to me, and strongly expressed his concern at being obliged to relinquish a single tittle of his own draught; but added that, since this bill was in effect, though not in words, the same with that which he had sent over, he thought it expedient rather to accept it in its present shape, than to hazard a division upon it in parliament, and a protest from the English law lords, which might hereafter be far more injurious to the cause than the words, which were changed, could be serviceable

to it. For my own part I thought his reasoning conclusive; and as, in the opinion of the best lawyers, the act, as now framed, had every constitutional effect that could be desired, I deemed it prudent not to cavil for mere words, under the certainty of a division, and of the threatened protest. By some accident, and for what reason I know not, unless possibly in opposition to the duke of Portland, who was then a violent opponent to administration, the words, which had been inserted to justify the party of the repealists, were essentially altered, and so softened that the intended meaning was done away. But this, I confess, gave me little concern, and in justice to Grattan I must say that on this occasion he very handsomely gave up the interest of his own credit, and, though not without a little murmur, acceded to the passing the act in its present form. Lord Temple, however, did not get off from this transaction clear of abuse. Many of the party declared themselves highly dissatisfied at having, as they termed it, been thus sacrificed, ridiculing the boasted firmness of the lord lieutenant, who, after all his threats of resignation, had tamely submitted to the mutilation of his bill. Indeed, many of them found a more real cause of displeasure in the frustration of their sanguine hope that his obstinacy would have rid them of a viceroy, with whose person and administration they were, from motives of an interested nature, most sincerely dissatisfied.

[Act of renunciation.—Popular enthusiasm.]

"The draught, with some very slight alterations, more for credit's sake than for any other reason, was again sent back to England, where it passed unanimously. Thus was the settlement at length finally concluded to the universal satisfaction of the nation; and such was the general joy that, as it usually happens in moments of popular exultation, every consideration of prudence was near being lost in the lively feelings of the people. A measure was likely to be adopted, which would, in my opinion, have been in the highest degree impolitic and dangerous in its tendency. Addresses of thanks, conceived in the frenzy of gratitude, and consequently ardent and unguarded, were prepared to be sent up to the throne by several corps of Volunteers, in which they would undoubtedly have been imitated by all their fellow-soldiers, and probably by the whole nation. My influence was, however, fortunately sufficient to put an immediate stop to this imprudent sally of joy, and I did not fail strenuously to exert it, convinced as I was that Ireland ought to take no notice of what had passed in the sister kingdom, but to consider it merely as a matter of course, and of internal regulation, and persuaded that 'to thank' for a renunciation was the next bad step to the 'asking' for it, and would be productive of inferences and effects almost equally fatal to our dignity and to our security. To restrain the impetuosity of the people is the most difficult part of his duty who wishes to conduct them wisely and to their own advantage; and in Ireland, where men's feelings are certainly of the better kind, a popular leader will find it far more easy to check the ebullitions of rash resentment than those of sudden joy and gratitude, which have often, in this good-natured country, been productive of the most unsalutary consequences.

[Duke of Portland and his relatives in Ireland.]

"All parties now seemed perfectly satisfied,[1] except some of the more violent repealists, who thought themselves ill treated by administration,

[1]. "All seemed well pleased; all seemed, but were not all. Besides those whose dissatisfaction is accounted for in the text, there was one dissatisfied class, which for

and accused the lord lieutenant of having sacrificed their party, which had in effect been that of government, to the rancour of their adversaries, to the whim of the people, and to his fear of the English minister; and their disgust upon this account served as a veil to cover motives of a still more interested nature, which induced them greatly to dislike the present administration, and heartily to wish its dissolution. The duke of Portland had many near relations in this kingdom, men who had, not long since, been at the head of affairs, and whose connections were widely spread. By their unconstitutional influence in parliament they had formerly governed the kingdom, and, forcing every administration to resort to them for support, had formed an aristocracy equally disgusting to government and to the people. Fully satisfied to do all the dirty business of the court, provided they were at the same time suffered to do their own, there was no bound nor end to their pretensions. All emolument, and even honours, passed through their hands; nor was there ever a period when both were more injuriously or wantonly lavished, and government was obliged to comply with their most extravagant desires, under a pretence that they could not otherwise carry through the king's business. The lord lieutenant, like an eastern monarch, sat at ease in the castle, presiding at dinners, balls, and levées, while these viziers exerted all the powers of the state, to the diminution of the nobility and gentry, and of all others, their own creatures only excepted. The impatience of government under this shameful restraint, the consequent disuse of lords justices, some of whom had always been chosen from among them, the octennial law, the act for the trial of elections,[1] and the rising spirit of the times, had at length put a period to their usurped power, and for some time past they had been degraded into their natural influence. Their hopes were however again raised by a lieutenant of their own blood, and an English ministry with many of whose members they were connected and allied. As moderation was never among their attributes, they now asked for everything, and the duke's family affection[2] and easiness of temper had induced him too lavishly to give way to their craving appetite, now still more sharpened by their long fast, in the distribution of lucrative offices. His grace's

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the honour of human natnre, as well as because the fact will scarcely be credited, I am ashamed and loath to mention; and yet it is, I fear, but too certain that some innate slaves there were, who inwardly repined at the liberty they had obtained. It is strange, but, I fear, true that, among the various characters of those who wear human faces, there are some few sordid wretches who delight in slavery. Yet, as this unnatural appetite might appear impossible if not in some degree accounted for, perhaps we may solve the difficulty by referring it to that base satisfaction, which some may feel in lording it over others, while they themselves are lorded over. The usurped domination of England had conferred upon English government a power as great as it was unconstitutional, some share of which must necessarily have devolved upon the tools of state, who now secretly regretted that bondage which secured to them subordinate rule. The Turkish bashaw, who hourly dreads the loss of those treasures, which he has torn from the bowels of those committed to his charge, and who trembles at the perpetually recurring idea of the fatal bowstring, is however meanwhile happy in the power of ruining and of strangling others." [C.]

[1] "Commonly known by the name of Greenville's act. This was indeed a brain-blow to the faction; for, while disputed elections were decided by the house, their influence was sure, in spite of justice, to secure the seat for their friend. The wrongs they committed in this line were innumerable, and to the last degree atrocious. The representation of Ireland was, in effect, in their hands; every candidate must be their suitor, no matter who had the majority of votes. If their dependant was routed in the country, he petitioned, and his success was infallible." [C.]

[2] "This weakness, however amiable, had certainly injured the credit of his grace's administration, especially with those whose views were disappointed by it. . ." [C.]

resignation, which had put an end to that influence of which they had made so intemperate a use, had also disappointed in their hopes of preferment many others of the party, some their immediate dependants, and some who had lately joined their faction, as likely once more to become the source of emolument.

[Claims on lord Temple.]

"Lord Temple had, it is true, made it a point to provide for all those who had been recommended to him by his predecessor; but as such provision did not come quick enough to satisfy their anxious impatience, and as many had not been recommended, nor even thought of by the duke, however highly they might rate their own pretensions, they could not wish well to an administration which had frustrated their hopes, and which moreover was a declared enemy, and unrelenting persecutor of those jobs, from the existence and prosperity of which many of them derived their principal support, and all of them their future expectations. Actuated by these real grievances, and covering themselves under the specious pretence of the dereliction of their party, all this class of men continued to hate and to malign the present chief governor, though his conduct was such as to make them afraid, for I will not say ashamed, openly to oppose him. I, for my own part, whose object was neither power nor emolument, nor even popular reputation, though from the rank I held in the party, certainly more interested in its credit than most of the murmurers, was perfectly contented. I should indeed have been well pleased if the doctrine of the repealists, for the truth of which I had publicly made myself responsible, had been authentically established by an assertion in the English act, as was first intended, of the perfect sufficiency of our original security, but could not be displeased when the great object of my heart was attained by the uncontroverted emancipation and apparent contentment of my country. My public joy was too great, too transcendent to leave room for any feeling of private discontent; and such, in my opinion, ought to have been the sensations of every real lover of his country. For it has ever been my unalterable principle that no private concern whatsoever should in any sort interfere with the public utility, and that the man who rejoices less in the advantage of that community of which he himself is a part, because in his own particular he may be a loser, is neither a true patriot nor a wise man

"The foregoing detail will undoubtedly appear much more than sufficient for an introduction to the following letters; but I have been willing to take this opportunity of giving a true and impartial, though certainly neither a full nor an adequate account of these remarkable and important transactions, of which I had an intimate knowledge, 'et quorum pars magna fui.' . .

[Letter from Rockingham.]

At the beginning of this struggle of parties, and soon after the vote for levying of seamen, I received the following letter from the marquis of Rockingham, by the hand of captain Mac Bride,[1] of whose merit I need say nothing, as the naval history of Britain sufficiently records his praise:

1782, June 17, London. "'The state of my health continues but moderate. The influenza attacking me, while I was only recovering from

[1] A distinguished Irishman; he became admiral of the red, and died in 1795.

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my old complaints, renders me little capable of much active labour, and yet somehow I contrive to get through a good deal of business, though in some matters I must run in arrear.

"'I thank your lordship for your last kind and cordial letter. I rejoice that your lordship is pleased and satisfied with our conduct, as ministers, and be assured, my dear lord, that those persons, whom formerly you honoured with your friendship, as individuals, (because you approved their principles) will continue to act both towards Ireland, and towards promoting the general good of the empire, internally and externally, with the same zeal and liberal ideas, which have hitherto characterized their conduct.

"'There are matters, which may want adjustment in the new state in which England and Ireland now stand. I heartily wish that no time was lost on either side in accelerating the adjustment of any matters, which might hereafter cause any disputes or misunderstandings, and that this happy moment of friendship and cordiality and confidence between the countries was made use of, to form and arrange plans of mutual and reciprocal support.

"'Nothing was ever better timed, than the kind offer made by Ireland of furnishing 20,000 men for the service of the fleet. Lord Keppel has sent one of the best and most alert men in the navy to superintend and to receive the men, which the zeal of Ireland will furnish. Captain Mac Bride has no occasion for my panegyrics, but in writing to a friend like your lordship, it is natural for me to say something in behalf of one I have a great regard for, and who probably in this business may have frequent intercourse with your lordship.

"'Lord Keppel assures me, that if he had a supply of seamen, he could add in three weeks not less than 14 ships of the line to the fleet which lord Howe will command.

"'It will indeed at present be but a very scanty fleet with which lord Howe will be able to proceed to sea. I verily believe, if France and Spain are alert, their fleet may be more than double the number of ours, but could we be enabled to send also ten or fourteen additional ships, along with, or soon to join lord Howe, I should have the utmost reliance that the ability and conduct of lord Howe would afford us the most pleasing prospect of success, even though the enemies' fleet might still be superior to ours in actual number of line of battle ships. Nothing but the friendly efforts of Ireland can rapidly furnish men for these ships.

"'I take the opportunity of writing to your lordship by the messenger whom I send to the duke of Portland, to convey to his grace, in a safe and expeditious manner, his majesty's gracious confirmation and approbation of the resolution of the house of commons of Ireland, in granting 50,000*l.* to be laid out in the purchase of land for Mr. Grattan.

"'As soon as I received at the treasury the communication from the duke of Portland, I directed the warrant to be prepared and took the earliest opportunity of laying it before his majesty for his signature.

"'The proceedings in Ireland are upon a large and liberal scale, and though economy may be a necessary virtue in a state, yet in the rewarding great public merit, narrow ideas on that subject are not good policy. . .'

[Letter to Rockingham.]

"To this most kind and affectionate letter, which was still more endeared to me as being written at a time when my poor friend was so

ill as to be scarcely able to attend to business, I immediately returned the following answer, in which will be seen my thoughts, even at that early period, upon the question of repeal and renunciation, which was then lately set on foot, and, aided by the unremitting endeavours of the discontented, was beginning to agitate the minds of men. From this answer will also appear the alacrity with which I had undertaken the business of the seamen. At a great meeting at the Tholsel in Dublin, I was in the chair, and was directed, as chairman, to write to the several sheriffs through every part of Ireland, warmly recommending this necessary service, an order which I immediately executed, and received from all parts the most satisfactory answers :

"1782, June [17], Dublin.—'The satisfaction which your letters always afford me has been in this last instance not a little allayed by the accounts you give me of the present weak state of your health, a point in which at all times my affection for you must highly interest me, but in which I am now more peculiarly concerned, not only as a friend, but as a lover of my country. Yet am I encouraged to hope the best when I reflect that Providence, which seems now at length to have interposed in behalf of this declining empire, will restore that health, and protect that life with which its safety and prosperity are so intimately connected.

"'Your lordship will have heard from the duke of Portland the result of the great meeting at Dungannon. All has gone well in spite of the amazing activity of those who wish to propagate through the nation their own discontents. One awkward circumstance alone has happened which, in the present situation of affairs, it might not perhaps have been wise to have controverted. The address to the king has been sent over by delegates from the meeting. Upon this matter I have had a long conference with the lord lieutenant, and his grace has, I believe, written to your lordship, explaining the necessity that these gentlemen should return to Ireland as well satisfied as the nature of the thing will admit with the success of their commission. He mentioned to me that, though etiquette must preclude his majesty from giving any answer to the address, your lordship would probably invite the gentlemen to dinner on the day of the delivery, and would take an opportunity of giving them such an answer as might be satisfactory. This measure I take the liberty humbly to recommend to your lordship as salutary and necessary.

"'The important business of the seamen will, I trust, succeed to our wishes ; no efforts of mine have been wanting, and you may be assured that I shall continue my exertions. Nothing can possibly impede the service but this unlucky discontent which some have endeavoured to spread abroad respecting the repeal of the sixth of George the First being unaccompanied by any renunciating clause or preamble. Though I am convinced of the sincerity of Great Britain, and think we stand upon excellent ground, I wish it had been otherwise, as in that case no means of exciting discontent could, I imagine, possibly have remained. Your lordship, however, will have seen the Dungannon resolution respecting the seamen. With 25,000 men thus pledged to assist in recruiting I think we cannot fail, even though the ardour of some among them may be slackened by the cause above mentioned, a cause which I have endeavoured, and shall labour by every means in my power to remove, even though my popularity were to be hazarded by such attempt. For, however dearly I may hold the love of the people, if a constant perseverance in the service of my country can not retain it, I should account it neither honourable nor satisfactory.

"'The paragraph in your lordship's letter, where you mention that in the new state in which England and Ireland now stand there are matters which may want adjustment, I do not entirely comprehend. That all future disputes or misunderstandings should be obviated is undoubtedly a principle of which no man can disapprove, but till your lordship shall be pleased particularly to specify the means by which this great object may be attained, it is impossible for me to form any judgment, or to give any opinion.

"'I am extremely obliged to your lordship for your kind alacrity in carrying into execution the vote of the House of Commons in behalf of my friend Grattan. No man has ever merited more from his country than he has done ; and his present conduct in labouring with me to check the ill effects which, without our united efforts, might have been produced by the exertions of the discontented, is, in my opinion, a continuation of his merits.

"'I was a few days since favoured with a letter from my friend Burke, which, from ill health, for I also have had my influenza, and from a variety of business, civil and military, I have not yet been able to answer. Will your lordship be so kind to make my apology, and to present my most affectionate compliments to him ?'

"The paragraph in lord Rockingham's letter respecting the necessity of an adjustment in the new relative state in which England and Ireland now stood, probably alluded to some arrangement relative to commerce. This was delicate and dangerous ground, as even the independence of Ireland in point of her external legislation might be involved in the question, and it was therefore absolutely necessary that I should be cautious not in any degree to pledge myself. At this time some vague and undetermined ideas had been suggested upon this subject by the duke of Richmond, in which symptoms appeared of a tendency to encroachment. My knowledge of this, and my fear of the consequences, obliged me, however unwillingly, to answer this part of my friend's letter rather as a politician than as a friend, a hard necessity, which I most sensibly felt. We have since seen the danger of commercial negotiation, though I am thoroughly convinced that such propositions as the accursed one-and-twenty[1] would never have come from a ministry where lord Rockingham presided.

"The following letter was written to lord Rockingham immediately after the repeal had taken place :

"'In this season of national joy, this scene of universal congratulation is it possible that I should be silent ? It would be improper, and, thank heaven, my feelings render it impossible also. I, who in addition to the public cause at which every Irishman rejoices, feel in my private capacity every tender motive of heartfelt satisfaction, who have not only to exult in the liberty of my country, but have also the delight of knowing that the man, who has long been dear to my heart, has had so large a share in promoting the restoration of that liberty. Suffer me then to join felicitations to my acknowledgments and to congratulate you upon the situation in which you now stand ; a situation, which, to one who feels like you, must be happy beyond expression, conscious as you must be that you have been a principal cause of the felicity of a whole nation, and that principally through your means the union of the empire is secured by the indissoluble bonds of mutual freedom and consequent affection. Permit me also on a more private score to thank you for having reconciled my duty to my inclination, by enabling me to devote my

[1] Introduced by Thomas Orde in 1785.

endeavours to the support of an administration, any opposition to which would have made me miserable, and which, from the earnest already given us, there is every reason to be confident will claim as their due the hearty support of every independent man, of every sincere lover of his country.

"'The last letter, which I had the honour of writing to your lordship, contained a faithful statement of the situation of this kingdom, and my ardent solicitations in its behalf. All that I could desire has been perfectly complied with, and consequently this should be a letter purely of acknowledgment, for I cannot avoid indulging my vanity, however, perhaps ill-founded, so far as to suppose that even the opinion of a simple individual, upon whose fidelity you could depend, might possibly have had some little weight with you; and this flattering idea I am the rather induced to nourish, when I reflect on that generous friendship with which you have so long honoured me. Impressed by this imagination, how vain and ideal soever it may be, what must be my feelings, and how can I express the acknowledgments of my heart? But the attempt would be fruitless, and my vain endeavours would detain you too long; I shall therefore hasten to conclude. Allow me to request that you would present my most affectionate compliments to my old friend Burke.—Charlemont.'

"The following is a copy of the address to me from the Dungannon meeting, acquainting me with my having been appointed commander-in-chief of the Volunteers of Ulster:

"The address of the Volunteer army of Ulster assembled by their delegates at Dungannon on the 21st June 1782.

"'My lord,—At a period so great and important as the present, when our country is emancipated from the assumed jurisdiction of a foreign legislature, when our long-complained of grievances are done away by the plighted faith of our sister kingdom, that those claims, which were founded alone in usurpation, shall never again be resumed,—at this ever-memorable era,—it is with peculiar pleasure we address your lordship; which, whilst it gives us an opportunity to congratulate you on this most important event, enables us to pour forth our most genuine sentiments of gratitude to a nobleman who has ever distinguished himself as the assertor of the rights of this country. We should be wanting in justice to your lordship's merit, as well as to our own feelings, were we not to confer the most distinguished mark of approbation upon a character of so exalted worth. We have therefore this day unanimously elected your lordship general and commander-in-chief of the Volunteer army of Ulster, conceiving that, to a nobleman of your lordship's public feelings and patriotic principles, a compliment coming from the free, unbiassed, and unanimous voice of a virtuous people will be deemed by you the highest honour. We further rejoice in this new tie of connection between us, trusting that you will become such a centre of union as will tend to increase that spirit which has recently produced such substantial benefits to this country. Long and steadily have you, and your virtuous, patriotic friends laboured in the cause of your country. Your wishes are at length accomplished. Go on, persevere to be the guardian of those rights we have attained. Relying on your approved integrity, we pledge ourselves to support you on all necessary occasions, being confident we shall never be deceived.—William Irvine, chairman; James Dawson, secretary.[1]

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[1] "Among other resolutions, the following was unanimously entered into at this great meeting:—'Resolved unanimously that a monument be erected at Dungannon in commemoration of the meeting of the Volunteer delegates of this province on the

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"To this address, which was delivered to me at Belfast, immediately after the review, I returned the following answer:

"'Gentlemen,—The honour conferred on me by your unanimous resolution, and by your consequent address, is so great and so singular that, while it most peculiarly requires my acknowledgments, it baffles my powers of expression; and I must therefore rely upon your kind opinion of my heart to supply the place of thanks.

"'The measure of uniting the Volunteer army of Ulster into one great body is certainly replete with wisdom; neither is there anything defective in the idea, except perhaps the choice which your kind partiality has made of me for your general, a preference which can only have arisen from an ardent wish strongly to mark and to make known to the world your approbation of that line of political conduct which I have pursued, and perhaps also from an opinion, which it is not my interest to controvert, that zeal in your commander is preferable even to abilities.

"'If anything could enhance the honour you have done me, it would certainly be the auspicious season in which it is conferred, when the rights of Ireland have been vindicated, and her liberty established; when the temperated valour and the animated wisdom of the Irish Volunteers have prevailed over every obstacle, demonstrating to the admiring world the true and genuine scope and spirit of their association, the defence of their country at every risk, and the firm, the unremitting, determination to render it worthy to be defended; and when finally you have shown that the most ardent zeal is by no means incompatible with virtuous moderation, but, having obtained every benefit for which you sought, have wisely seized the moment when you ought to be satisfied, and, unbiassed, undeluded, have nobly expressed your satisfaction.

"'There is no part of your address which affords me more heartfelt pleasure than the hope which you have so kindly expressed that, in the high situation to which your goodness has exalted me, I may become such a centre of union as may tend to increase that spirit which has recently produced such substantial benefits to this country. Yes, gentlemen, exclusive of the honour I have received, the greatest of which I can form any idea, I sincerely rejoice in this new tie of connection between us, and you may be assured that, as far as my powers extend, I will ever co-operate with you watchfully to guard, and at every hazard to protect those rights which we have now obtained; neither shall you ever have reason to repent that generous confidence with which you pledge yourselves to support upon all necessary occasions the man who is bound to you by every tie of principle, of affection, and of gratitude. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obliged, most faithful and devoted humble servant,—Charlemont.'

"The following letters are inserted merely with a view of showing the difficulties I sometimes met with in conducting the Volunteers, and the toilsome means I was compelled to pursue in regulating the irregular sallies of a set of men, brave and honest, but, as must naturally be expected, rash and precipitate, whose virtuous zeal, easily inflamed by

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21st of February, 1782, in which monument the earl of Charlemont and Mr. Grattan shall be particularly distinguished.' This resolution, however, together with another of the same tendency entered into by the lawyers' corps principally in behalf of Grattan, remained unexecuted, from the subsequent rage of party discontent, and through the difficulty of collecting subscriptions. It is whimsically singular that this same lawyers' corps, in a very short time after passing the resolution above mentioned, was brought, upon the business of repeal and renunciation, to be one of the most inveterate against Grattan." [C.]

the machinations of the designing, it was often necessary to repress, though by no means to suppress. This was also to be done without endangering that good opinion upon which alone were founded my hopes of being able to serve my country by securing her tranquillity. These letters I have selected [1] from among many which I was compelled to write upon various occasions.

"During my absence in the north, where I was busily employed in reviewing the Ulster army, and in quelling discontents, the Goldsmiths' corps, of Dublin, which at a very early period had put itself under my command, warmly partaking in the general alarm, occasioned by lord Abingdon's speech[2] in the English house of lords, entered into strong resolutions against the service of recruiting seamen, in which they had been zealously active. These resolutions were sent to me by their secretary, with a letter remarkably kind and polite, to which I returned the following answer:

"'Sir,—However I may disapprove of the resolutions which you sent me enclosed as hasty and precipitate, I cannot but thank the gentlemen of the corps for their kind conduct with regard to me, and you for the politeness of your letter. Your wish to apply to me for my approbation was all the compliment I had any right to expect, and, in my unlucky absence, an application to your lieutenant-colonel [3] was right and proper. It happens, however, unfortunately that in this instance my sentiments and those of colonel Flood, which have usually been similar, essentially differ, and I trust that, had I been in town, I should have been able to have urged such arguments as would have prevented a proceeding which, coming from a corps that I have the honour to command, has, I confess, given me much uneasiness. In the perpetual hurry of my present occupation it is impossible for me to detail upon paper the many reasons which, in my opinion, ought to have induced you at least to have suspended your resolution; I shall therefore content myself, for the present, with saying that this country would indeed be in a condition miserably precarious and humiliating if every rash expression which may fall from any imprudent individual should be able to change our sentiments, to shake our determinations, and, by exciting our jealousies,

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[1] "I should not have said that these letters were selected. The truth is, that of the many I was compelled to write upon this occasion, foul copies of these only remained in my possession, from which I have exactly copied. Indeed, all the transcripts of my own letters I have given in these papers have been transcribed from foul copies, and for this reason they are probably still more incorrect even than those which were sent to their several destinations. But I have chosen to give them as they were first hastily written, rather than by correcting in any degree to change them." [C.]

[2] "An account of this speech and of its extraordinary effects is given in page [66]." [C.]

[3] "By my warm recommendation, and upon a motion made by me, the goldsmiths' corps [of Dublin] had unanimously elected for their lieutenant-colonel Henry Flood, who until then had no important command in the Volunteer service, which at the beginning, alarmed at the possible consequences, he had rather disapproved, but which he afterward warmly espoused. I was, I confess, at this time a little angry, upon a supposition that my friend had taken advantage of my absence to recommend to my own corps a measure of which he knew I must disapprove. Flood, however, took the first opportunity of assuring me that he had no hand in the transaction, but that, on the contrary, he had earnestly recommended to the corps to take no step till they had previously consulted with me. Yet he afterwards took a part at which I had some reason to be offended, going down to Belfast, the Ulster capital of the Volunteers' strength and spirit, where I was endeavouring to quiet men's minds, and suffering himself to be invited to the meeting of officers, who usually assembled after the review to draw up an address to me as general. Here he co-operated with the discontented in their endeavours to put into the address matter of the most inflammatory nature, in which however he was defeated by my influence, and by the superior strength of my party." [C.]

to disturb the national confidenee and tranquillity. Is it reasonable to expeet, or possible to suppose, that the whole people of Great Britain should in any sentiment whatsoever be perfectly unanimous, or that in a populous nation there should not arise some unreasonable individuals who will give vent to their passions, and make use of their privilege of speaking to deelare their crude ideas in contradiction to the generally received opinions and resolves? And shall we suffer ourselves to be agitated by their wild suggestions? Shall a people, such as we have shown ourselves, and as the world esteems us, forfeit our eharacter of steadiness, and veer at the slight impulse of every breath of discontent? But it will be said that the speech of lord Abingdon ought to have been replied to, and so it was in the properest and most explieit manner. This fact has not probably come to your knowledge; if it had, your resolutions would, I am confident, have been prevented. As no motion whatsoever was made, no debate could arise, but the ehancellor asked lord Abingdon whether he intended to make any motion, for that, if he did, sueh motion would be opposed. The chancellor is, you know, in the house of lords, the mouthpiece of administration, and, when he speaks uncontradicted, is always supposed to declare the sense of the house. In eonsequence of this rebuff, lord Abingdon poeketed his bill, and it does not even lie upon the table. Sueh is the transaction which has given you so mueh disquiet; sueh is the transaction which has agitated the minds of men upon whom a great nation relies for support; sueh is the transaetion which has indueed you to disclaim proceeding in a serviee to which the nation is pledged both by honour and by interest, a serviee essentially necessary to yourselves, as the only intent of the present levies is to man the channel fleet, for the defence of your own coast, as well as of that of Great Britain, and to enable us to cope with our inveterate enemies in those seas, where their deeided superiority must necessarily end in invasion. But I did not mean to say so much, and have not now leisure to write more; indeed, even what I have written has been injured by frequent interruptions. I shall only add that from my heart I diselaim with you all distinetion between external and internal legislation, and shall at all times equally oppose by every possible means every attempt whieh may be made to legislate for us either externally or internally; but I will not madly suppose any sueh attempt, and till it shall be made, which I trust will never be the case, I will remain in perfect tranquillity, do my utmost to promote the seeurity and welfare both of Ireland and of the empire at large, strengthen this eountry and her constitution with all my efforts, and quietly rest upon my arms.

"'From what I have now said you will readily eonceive how uneasy your resolution has made me, and how happy I should be that a serviee, whieh I am here endeavouring to forward, should equally succeed everywhere, and more especially in a eorps which I have the honour of peculiarly calling my own, the credit of which is, in my opinion, in this instance essentially concerned, and which I am bound to love by every motive of gratitude and of esteem.'

"'Upon my first hearing of your resolution I desired captain Henry Stewart, who was leaving Strabane for Dublin, to eall on some of your officers, and to talk over this matter with them on my behalf. I also wrote to lady Charlemont to the same effect, desiring her to find some means to make known to the corps the sentiments of a man, whom they have chosen for their commander, who still equally possesses all that independence of mind and of situation whieh made him the objeet of their eheice, and who will never by any action of his life forfeit that esteem of his countrymen upon which his happiness and all his honours are founded.'

"This, [the Goldsmiths'] corps, though very respectable for their spirit, their numbers and their property, consisting entirely of Dublin citizens, were of consequence rather mobbishly inclined, and alone gave me for a time more trouble than all the rest of the Volunteer army. Their opinion of me, however, and my management had such effect that they were at length brought to be as amenable as I could desire.

"Immediately upon the designation of earl Temple, with whom I had not the honour of any acquaintance, to succeed the duke of Portland in the government of Ireland, I received from him the following letter: --

1782, July 26, Pall Mall, London.—"'Although my appointment to the lieutenancy of Ireland has not been officially declared in council, yet, as that event is immediately to take place, I will trust to your lordship's goodness to excuse the trouble which I am now giving you. I am fully sensible how unequal I am to the very arduous task which I have undertaken; a variety of concurrent circumstances brought it to my option; and I will entreat your lordship to believe that the hopes of being useful to Ireland formed my principal inducement to engage in it. No one joins more truly in lamenting the resolution, which the duke of Portland has taken to resign the government: the confidence which all ranks have placed in his grace; the conviction of his steady disinterestedness and public virtues, are all circumstances, which make me see in its fullest extent the hazard of receiving from his hands the lieutenancy of Ireland at such a crisis; nothing could get the better of these difficulties, but the conviction that it is the object of every well wisher to Ireland to endeavour to improve, by good and wise government, those blessings which the spirit of Ireland and the liberality of England have so amply secured to her. Upon these grounds I have ventured to trouble your lordship; I will trust that no one can imagine that I could have hoped to be useful to both countries, without being enabled to give the most perfect assurances of the intentions of the king's servants to preserve to its utmost extent that good faith, which is pledged to Ireland, and which must be sacred. And if in addition to this most important object of securing the mutual confidence and affection of both countries, I can flatter myself with the hopes of engaging Ireland to reform her expenditure, and correct the abuses in her revenue, and finally to reduce that impolitic and unconstitutional influence, which has been the bane and ruin of both countries, I shall think the hours I pass in Ireland the happiest of my life. I have too deep a stake in that country, too deep an interest in her welfare to engage in a system ruinous to her and disgraceful to myself; and, with every inducement to a life of ease and tranquillity I can have but one hope in sacrificing every object in England, which has hitherto made my life pleasant and happy; and that hope is that I may perfect (if possible) the plan which the duke of Portland has begun. If these ideas concur with those of your lordship, I am persuaded from the interest you have taken in the welfare of Ireland, that you will give your assistance to such capital and material objects. I can only apply to your lordship on great and constitutional grounds (and on no other will I ever apply to any man) for the honour of your support. . .—Nugent Temple.'

"Nothing could certainly appear more satisfactory than the assurances contained in this letter, by which the noble writer seemed to pledge himself, unasked, to everything that could be wished by Ireland. The positive declaration that it was the intention of the king's servants to preserve to its utmost extent that good faith which is pledged to Ireland, and which must be sacred, contained in it as much security as an individual of great personal consequence, and, in this instance, perfectly confidential with English government, could possibly give, the

plain implication being that upon this footing alone he had accepted his office. The words indeed, 'those blessings which the spirit of Ireland and the liberality of England have so amply secured,' seemed to indicate an intention of adding nothing to our present security, and such was certainly, both at that time, and long after, his excellency's determination. But this could be no objection to me, who was then fully persuaded that our security was sufficient, who hoped that the people themselves would be at length prevailed on to think so, and who was firmly of opinion that its validity ought never to be questioned by us. His declaration of an ardent wish to engage us to reform 'our expenditure,' and to correct the 'abuses of our revenue,' in which from his subsequent conduct I am convinced he was thoroughly sincere, could not but be highly pleasing, as such reform was the principal matter wanting to the happiness of Ireland, an object, which no viceroy since him seems to have had at all in view, measures directly contrary to every economical purpose having been uniformly pursued by all his successors; and finally his declared intention of reducing 'that impolitic and unconstitutional influence, which had been the bane and ruin of both countries,' was a promise of such importance as to include not only every economical, but every constitutional advantage. All these concurring circumstances must have made the receipt of this letter extremely satisfactory to me, and yet I was to be cautious not to suffer myself to be carried away by my feelings, by those feelings which even now my long experience of ministerial duplicity has not been able sufficiently to regulate. I was to be guarded in my expressions, and careful to preserve my conduct perfectly unpledged. A necessary but difficult task for a liberal mind. With this view I returned the following answer, in which it will appear how very little my mind was affected by the diminution of my favour at court. It may indeed be objected to me that I have painted in too high colours the duke of Portland's popularity, which, at this time, it must be confessed, was not a little declined; yet, I trust that when my motives for so doing are known and considered, this aggravation will be thought pardonable. He had, indeed, till very lately been to the full as popular as I have described him; and his popularity had principally declined by the machinations of a party, whose motives have already been sufficiently shown. The 'Fencible' business had indeed been a blot in his administration; but that I was willing to ascribe to mistake and to evil counsellors; and with regard to his partiality to his relations in the distribution of offices, that failing, which was generally construed into the greatest of crimes, could have but little effect upon one who, in this respect, had no views of his own, and I was willing to attribute it to the goodness of his heart. His first arrival had been marked by the emancipation of our constitution, neither was it possible that I should forget that under his auspices the freedom of Ireland had been, in effect, established. Many other causes concurred to gain him universal goodwill. He felt, or affected to feel, the greatest veneration for the Volunteers, who, in his time, were fashionable even at court. At a review in the Phœnix Park, where I presided, he honoured us with his presence, and when, at the castle [of Dublin], I took the first opportunity of thanking him for the honour he had done us, he replied, loud enough to be heard by all around him: 'And could your lordship suppose that a body of men formed upon such principles should be assembled in my neighbourhood without my wishing to see their exertions?' During his administration every possible respect was paid to the armed associations. They had been thanked by both houses of parliament. Whenever the king's troops and they met each other, their salutes were mutual, and, in consequence of a negotia-

tion[1] between him and me, on the king's birthday the garrison of Dublin and the Volunteers were drawn up in the same line, and fired together. Wherever I went in the course of my reviews the king's troops turned out to salute me as general. At Nenagh, where there happened to be no Volunteers, my guard was mounted by the 18th light dragoons, and on my departure from thence in my way to Limerick a party of the same regiment escorted me as far as I would permit them; and on my arrival at Cork I received a letter, by an aid-de-camp, from general Mocher,[2] who commanded in Munster, expressive of his concern at being prevented from waiting on me in person by his being then busily employed in regulating an embarkation at Cove,[3] but informing me that the garrison had his positive directions punctually to obey any orders I should issue, respecting especially any service they might be able to perform at the approaching review. All these attentions, which must have been authorised by government, added to the honourable representations I had inserted into my answers to the several addresses, which, as general, I received, had rendered the duke of Portland extremely popular among the Volunteers, and consequently among the people. With the nobility and gentry his affability and natural good humour added greatly to their invariable prepossession in favour of viceroys; and as for the courtiers, old and new, the king's commission was fully sufficient to insure him their adoration. So that my assertion in the following letter that 'he had obtained almost universally the confidence of the nation,' had, till very lately, been literally true, and many considerations prevented me from taking notice of his late decline; the principal of which were, my affection to the Whig party, of which he was an important member; my fear of being actuated, unknown to myself, by private resentment at the late unmerited diminution of his confidence, by which I was naturally impelled to say rather too much than too little; my dread of being thought to depreciate a minister because he was falling,—a period of ministerial life, which, on the contrary, usually commands my partiality; and, most of all, my desire to show his successor, whose wish for popular credit his application to me seemed to indicate, that, in contradiction to the commonly received notion 'that no lord lieutenant can be popular,' popularity was easily obtainable by him, provided he pursued such measures as were beneficial and favourable to the country he was sent to govern:

[1782, July.]—"'Permit me to return you my most sincere acknowledgment for the honour conferred on me and the pleasure afforded me by your lordship's letter, which I should have long since answered, had not my receiving it been retarded by my being in the country where I was busily occupied in reviewing the Volunteer army. With your lordship I most sincerely lament the resolution which the duke of Portland has taken to resign the government of Ireland, in the administration of which high office he had, as you well observe, obtained the almost universal confidence of this nation, a confidence founded upon the surest basis, our perfect conviction of his public virtue, and our experience of his steady endeavours essentially to serve the country which he was deputed to govern. He is indeed a man in every respect fitted worthily and usefully to fill the high office which has been assigned to him. Endowed by nature and by education with principles fitted for the establishment of liberty, he seems to have been chosen by Providence as the properest instrument to announce and to secure the freedom of a

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[1] *See* p. 403.
[2] Flower Mocher, colonel of dragoons.
[3] Now Queenstown, Cork.

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long oppressed nation. Your lordship will pardon me for dwelling a little on a topic which is with me a favourite one, especially as his approaching loss renders him, if possible, still more dear. If any thing however could console us for such a loss, it would be the character of the noble person who is destined to succeed him, a consolation which is greatly increased by the sentiments conveyed in your lordship's letter—with such a pledge of your sincerity I can not doubt or fear, and shall only add that as, notwithstanding my opinion of, and my good wishes for the duke of Portland, his conduct was the only thing that insured to him my support, in the same manner, and on the same account only, will your lordship be certain to receive it. . —Charlemont.'

[Viceroyalty of earl of Northington, 1783.]

"The earl of Northington, sworn into office on the third of June 1783, succeeded to earl Temple, who had desired to be recalled upon the first notice of the strange, and certainly unnatural coalition between Mr. Fox and lord North, by which, though the Shelburne administration was overturned, a fatal wound was given to the Whig interest by dividing its principal members, many of whom could not bring themselves to unite in a system where the execrated abettor of the American war, that minister who had been for years the object of their detestation and open abuse, had a principal part. The seeds indeed of this disunion had been long sown, and nothing could have so long kept them down but the influence and attention of lord Rockingham. But alas, the skilful and attentive gardener was now no more. This was a season favourable to their growth, and they produced a plenteous crop. It now quickly appeared that, in the division of power, Mr. Fox, who wished to keep in his own hands the more important province, had yielded to lord North, whose principal object was the distribution of places, the rich patronage of Ireland. All the crew of old courtiers, the exploded retainers of English usurpation, the wretched dependents of the Carlisle junto, were now brought forward, and the black cloud of Eden's promises, which was thought to have been totally dispersed, now gathered again, and threatened a destructive inundation. But a single instance is sufficient to evince the spirit of the times. Scott[1] once more was called into the cabinet, obtained by bargain a sinecure place of three thousand pounds a year, was made prime serjeant, and then, 'credite posteri,' chief justice of the king's bench, and, not long after, disgraced the house of peers. And this appeared the more astonishing, as the duke of Portland, by whom he had been stigmatized, was at this time first lord of the treasury, and consequently ostensible minister. But these transactions took place gradually, and the commencement of lord Northington's administration tended, as usual, to popularity. The character of this nobleman, in his own country, was certainly not of that kind which, in the present situation of Ireland, pointed him out as a proper person to be put at the head of Irish affairs; its capital feature being his connection and friendship with Mr. Fox, in whose weaknesses he had largely participated, though by no means in his abilities. Better fitted to preside at table than in the cabinet, towards the attainment of which perfection he had greatly impaired his fortune and his constitution, he was what is usually styled an 'honest fellow,' and may, possibly, have been an honest man; but neither his talents, circumstances, or consideration were such as entitled him to the high and difficult office to

[1] *See* p. 108.

which he was appointed. He had, however, brought over with him, as secretary, the amiable Mr. Wyndham, a man of sense and information, of extensive fortune and connection, of excellent character and of genuine Whig principles, which appointment encouraged a hope that proper measures would be pursued, and that, at the least, the friends of the duke of Portland, who headed the present administration, would be indulged with some degree of confidence. For my own part having, as has been before related, somewhat impaired my credit with the duke, I neither expected, nor, for the reasons heretofore assigned, wished for confidence; neither should I have been surprised though I had found myself even obnoxious to the present viceroy. I had openly avowed my esteem for lord Temple, which solely proceeded from my opinion of his conduct, and was even active in defending his reputation against the mob of those who, at once to vent their spleen and to make their court, were now lavish of their abuse and misrepresentations of the man to whom they had so lately cringed. Principally at my instigation he had been escorted, as far as the sea would permit, by all the Volunteers of Dublin, with me at their head as general. The extreme inclemency of the weather had rendered this compliment still more conspicuous, and lord Northington, who had accompanied, as is usual, his predecessor in office to the water side, had not on his return been saluted by the Volunteers, who wished to show that the compliment had been paid to experienced merit and not to station; an omission which might naturally enough be attributed to me. Immediately however upon the arrival of lord Northington I was sent for, and most cordially received. The usual professions were made, which were answered by me in my usual manner, and not long afterward I had an opportunity of obliging his excellency in a cabinet conference with him and the lord mayor relative to the scarcity of corn, in which the chief magistrate having made a proposal in the name of the principal merchants highly derogatory to the honour of government, I had relieved the lord lieutenant by taking upon myself the odium of reproving the mayor, of reprobating his plan, and of declaring it absolutely inadmissible. A few days after this transaction I received from the lord lieutenant the following letter:

"'My lord,—It was very much my wish to have had the honour of a few minutes' conversation with your lordship last Sunday after the levée, and with that view I had directed the aid-de-camp in waiting to request your lordship to step into my closet previous to my departure. Your lordship had however quitted the presence chamber before his return to it. I therefore desire your lordship will do me the honour of calling at the castle tomorrow between one and two o'clock, if that time is convenient to your lordship, or any time before the council which is to be held at three o'clock. I was much disappointed to find, after the liberty I had taken to desire your lordship's advice in private upon a former occasion, that I was not to expect to receive it in a more public manner. As I am sure it will not only contribute much to the honour of my administration, but be of essential service to the affairs of this kingdom to have the advantage of your lordship's councils, I am to request of your lordship to allow me to remove the impediment, and give me leave to have the honour of submitting your lordship's name for his majesty's gracious consideration, to be placed as one of the privy council of this kingdom; if it will be a measure agreeable to your lordship, I shall have the highest satisfaction in showing your lordship this mark of my esteem and regard.—Northington,—Dublin Castle, Monday evening.'—[9 June 1783.]

"To this letter I answered by waiting on his excellency, who reiterated his expressions of disappointment and surprise at my not having been

long since a privy counsellor, and desired my consent to his immediately recommending me to that honour. To this I replied that one principal reason, as I supposed, for my not having been hitherto advanced to the council board was simply this, that I had never desired nor asked for it. That indeed it had been my invariable rule never to make any request to government, but of all favours a seat at the council board was the last I should ever have thought of asking. That while that board was unconstitutionally important I would not on any account have participated in its unconstitutionality, and that now, when it was, thank heaven, rendered perfectly unimportant, it could not possibly be an object of my wish. That a man of my family, rank, and situation, could not possibly regard it as any accession of honour, especially since the board had been degraded by the admission of a mob. That I always felt much reluctance at accepting any favour from government, though ever so trifling, but that, however, as I hoped well from his excellency's administration, and had a very high regard for one part of the ministry by whom he had been sent, I would not refuse the compliment he was so kind as to offer, provided always that one obstacle was removed, which was with me insurmountable.

[Relations with Grattan.]

"That I was closely connected both in politics and in friendship with Mr. Grattan, and could not think of accepting anything, however trifling, in which he did not participate,—a duty of friendship and connection which I was confident in a similar situation he would pay me, and that, if his excellency would please to recommend him along with me, I should not scruple to accept an offer, which otherwise I must positively refuse.

"Grattan was now in the country, and, though very near Dublin, had not as yet been at the castle, a duty, which, in my opinion, ought always to be paid to the king's representative, more especially by such as usually oppose government, and the lord lieutenant very naturally replied that he had not as yet seen that gentleman, for whose character he had the highest respect; but that however if I would, in his name, declare his acceptance, he would with pleasure comply with my wish, and jointly recommend him. To this I replied that I could not help feeling much delicacy upon this subject; that if I were only the friend of Grattan, I should not a moment hesitate to accept for him without any previous consultation; but that, as our connection was of a delicate nature, I could not think of interfering with his opinion or determination in any thing political. That I was glad to have this opportunity of explaining to his excellency, as I wished to do to every lord lieutenant, the nature of my connection with that gentleman. I had indeed brought him into parliament, an event which I looked upon as the most honourable and fortunate of my life, but never had or would pretend in any degree to influence his political conduct. A similarity of sentiment and of principle, and a friendship founded upon mutual esteem, and rivetted by unbounded confidence, were the only bonds which held us together,—a tie which was indeed likely to be for ever indissoluble. Under these circumstances his excellency would please to excuse me from venturing to accept in my friend's name; but I would immediately write to him, and had little doubt that his answer would contain an acceptance. The lord lieutenant applauded my delicacy, and desired me to write without delay, which I accordingly did in a very long letter, stating all the circumstances of my audience at the castle, and advising him to shake

off his indolence, and come to town, where his presence was, I thought, necessary. Of this letter, I have no copy, as indeed I never, at that time, kept any copy of those written to Grattan. But my express soon brought me back the following laconic answer, which I insert here merely because it may serve to give some little insight into a character that, in my opinion, wanted little else to render it perfect but a feeling heart:

"'My dear lord,—I intended to have gone to town on Sunday to the levée, but was prevented by the incessant rain, so was obliged to defer it till next Sunday, which I suppose will be a levée day, when I shall certainly attend. As to the seat at the council, I have not the least objection to it. Tell Marlay I expect to see him. Yours sincerely, H. Grattan.—8 o'clock, Wednesday morning, 18th June, 1783.'

"Upon the receipt of this letter, I again waited upon the lord lieutenant, who expressed much polite satisfaction at our acceptance of his offer; and not long after I received an official letter notifying my appointment to the council board, together with the following private letter from Mr. Secretary Wyndham:

"'1783, July 5, Dublin Castle.—Your lordship will receive official notice that the king's letter is arrived appointing your lordship one of his majesty's privy council; and I have my lord lieutenant's commands to express the peculiar satisfaction his excellency feels in that event. Permit me to add my sincere congratulations. . .—William Wyndham.'

"To this letter I returned the following answer:

"'Sir,—As the post by which I received your very obliging letter, brought me also an account of your departure for England, I have deferred answering it till now, when, according to report, you may probably be returned, conscious as I was that I had nothing to write which could be worthy of crossing the sea in search of you.

"'And now, sir, permit me to intreat that you would present my best respects to the lord lieutenant, together with my acknowledgments for the kind manner in which he has been pleased to transact the business of my appointment,—a manner which has stamped real value on an honour which, considering how inconsiderately and wantonly it has, like other honours, been of late years lavished, could not otherwise have been to me an object of much consideration.

"'Please also to accept my thanks for your kind and warm congratulations, which are far more pleasing, as well as far more honourable to me than their object. .—Charlemont.'

"About this time symptoms not of the most favourable nature began to show themselves. Some outcasts of the Portland administration were from time to time creeping into office, and a visible partiality was shewn to many of those who had ever been enemies to Irish liberty; but that which gave me the greatest alarm was the resignation of Mr. Wyndham, who, under pretence of ill-health, but in reality, as was universally believed,[1] either disliking the intended counsellors and measures, or of a spirit too great to bear the nasty

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[1] "Though, previous to his coming to Ireland, I had not the honour of a personal acquaintance with this excellent man, his character was well known to me, and his election to a place in Johnson's literary club, of which I was an old member, by giving me a degree of freedom with him, authorised me soon after his arrival to tell him that, acquainted as I was with his disposition and character of mind, I greatly feared he would find it difficult to reconcile the execution of his present function with the dictates of those principles of which I knew him to be possessed. His answer was: 'Be assured, my lord, that the instant I find the duties of my office incompatible with those principles which your lordship has so kindly supposed me to possess, that instant I will be no longer secretary.'" [C.]

business of his office, returned to England, and was succeeded by Mr. Pelham, a man of family and powerful connection, of good sense and political information, but a young man without any decided character, just starting in the career of office, and who seemed to resort hither as to a proper school where the business of a statesman might be studied.

[Viceregal cabinet councils.]

"The lord lieutenant resided at the Park, where several cabinet councils were held preparatory to the meeting of parliament, to all which Grattan was called, though I was never summoned. Happening one day to mention this singularity, and jocularly to allude to the constant brevity of my court favour, Grattan took it up seriously, said that he could not comprehend what was meant by it, but that, at all events, if it was hoped thereby to break through old connections, the castle would find itself disappointed. To this I did not think it proper to make any reply, being thoroughly convinced that in a point of this nature every man should be left wholly to the guidance of his own feelings; but matters still went on as usual. It was now September, and the time approached which had been fixed for the review at Cork, when on the day preceding my departure for the south to my great surprise I received a letter from lord Northington desiring me to dine with him at the Park,[1] where I should meet some friends, and discourse upon business. This late and extraordinary summons was evidently a consequence of the conversation which I had had with Grattan. Much time had elapsed since that conversation, and at all events the being called to a council at the solicitation of any man was not very flattering to my vanity, but, as that was never a ruling passion of mine, as my refusal would be improper, and might give some ground to an imputation of impracticability, and as I wished to see how this strange renovation of confidence would end, I determined to accept the invitation, and accordingly waited on his excellency. The company consisted of the secretary, Grattan, Forbes, and Sheridan, the last of whom did not seem to me a man, from his rank and situation, exactly suited to such a conference as I had supposed this was likely to be; but indeed any man might have been invited to this conference. After some private conversation between the secretary and Grattan, dinner was announced. We dined, and when I say that I say all; for never surely was such a council, no measure mentioned, no system thought on. The red book indeed was produced, and a complete majority pointed out, but not the least idea of how that majority was to be employed. In short the conversation was so perfectly trivial that, on our way home, I could not help heartily laughing at it, concluding however a little more seriously that, as this was the first cabinet at which, during lord Northington's administration, I had ever assisted, I must conclude one of two things, either that their conferences were to the last degree unimportant, or that my presence had prevented their proceeding to business. To this it was answered by my companions that every cabinet, which they had had the honour to attend, had been of a complexion precisely similar. This conversation, however, and my profane jocularity, was probably not long a secret at the castle, where it naturally tended to confirm that preconceived alienation which had already taken place respecting me.

[1] Viceregal Lodge, Phœnix Park, Dublin.

"At the meeting of Parliament, to which period we will now pass, it immediately appeared that my favour was totally at an end. A few days previous to the session it is customary that the intended speech should be read at a council which, though numerous, is tolerably select, consisting of men respectable for their rank or situation, and on the succeeding evening a second meeting is held for the same purpose, to which every privy counsellor is summoned, and generally all those who are not supposed to be absolutely hostile to government, which last is usually distinguished by the name of the mob meeting. To the latter of these only I was summoned, and, by the advice of my friends, who concurred with me in thinking it below my dignity to attend, I did not go. The next day I received from Grattan the following letter :

"'[1783] October 22, Wingfield. Finding that your lordship was not present either the Sunday or Monday on which the speech was read, I must suppose either that the government omitted to send to you or that your lordship did not think it proper to attend them, and in either case I should be concerned. I am not insensible of a manifest alienation on your part of late to the present government, and an inexcusable want on their part of proper attention to you. I immediately urged the necessity of calling lord Charlemont to those meetings to which I had the honour to be invited, and the folly of consulting part of a party, which could not be separated without injury to the country and mutual folly. Finding my suggestions unattended with that immediate effect which I hoped, I have signified to government that I must decline attending meetings to which you are not invited. I have done this without any hostile idea to government, but with a determination to continue as far as lies in me old connections, which cannot be broken, I repeat it, without public injury and mutual folly. I have no certain reason to believe that any plan (but this in confidence) as yet is formed either of commerce or finance, and I should imagine it might be in our power to form one ourselves, and that government would feel a necessity, and perhaps no disinclination to accept it ; in short, supporting government in general; with respect to the great plan of commerce and finance, we might become the government ourselves, having that confidence in each other which it can not be expected any minister will have in us; not responsible for any arrangement, but for the great measures which we ourselves dictate. I do not write at random. I have from persons of weight and office received suggestions of this kind, and I think a superintending strength might be formed of public benefit. I shall speak more on this subject when we meet, and in mean time am, with great sincerity, yours,—H. Grattan.'

"Previous to my receiving this letter, which was the first mark of friendly intercourse that for a long time I had received, several occurrences, of a nature perfectly private, had induced me to think myself slighted by my beloved friend, which, being unwilling to detail on paper, and indeed unable on account of a disorder in my head and eyes, I determined to wait for that meeting, which the last lines of the letter seemed to promise, and for which I ardently longed, not having had for some months past a moment's privacy with Grattan, and trusting confidently that nothing was wanting but a short éclaircissement perfectly to restore a friendship which, to my unspeakable grief, seemed of late to have suffered some abatement. I wished also for an opportunity of free conversation upon several parts of the letter. His words, 'I have signified to the government that I must decline attending meetings to which you are not invited,' a good deal surprised me, as I had reason to believe that he had never as yet declined attending any meeting to which he had been called, neither had I ever

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hinted to him the smallest objection to such attendance, which I was persuaded would be, as far as lay in his power, beneficial to that cause in which we were both embarked, and which was infinitely nearer to my heart than any interested vanity of my own. This resolution must therefore have been suddenly taken upon my not having been summoned to the reading of the speech, and though his offer, I confess, would have pleased me as a proof of persevering friendship, part of my conversation with him would have been employed in endeavouring to dissuade him from adhering to it, if he had the smallest hope that his attendance could be in any degree advantageous, a point which, however, considering the character of those who were called into consultation with him, appeared to me very problematical. That part also of the letter which intimated a probability of our being able to serve the public by dictating to government appeared to require much explanation, as such probability seemed to me absolutely incompatible with what I knew of the present system of confidence; neither could I think it possible that we should be able to serve our country by uniting in a cabinet with those who had ever proved themselves her inveterate enemies by favouring to the utmost of their power the usurpation of England, both in commerce and in constitution, and whose counsels would, for that reason alone, be always preferred to ours. And in this opinion of mine I was fully justified by the event, no one benefit having accrued to Ireland respecting either commerce or finance during the course of this promising session. Induced by these reasons, and by my utter inability to write a long letter, I immediately returned the following answer:

"'My dear Harry,—I do not particularly answer your letter because a tedious illness, which, though lessened, is by no means removed, makes writing disagreeable, and because it will be much better answered at the conference which you promise me. Indeed, without such conference, I should find it difficult to make myself fully and properly understood within the compass of such a letter as my eyes and spirits will permit me to write, as there are some particulars respecting government which must be detailed at large, and others respecting myself which would be tedious and difficult to convey in writing.—Charlemont.—Dublin, October 23rd, 1783.'

"For many days after I had sent this answer, utterly neglecting all other business, I waited at home in anxious expectation of the promised interview; but I waited in vain; from this time, to our final rupture, I never had a moment's private conversation with Mr. Grattan. But I have already said more than I intended upon this delicate subject, the private history of which, for private it indeed is, shall be fully detailed in a fitter place, where such personal transactions may not interfere with matters of more public concern.

[Transactions in parliament.]

"Parliament now met, and immediately after the addresses to the king and the lord lieutenant, a motion of thanks to the Volunteers was made, both in the upper and lower houses. In the former session I had made this motion in the house of peers, and my situation as general seemed to indicate me as the only proper mover. Government, however, now put it into the hands of the duke of Leinster, which appeared the more pointed, as his grace had long been an unsuccessful competitor with me for the command in Dublin, where, however, after the first year, though I had never in any way courted success, nor even directly

or indirectly asked a single vote, I had annually been elected to his exclusion. Upon this occasion I could not avoid expostulating a little angrily with the secretary, to whom I showed a resolution which I had drawn up, and which I threatened to move as an amendment to the duke's motion. As I had, however, a very great affection for his grace, whose father had honoured me with the most particular friendship, I did not wish to thwart him, but, accosting him in a friendly manner, I assured him that such a trifle should never breed any dissension between us; that what I had said was merely meant to the secretary, and that he was welcome to the motion, which could not be in more respectable hands. The consequence was that the Volunteers, instead of being pleased at the compliment, were universally dissatisfied at the channel through which it had passed, and angry that I had not been chosen for the mover. In this transaction, as in many others, I had good reason to think that Grattan did not act the part of a friend, nor even of a political connection, since, as there was no doubt that he was at that time intimately connected with administration, and a participator in all their counsels, he should most certainly have interfered to prevent any affront being offered to his political associates and much more to his friend.

"The first business of importance, which was brought forward in the committee of supply, was of a nature which I thought it necessary to oppose. The war establishment, as augmented to fifteen thousand men, was proposed to be kept up, though we were now in profound peace, and though it was obvious that no essential reduction could be made in the national expense according to the repeated promises of government, but by lessening the expense of the army. This measure was opposed by Flood, and by most of those with whom I had always acted; and now, for the first time, Grattan and I differed in our parliamentary conduct,—a difference which, though I confess I was much concerned at, never produced the smallest change in my behaviour towards him, while, on the contrary, his coldness seemed to increase by it, and grew daily more and more conspicuous.

[Plan of administration.]

"The administration, if such it could be called, was now formed upon a plan which promised ill to the public advantage. Majorities, whose nature was plainly indicated by the men of whom they consisted, were obtained upon all occasions, and the old court hacks began to resume their former consequence, being almost the only persons on whom the favours of government were bestowed; for though Yelverton[1] was with the utmost propriety made chief baron of the exchequer, to which office he had been destined by the duke of Portland, he was succeeded in his place of attorney-general, and consequently of leader for government in the house of commons, by Fitzgibbon,[2] whose political conduct had ever

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[1] Barry Yelverton, appointed chief baron of the exchequer, Ireland, in December, 1783.

[2] "It grieves me that I am here compelled, by that truth to which in these memoires everything must be sacrificed, to say that in this, and in the other wicked promotions in the law department, Grattan was by no means undeserving of censure. His great parliamentary abilities had made his assistance and support so important an object with government, and perhaps also the disuniting him from his old friends was esteemed a matter of so much consequence, that no means were left untried to allure and to fix him. With this view, as a mark of respect and confidence, a message was sent to assure him that no changes should be made in that line without his consent and approbation. He did consent, and was consequently instrumental in

been so opposite to that of the country party, that the amiable and honest Forbes, to whom, in consequence of a promise from the duke of Portland, the office of solicitor-general was offered, most nobly declined accepting, and chose rather to remain in a private station than to come into office with a man whose principles he disapproved, and whose conduct (with which, from the nature of the place, his own must be in a great measure involved,) he justly dreaded.

[John Scott, attorney general.]

"The new attorney [general], who figured much in the succeeding times, was a man of a most extraordinary character, which, as the people of Ireland are very apt with much accuracy to adapt their nicknames, was amply and exactly described by the name assigned to him, 'Jack Petulant.' Petulance was indeed the soul of his character and pervaded every part of his conduct. By this he was brought into perpetual scrapes, out of which he seldom got with credit.[1] His figure was petulant; his voice was petulant; his manner was petulance itself. Tinctured by this predominant quality, his very civility assumed the air of rudeness, and his acts of kindness had all the effect of affronts. Thus qualified it was no wonder he should seek for such employment as best suited the bent of his nature; if offence was to be given to the people he was always the willing agent, and took by choice the most offensive method. A perpetual stickler for the strength and authority of government, he affected to despise that people from whose dregs he had lately sprung, and had

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giving power and authority to men whose principles were diametrically opposite to every tenet which he and the party had with so much pains supported and established, and whose conduct he had uniformly reprobated, though by so doing public principle and private friendship were equally offended. The excellent Forbes, with whom, next to me, he seemed to be most closely connected, was by this means obliged, both in conscience and in honour, to deprive himself of the office of solicitor-general, which had been promised to him, but which, with a delicacy I fear unprecedented, he now refused; and, with regard to myself, all this negociation was carried on so entirely without my privity, that, though I had, at the time, reason to suspect, I have not till very lately obtained a certain knowledge of the fact. We should, however, for the honour of human nature, endeavour to account for the possibility of a mind like Grattan's being warped into such conduct,—soured by the wild injustice of the people towards him. He was not, perhaps, displeased that power should be lodged in the most unpopular hands, and office bestowed on those whom the people most hated. Pledged, as he deemed himself, to require nothing more from England, and inwardly vexed at what had lately been done to satisfy the cravings of the multitude in opposition to his judgment, he might possibly have been not unwilling to place power in the hands of those who would undoubtedly resist any further demands. Flattered by government, who had found through his vanity the direct road to his heart, his party spirit perhaps made him give way to these promotions from an idea that administration would be strengthened by the accession of such men and of their faction. Add to these motives the influence of bad and interested advisers, some of which were constantly kept about him by government, and we may not deem his conduct absolutely unaccountable. To this last set of wretches no man was more open than Grattan; a fawning parasite, bribed to betray him, and impudently assuming the mask of officious friendship, could often lull to sleep the better powers of his mind, and bend him to that which his waking faculties would have disdained. . ." [C.]

[1] "This gentleman, however, having lately fought a duel, has, as far as that goes, rescued his character. Indeed, the imputation of a too delicate sense of danger must often be undeservedly cast in a country where duelling, though, thanks to the increasing polish of our manners, less practised than formerly, is still too fashionable; and backwardness will be attributed to the man who does not fight upon every trifling occasion, as avarice is objected to him who does not ruin himself by fashionable extravagance. The man also who, from the petulance of his manner, or from any other cause, is apt to get into scrapes, will always be liable to such imputation;

indeed an utter contempt for everything, danger only excepted, possessing every degree of hardiness, which was not inconsistent with his personal safety. Yet even danger itself he could despise when distant, and for that reason was daring in impiety. His father, who had raised himself from nothing by his skill and diligence as a lawyer, had left him a very great estate, and a considerable share of his legal abilities, which, notwithstanding the affluence of his circumstances, he still employed in the business of the courts, where he had much practice and was esteemed an excellent advocate. In the house of commons, into which he had carried with him the wrangling sauciness of the bar, he was a flippant, pert, and overbearing, though by no means an able speaker. As a counsellor his advice was always marked with imprudent violence. He had seen with concern the successful efforts of the people to recover their due weight in the constitution, and his great political object was to reduce them to their former depression, in pursuit of which favourite point his legal knowledge and researches were perpetually employed in rummaging for unconstitutional precedents, in endeavouring to revive obsolete statutes enacted in the times most unfavourable to liberty, and obsolete star-chamber practices, and finally in striving to change that glorious fabric, which had been reared by our ancestors as a bulwark to freedom, into a citadel for oppression and tyranny.

[Projects against the Volunteers.]

"While such men as Fitzgibbon and Scott were received into confidence, it will not, I trust, appear surprising that I should have kept aloof from administration; neither will it be difficult to explain upon the same principle the conduct of government with regard to me; and this I am the rather induced to mention as it will serve amply to account for that alienation on my part to the present government, and that inexcusable want on their part of proper attention to me, which is alluded to in Grattan's letter. But there were probably other latent and more cogent reasons for the conduct of government towards me. The Volunteers, which had long been an object of fear, now began to be hated, and it was, as we have every reason to believe, even at this early period, secretly determined that no method should be left untried to check their progress, and, if possible, totally to depress them. In such a measure my concurrence was justly deemed impossible, and the rank I held among them naturally placed me in the most unfavourable point of view. My influence over them, though with what reason may be judged from former occurrences, was dreaded, and aversion was the natural fruit of fear. My impracticability also, the term by which in the court dictionary firm honesty is always explained, was alleged against me as an absolute prohibition to confidence. My principles were known, and my obstinacy in those principles was justly deemed indubitable.

[Position of Grattan.]

"Grattan, partly from the hopes of being serviceable to his country by his influence in the cabinet, partly led astray by his just indignation

finding himself often in the wrong, and justly unwilling to assert a cause which he knows to be unjustifiable, he will be apt to make concessions, which, though at the time proper and fitting, will, if often repeated, infallibly injure his reputation. The aptitude to give offence ought in a well-regulated community to be deemed as dishonourable as the willingness to bear it. But offence can seldom, if ever, be given among men of good breeding, and the gentleman's maxim ought to be neither to offer nor to bear any real affront." [C.]

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

at the unworthy treatment he had received from the people, partly because he thought himself bound to support even a portion of that English administration which had complied with the wishes of Ireland signified in his address, and partly perhaps seduced by flattery, and allured by the ambition of becoming a ministerial counsellor, had now absolutely connected himself with government, and to separate him from me was deemed a point of the utmost importance, a point which was best to be gained by placing us in opposite parties, where we should oppose each other in political conduct. Nay, I have every reason to believe that towards the attainment of this purpose means of the most unjustifiable nature were eagerly pursued. His vanity, perhaps the ruling passion of his nature, was assiduously wrought upon, and even the base and insiduous method was put in practice, of employing his own false friends, a flattering crew to whose impressions he was but too liable, to pursuade him into measures which could not fail to accomplish the dissolution of that friendship which government deemed formidable, and adverse to their designs. I will now proceed to relate a most important and singular transaction, which was indeed meant for the principal subject of this section, and, in order that it may be the better understood, must go back to the period of lord Temple's administration. All constitutional points between the two nations having been at length settled, the people for a time seemed perfectly satisfied, and the calm of content appeared to have succeeded to those tumultuous storms which had for some time past agitated the public mind, when a new matter arose which was the more likely to renew and to propagate disturbance as private interest was much more involved in it than it had been in any of the past struggles.

[Movements for reform in the representation of the people.]

"A considerable party in the sister nation, at the head of which were many of the most conspicuous, both for birth and character, had, for some time past, been strenuously struggling for a reform in the representation of the people, and, as much had been written with great energy and efficacy upon this important subject, the flame quickly spread itself to this side of the water, where the minds of men were well prepared to receive it, and where undoubtedly every argument in favour of reform might be urged, and was accordingly felt with redoubled force. That the present mode of representation, both in England and in Ireland, and particularly in the latter, is inadequate, unequal, and defective, can not admit of the slightest doubt; neither can it, in my opinion, be controverted that the return of members from paltry, decayed, and depopulated boroughs which must inevitably put the nomination of such members into the absolute power of individuals, is wholly repugnant and contrary to the spirit and genius of the constitution; and the resulting grievance will be infinitely greater, and more severely felt, where, as is unfortunately the case in Ireland, the borough interest predominates in parliament over the real representatives of the people. Many causes however concurred to render such reform a task of the utmost difficulty. The generality of those possessed of boroughs would naturally exert every nerve to prevent the alienation of that from whence their consequence or their emolument arose, and which they had taught themselves to suppose their absolute property. Government also, whose influence in parliament depended chiefly upon the borough interest, would with difficulty be brought to consent to the annihilation of this their principal source of power; and the danger of breaking through ancient charters afforded a plausible argument against any such attempt.

[Condition of Parliamentary representation in Ireland.]

"The peculiar situation of Ireland likewise, where the number of Protestants was so disproportionate to that of the Papists, appeared to many an almost insuperable obstacle, and, in their opinion, rendered the wished-for change not only difficult but dangerous. The obstacle, however, of all others the hardest to surmount, was the extreme difficulty of forming such a plan as would be really efficacious without too much hazard, and of applying such a remedy as might effectually cure this inveterate malady in the constitution without endangering its vital health. Notwithstanding, however, all these difficulties, the sanguine temper of the times, and the spirit of the people, encouraged and animated by their late successful efforts, induced the favourers of this change, or, to speak more correctly, of this renovation of the constitution, confidently to hope that they should be able to carry their point; and on this side also, private interest in some degree mixed itself with public motive, and added strength and spirit to the wishes and efforts of the reformists. Besides the general desire of all such gentlemen as had no interest in boroughs to gain additional influence by their being laid open, there were not a few individuals who were more particularly interested in the emancipation of this part of the constituent body.

[Case of colonel Robert Stewart.]

"Among these I shall mention the case of colonel Robert Stewart, member of parliament for the county of Down, a gentleman of the best character and most patriotic principles. His father had purchased an estate in the above-mentioned county, upon which was the borough of Newtownards. The seller of the estate had offered to transfer his whole influence over the burgesses to the purchaser for the trifling sum of five hundred pounds, which the latter, supposing it impossible that the borough should not necessarily fall into the hands of him who possessed the estate, positively refused, and the borough was afterwards bought by the Ponsonby family, through whose influence in parliament an act was soon after passed, the most outrageous and unconstitutional that ever was enacted. Residence had till now been deemed necessary to electors, but by this law, which, as a proof of its source in private interest, was impudently termed the Newtown act, all residence was dispensed with, and in consequence burgesses were elected resident in the parts of Ireland the most distant from the borough, who, on the days of election were sent down to vote either for members or for magistrates; and thus the borough was firmly placed in the hands of its purchaser, though possessed of neither estate nor interest in the county, to the utter exclusion of the town and its vicinity, and consequently of Mr. Stewart, by whose land it was surrounded. This gentleman, whose motives, however, were to my certain knowledge of the most public nature, though probably his private interest might, unknown to himself, interfere, and render him more eager in the cause than he otherwise would have been, with many others, who, though not so peculiarly circumstanced, were however highly interested in the event, happened to have a considerable influence among the Volunteers, and, not unnaturally, determined to make them instrumental to the accomplishment of that which public and private motives united to make them ardently desire.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

[Meeting of Volunteer delegates at Lisburn, 1783.]

"From the nature of the Volunteer institution it was not to be expected that it could subsist for ever, and even now it seemed to be upon the decline. They thought therefore that the present moment was to be seized, and that, while yet in strength, the Volunteers were to be brought forward. With this view a meeting of delegates from forty-five corps of the province of Ulster was summoned, and met at Lisburn on the 1st of July 1783, when they entered into the following resolutions:

"'Resolved unanimously, that a general meeting of the Volunteer delegates of the province of Ulster, on the subject of a more equal representation of the people in parliament, is hereby earnestly intreated; to be held at Dungannon, on Monday the eighth day of September next.

"'Resolved unanimously, that the following[1] gentlemen, seven to be a quorum, be appointed a committee of correspondence for communicating with the other corps of the province, for taking preparatory steps to forward the intentions of this meeting, and for collecting the best authorities and information on the subject of a parliamentary reform.'

"About this time I proceeded upon my annual course of reviews and set out for the north, where I endeavoured, as much as in me lay, to moderate the minds of the people, and by so doing to prevent the ill effects which were to be dreaded from the hazardous system now determined upon, and from the machinations of those who wished to disturb the public peace. While at Lurgan, on a visit to colonel Brownlow, I received the following letter from the committee of correspondence, who had written also to Grattan upon the same subject, but whose correspondence had been principally directed to the promoters of reform in England:

"'At a meeting of the committee of correspondence appointed by the delegates of forty-five Volunteer corps assembled at Lisburn on the 1st of July instant, held at Belfast, 19th July 1783. Present: lieutenant-colonel Sharman in the chair, major Burden, captain Cunningham, captain Prentice, captain Crawford, lieutenant Tomb, and Robert Thompson.

"'Ordered, that the following letter, signed by the secretary in the name of this committee be forwarded to the earl of Charlemont, enclosing a copy of the resolutions of the provincial meeting of Volunteers of Munster, and of the proceedings of the forty-five Volunteer delegates assembled at Lisburn on the 1st instant respecting a parliamentary reform, as also a copy of the circular letters written this day by this committee to the several Volunteer corps of this province.'

"'Belfast, 19th July, 1783,—My lord,—The very glorious and effectual part your lordship has taken in the emancipation of this kingdom naturally leads the Volunteers of the north of Ireland to look up to your lordship for a decided support in favour of a reform, which your lordship has already declared meets your warmest approbation.[2] To a nobleman so well acquainted with the ruinous state of the representation of Ireland, in us to aim at conveying information were superfluous and unnecessary. The day fixed for the Dungannon meeting being very

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[1] Lieutenant-colonel William Sharman, captain Black, Dr. Alexander Crawford, major Burden, captain Waddell Cunningham, Rev. Mr. Craig, Dr. Samuel Moore, colonel Rowley, major John Crawford, lieutenant-colonel Banks, Mr. Robert Thompson, captain Thomas Prentice, lieutenant Tomb.

[2] "This declaration I had made, and made from my heart, in my answers to several of the Volunteer addresses." [C.]

near, viz., the 8th September next, and our day of meeting as a committee for arranging the information we shall receive being the 20th August, we humbly hope your lordship will favour us before the latter date with your sentiments at large on this subject, pointing out such a specified mode of reform and the most eligible steps leading to it as come up to your lordship's ideas.

"'We have yet another favour to request, viz., that your lordship would inform us whether shortening the duration of parliaments, exclusion of pensioners, limiting the number of placemen, and a tax on absentees, or any of those be, in your lordship's opinion, subjects in which the Volunteers of Ireland ought to interfere; and we most earnestly entreat that your lordship may favour us with a sketch of such resolutions as your lordship would think proper to be proposed at Dungannon. Your lordship will be so good to address your reply to our chairman at Lisburn. Signed by order,—Henry Joy, junior, secretary of the forty-five corps.'

"From this letter, which I have inserted for the purpose of information respecting the state of men's minds at this juncture, it evidently appears that the Volunteers, confiding in their strength, and flushed with success, were now determined to go deeply into all matters of internal reform, and the consequent necessity of endeavouring to moderate their minds and their measures is too obvious to be insisted upon. The intention of the committee that not only the measure, but the plan also which was to be pursued, should be suggested and recommended to parliament appeared to me exceptionable, imprudent, and dangerous, both because it was highly improbable, if not impossible, that a set of men constituted and circumstanced as they were should be equal to the difficult and delicate task of forming such a plan, and more especially because I thought such interference with the deliberative powers of the legislature improper and perhaps unconstitutional, and could not persuade myself that parliament, even though they should think it necessary to comply with the wishes of the people respecting the measure, would, or perhaps ought to adopt a specific mode dictated to them, and, as it were, imposed upon them by an armed body, whose encroachments they dreaded as much as they feared their power; and I could not think without horror on the possible effects of a refusal on their part. Every one of the points alluded to in the letter met with my entire approbation, the tax on absentees only excepted, which appeared to me liable to doubt; but I was clearly of opinion that not only the strength of the application would be fatally impaired by the multiplication of its objects, but that such multiplication by increasing the alarm of parliament, would operate strongly against their complying with that capital point, which was of itself sufficient, by renewing and strengthening the stamina of the constitution, to restore it to health and vigour. To this letter I therefore immediately returned the following answer:

"'Please to accept my most sincere acknowledgments for your kind, though, I fear, too partial expressions, as well as for the honour you have done me in applying to me for advice upon a matter so justly interesting to you, and so very important to this nation; but while I thank you for your kindness towards me I cannot avoid perceiving that your partiality has induced you greatly to overrate my abilities, which are far unequal to the task you have assigned me. A reform in the representation of Ireland is a measure which most certainly meets with my warmest approbation, and you may be assured that I shall heartily co-operate with every true patriot and sincere lover of his country towards the attainment of that most desirable object; but to point out a specific mode is a matter of so difficult and delicate a nature

that I should esteem myself presumptuous indeed if I should presume to attempt it, certain as I am that it will require the united efforts and the most deliberate joint consideration of the wisest men in this kingdom to produce such a plan as may be deemed unexceptionable. The pain, however, which I must at all times feel from being compelled to refuse my immediate compliance with any request of yours is, in the present instance, somewhat alleviated by my being clearly of opinion that it is not now necessary that such mode should be pointed out to you; and, since you have been pleased to ask my advice, permit me, as a sincere friend to the object of our mutual wishes, to advise that at the Dungannon meeting the measure alone should be recommended, without specifying any mode whatsoever, which last consideration ought, according to the best of my judgment, to be left entirely to the mature deliberation of your parliament, and particularly of those representatives whom you are now about to choose. Many arguments might be adduced to strengthen this my fixed opinion, but to detail them would be too tedious, and indeed they appear to me sufficiently obvious.

"'Respecting the other points upon which you desire my judgment they are all of them important, and of nice discussion; but I will abstain from entering into them for this plain reason, that I would heartily recommend it to you, for the present, to confine yourselves to the one great measure only, which, when alone and unmixed with any other matter, will come from you with far greater weight, and with a more assured prospect of success, and which, when once carried into execution, will infallibly secure all benefits of inferior magnitude.

"'With regard to a sketch of the resolutions to be proposed, from what I have already said, you will readily gather my opinion, which is that a reform in the representation should be earnestly, warmly, and respectfully recommended, and that no other matter whatsoever should at present be mentioned. .—Charlemont.—Lurgan, 24th July, 1783.'

"Soon after I had sent this answer, I received the following letter from Grattan, which, though previous in date to one heretofore inserted,[1] as part of it relates to the subject in question, I shall here insert:

"'I received from Stewart a letter informing me that I was returned for Charlemont, in which I am to thank my constituent[2] for the continuation of his confidence, and to express my earnest wish ever to retain his opinion and friendship, than which nothing can be more estimable to me. I know not where to direct my letter, as your marches are rapid. I hope they are not oppressive to you, and that you find your head unmolested by noise or wine. . . The people in our part of the country have been much distressed for want of provisions. I imagine the distress has been much more prevalent in the north, where the harvest is by no means as good as the people. I have been with his excellency since I saw you. I like him, he seems open. I shall dine with him to-morrow, and probably have some political conversation.

"'I wish I could have seen you before I answer a letter sent to me from the delegates of Lisburn relative to a more equal representation, but the answer must be sent before the 20th of this month. They propose to me to give my opinion at large on the measure of equal representation, and on their future proceedings, and wish that I should send them resolutions. To answer them satisfactorily puzzles me. I do most extremely, as you know, approve of a parliamentary reform; but can we possibly say in what shape it shall be proposed till we see the progress of the principle, lest by attempting what is most eligible

[1] *See* p. 105.

[2] Lord Charlemont.

we lose what is practicable. The boroughs are very numerous and exceptionable, and yet by attempting to strike them off we may lose an increase of county members. There is another difficulty, which I feel, and don't wish to express except to you and a few more very select friends, and it is a difficulty which I am sure you feel as I do. The repetitions of Dungannon meetings will alarm parliament, as if the delegates were coming in the place of the legislature. Such meeting was indispensably necessary to enable us to make a stand against the claims of England, but many more of those meetings might, in the opinion of some, be more mischievous than the reform beneficial. At the same time I acknowledge that the business of more equal representation might have little chance unless taken up by the people. I wish it may have a chance as it is. It is certainly the great object. Don't mention my having received a letter from the delegates.—H. Grattan, August 10th, 1783.'

"As I soon after passed through Dublin on the way to my southern reviews, I had an opportunity of showing him a copy of my answer, the purport and manner of which he approved and adopted. It was during this interval between the northern and southern reviews that some incidents, already mentioned, respecting the lord lieutenant happened, and particularly the whimsical consultation dinner to which I was invited.[1]

[Meeting of Volunteer delegates at Dungannon.]

"The Volunteers of Ulster having cheerfully complied with the above-mentioned requisition from the forty-five corps, a meeting was accordingly held at Dungannon on the day appointed,[2] consisting of delegates from two hundred and sixty-nine associated bodies, the inconvenience of distance alone having prevented more from attending. Respecting the propriety and policy of this measure I was, it must be confessed, extremely doubtful. On the one hand I most sincerely approved of a parliamentary reform, an approbation which I had strongly expressed in many of my answers to Volunteer addresses, and held myself pledged, both in honour and in conscience, to forward this great object by every constitutional means. I thought also that, considering how strongly the powerful leaders in parliament were interested against the measure, the most spirited efforts of the people were absolutely necessary to give any chance of its being carried into execution. But, on the other hand, I greatly dreaded the effect of these reiterated meetings, which would naturally give umbrage to parliament, and induce a suspicion that the armed people of Ireland meant to encroach upon the legislature, and finally to take the government of the country into their own hands. I dreaded also the natural effect of numerous meetings of men in arms, which, inspiring a secure confidence in their own strength, renders them difficult to be guided by the more prudent, obnoxious to the influence of turbulent and designing leaders, and prompt to rush into the most violent and dangerous measures; neither could I wholly approve of the Volunteers entering violently into a matter purely of internal regulation, and where consequently, in failure of success, they must be pitted, not against external usurpation, but against their own parliament. In a former instance it had been necessary to encourage such exertions however dangerous, as the only possible means of defeating the unjust claims of a powerful neighbour, and the stake was then of such mighty importance that no risk was, in my opinion, too great. Our lives and

[1] *See* p. 104.

[2] 8th September, 1783.

fortunes were pledged and staked, and I would willingly have preferred even the horrors of war to the abject state of slavery to which we were reduced. Unanimity, at least in appearance, had then prevailed in Ireland. The country had, from various motives, been brought to speak its claims with one voice, and consequently our contention must have been foreign. But the case was now altered. The demands of Ireland were made upon herself, and, however anxious for reform, I could not persuade myself that it might not be too dearly purchased by the hazard of civil contention. Such were the considerations by which my mind was held in balance; but, at all events, my situation was, in the last degree, delicate, and I did not wish to interfere, or to exert my influence in opposition to the meeting, both because I thought that, if properly conducted, as I hoped to find means that it should be, it might be useful to the end proposed, and because that, being myself possessed of a borough, I feared that my judgment might appear to be warped by my private interest; though this I well knew was so far from being the case that, if I had any leaning, it was towards reform purely from the fear of being, unknown to myself, biassed by any private motive.

[Proceedings at meeting.—Addresses.—Plan for parliamentary reform.]

"In this meeting where, to my entire satisfaction, my dear friend, colonel James Stewart was put into the chair, and at which the earl of Bristol,[1] bishop of Derry, assisted, and began that extraordinary course, which has marked his character for one of the most singular that ever existed, strong, not to say violent, resolutions were entered into in favour of reform, but the most important of its transactions was an unanimous determination that a general convention of delegates from all the Volunteers of Ireland should be held in Dublin; and with this view the following resolution was passed:

"'Resolved: That a committee of five persons from each county be now chosen by ballot, to represent this province in a grand national convention to be held at noon in the Royal Exchange of Dublin on the 10th day of November next, to which we trust each of the other provinces will send delegates, to digest and publish a plan of parliamentary reform; to pursue such measures as may appear to them most likely to render it effectual; to adjourn from time to time, and convene provincial meetings, if found necessary.'

"And in order to insure the concurrence of the other provinces the following address was unanimously voted:

"'To the Volunteer armies of the provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. Fellow subjects,—The transcendent events which our united efforts have produced present an eminent instance of the protecting hand of heaven; whilst the progressive virtue and general union of the people naturally prompt them to revive the spirit of an unrivalled constitution, and to vindicate the inherent rights of men. The most important work yet remains, which neglected, our past attainments are transitory, unsubstantial, and insecure, an extension to thousands of our beloved fellow-citizens of a franchise comprehending the very essence of liberty, and drawing the line which precisely separates the freeman from the slave.

"'Suffer us therefore to conjure you, by every endearing tie that connects man with man, with increasing zeal to pursue one of the most glorious objects that ever agitated the human mind, a restoration of virtue to a senate long unaccustomed to speak the voice of the people,

[1] *See* p. 121.

a renovation of the ancient balance of our government, and a firm establishment of the first gift of nature, on the ruins of an avowed corruption, at once the bane of morals and of liberty.

"'From a grand national convention, distinguished by integrity and inspired with the courageous spirit of the constitution, everything must result. With one voice then, the voice of united millions, let Ireland assert her claim to freedom. Through her four provincial assemblies let her temperate declarations flow to one common centre; and there, matured into an extensive plan of reform, be produced as the solemn act of the Volunteer army of Ireland, as a demand of rights, robbed of which the unanimated forms of a free government would be a curse, and existence itself cease to be a blessing.

"'Friends and countrymen, the eyes of an enlightened world are this instant upon us. Munster has, in part, already led the way; and millions of our fellow-subjects of Britain, in whom the flame of liberty still burns with lustre, behold with delight our exertions in the common cause, and in our success see the certain harbinger of their own. Let the reflection—that Greece, the seat of liberty and of science, that Rome, the mistress of the world, and that innumerable states once flourishing and free, now lie prostrate by the hand of tyranny,—teach Ireland. To our deliberative assemblies they convey awful warning to be spirited, unanimous, and firm, lest the present wretched condition of other countries be soon the fate of our own. May therefore the Supreme Ruler of the universe crown his other blessings by being present with us, by promoting union and the love of our country among all ranks of men, and by finally directing our exertions to virtue, liberty, and peace.'

"This address, the complexion, form, and substance of which sufficiently indicate the disposition, spirit, and formidable resolution of those who composed it, had all the desired effect; the three sister provinces instantly caught the flame. Meetings were everywhere summoned for the election of delegates, and the whole kingdom was in agitation.

"At this meeting also an address was received from the 'Irish brigade,' a Volunteer body which had lately associated in Dublin, consisting almost entirely of Catholics. In this address the resolutions of the first Dungannon meeting were adopted, the highest approbation of the Volunteer assemblies was expressed; their own association was announced, and universal toleration and unanimity were strongly recommended. As an answer to this address the following resolution was entered into:

"'Resolved that we entertain the most grateful sense of the approbation of such liberal and patriotic men as compose that respectable body. That we rejoice in the accession of their abilities to the common cause, and that we will be happy to co-operate with them in effecting the complete liberty and happiness of the good people of this kingdom.'

"The resolutions entered into at this meeting had been previously drawn up by the committee of correspondence, and being offered by the chairman, colonel Sharman, were, with little alteration, agreed to, a few only excepted, of a nature in the highest degree important and delicate, pointing out the Roman Catholics as proper electors, and declaring the opinion of the committee that the constitution could never be completely settled till the elective franchise was extended to persons of all religions. To combat this alarming idea, which now first began to take possession of the minds of many, my friends exerted their influence, and these resolutions were negatived. And this was the first appearance of that unaccountable frenzy which afterwards became so dangerously epidemical as to require my utmost exertions to assuage its fury and to stop its progress. But as in the sequel I shall have

occasion fully to enlarge upon this subject, I will not, for the present, suffer it to break in upon my narration. A specified plan of reform was also produced and offered by the committee, which, without any further discussion, was referred to the consideration of the national convention. Such were the principal transactions of this important meeting,[1] which became the object of universal discussion, and filled the minds of all men, according to their different interests and propensities, with hopes or fears; but that which gave rise to the deepest speculation was the idea of a national convention.

[Views on national convention.]

"The earl of Northington, now lord lieutenant, and all who were immediately ministerial in government, together with the whole crew of those who are usually styled borough-mongers, were exceedingly alarmed at this new and, till now, unheard of measure. And indeed it must be confessed that it had an appearance not only novel, but dangerous. The interference of an armed body in matters of a nature purely civil, and essentially appertaining to the constitution of parliament, was in itself of an alarming tendency; but the danger seemed greatly to increase when the whole armed people of Ireland were to be represented in the metropolis, and to form there, during the sitting of parliament, an assembly, tending to overawe its proceedings, unknown to the constitution, formidable from its numbers, from its disposition, and from its constituents, and the more to be feared as many of its members would naturally be chosen from among the most determined and violent of the Volunteers, who, confident in their strength, and elated by success, were now united in the pursuit of one object, great indeed, important and salutary, but which they were taught to believe indispensably necessary to the welfare and freedom of the State. No wonder then if administration, and they who were interested against the purpose of the meeting, should be alarmed and terrified, when even the friends of the people, the favourers of reform, could not help dreading the effects of a measure which tended to involve the Volunteers, inflamed as I have described them, in a dispute with that parliament which, by the concurrence of a variety of interests, might probably be rendered obdurate to their demands. Nay, the very means they were pursuing, the very efforts they were making, might be alleged as a more than plausible reason against compliance, and the effect of refusal might be fatal in the extreme. Among the delegates many turbulent spirits would naturally appear, and probably not a few designing men interested to push matters to an extremity. The smallest spark falling upon materials so very combustible might be sufficient to raise a general conflagration, and the madness or villany of one man might suffice to produce the most fatal consequences in an assembly, where even the virtue of their intention, the justice and manifest reasonableness of their claim would naturally add violence to that ardour which is inseparable from a body so constituted. Under these circumstances the utmost circumspection was necessary, and it was now incumbent upon such leaders of the people as had sought popularity with a view to the public

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[1] Lord Charlemont mentions in a note that a full account of the proceedings of this meeting was immediately transmitted to him by the secretary, James Dawson, and that he intended to include it in an appendix to his narration.

service, to exert all their efforts, all their influence, towards the prevention of mischief, and, if possible, to produce salutary consequences from a proceeding, the good event of which alone could prevent its being deemed by posterity rash and dangerous.

[General election in Ireland, 1783.]

"During this interval, and while I was reviewing the volunteer armies, both in the north and in the south, the general election[1] took place, and added not a little to the agitation of the country; and here I cannot help observing that the conduct of the people was by no means universally what it ought to have been, especially in their present circumstances, and pending their present pursuit. For, though for the most part honest men were returned by the counties, in too many instances influence, and even money prevailed, to the disgrace of the constituents, and to the exclusion of gentlemen of the best and most experienced principles. Two examples were indeed flagrant. Sir Lucius O'Brien,[2] whose illustrious family had almost a prescriptive right to the favour of the people, and whose conduct in parliament had ever been not only irreproachable but actively useful, was replaced in the county of Clare by a new and untried man; and colonel Robert Stewart, whose honesty was almost proverbial, was defeated in Down by lord Kilwarlin, of whose political demerits it is enough to say that he was son to the earl of Hillsborough. Strange infatuation, and that, too, at a time when the constituents of Ireland were anxiously labouring for a restitution of their elective rights, and when the universal cry was, that parliament could never be virtuous, nor the sense of the people properly declared, till equal representation was restored. So true it is that, in depraved times, self-interest will often prevail not only over the principles, but even over the passions of the multitude. But the genuine patriot will not suffer himself to be diverted from his steady course by the faults of the people, but will constantly endeavour to serve them, even in their own despite.

[Parliament in Ireland, 1783.—Secretary Pelham.]

"I was now returned to Dublin, where the newly-elected parliament[3] had met, in which it soon appeared that administration had a great and steady majority. Grattan had taken a decided part with government, while I continued in a defensive opposition, and consequently all intercourse between the ministers and me was absolutely at an end. I went, as usual, on public days, to the castle [of Dublin], where I was received with ceremonious politeness, but without the smallest degree of confidence. Under these circumstances, happening one day to be in the house of commons, I was accosted by the secretary, who begged to speak a few words with me in the speaker's chamber. With some marks of surprise I accepted his offer, and, as soon as we were private, was astonished by the following question: 'Pray, my lord, what can the Volunteers mean by this convention in Dublin?' Recollecting myself as well as I could on the sudden, I coolly answered: 'Sir, I apprehend they mean to meet on the tenth of November.' A little abashed at this

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[1] The writs of election were dated 26th July 1783.
[2] *See* p. 303.
[3] This parliament opened at Dublin on 14th October 1783.

unexpected reply, he added, with much confusion: 'But, my lord, what do you think are likely to be the consequences of this extraordinary measure, at which I confess myself greatly alarmed? What is your opinion? To you I apply for information and advice.' 'Sir,' replied I, a little nettled at this abrupt manner of consulting with one whom he had never consulted before, 'you are a young man, and very new in office, and from that circumstance alone I can be induced to excuse your conduct in hazarding a consultation with one of my rank and situation, at such a time, in such a manner, and in such a place. If the lord lieutenant has occasion for my advice, I will wait upon his excellency upon the first notice with which he shall please to honour me; or, if you, sir, are desirous to consult with me, I am always at home about two o'clock. But, indeed, you begin where you ought to end. Had our political connection been of a long standing, perhaps even here I might have talked with you, to save you and myself the trouble of a visit; but, as that is not the case, you must permit me to tell you that I will not begin it here.' The secretary, unused to such language, and accustomed to the servility of those who deemed themselves honoured by his conversation, appeared much disconcerted, asked pardon for the liberty he had taken, and for the impropriety of his conduct, which he assured me that I had imputed to the right cause, his novelty in office; and ended with an assurance that our next conference should be conducted with more propriety, both in time, place, and manner. I then told him that I had hitherto spoken to him as secretary; that as Mr. Pelham he should always be treated by me with cordial politeness, and, I added with a smile, that as a proof of it, I now begged leave to assure Mr. Pelham, though not the secretary, that the approaching convention need not be so dreadful to him, as it was composed of men who knew their duty, and would not step beyond it. With reiterated apologies he now desired leave to wait upon me, to which I answered: as Mr. Pelham, yes; as secretary, no. Any conversation with the former I should always esteem an honour, though, in the present circumstances, a conference with the latter might not be so grateful to me. Here we parted; and this little, and otherwise unimportant anecdote, I have chosen to insert merely to show those, who are after me to enjoy my honours, how, in my opinion, secretaries [to viceroys] ought to be treated[1] by such as wish to support that dignity which is connected with the honour of the nation.

[Assembly of national convention of Volunteer delegates of Ireland, November, 1783.]

"Meanwhile, through every county of Ireland, the associated corps proceeded to the election of their delegates, some of whom were, as I had apprehended, chosen from among the more violent, though, in general it must be confessed, the designation fell upon the principal gentlemen of their respective counties, men of station and of property. Brownlow and I, with three other men of consequence, were delegated

[1] "Lest, however, it should be thought that there was perhaps too much asperity in my manner of conducting this conversation, it must be recollected that, besides the abrupt and disrespectful manner in which I was now for the first time consulted by the secretary, I had reason to think myself previously ill-treated by government, particularly in that transaction relative to the thanks of parliament to the Volunteers, which has already been mentioned." [C.] *See* p. 106.

from Armagh, and the earl of Bristol,[1] bishop of Derry, with four others,[2] were sent from Londonderry by the united corps of that city.

"The time of meeting was now arrived, and the business assumed an aspect formidably singular. From the east, from the west, from the north, from the south, delegates in uniform crowded to the metropolis, and all the strength and spirits of the nation retiring to the heart, seemed to indicate a fatal convulsion. The bishop arrived in Dublin with a parade not very suitable to his ecclesiastical station, escorted by the Derry horse; and having been received upon the road with military honours in all the towns through which he passed,—a reception which, by the way, he had laboured to procure by every possible effort. Previous to his arrival he wrote me word that he should pay his first respects to the general, and accordingly, with his escort, he alighted at my house on his way to his lodging. As I was well acquainted with his disposition, and already dreaded his designs, it was necessary that I should be circumspect in the manner of his reception. It was fitting that the Derry troop should be received in a military manner, and accordingly a guard of infantry and a squadron of horse were drawn up at my door, who saluted them at their arrival. But lest the bishop should suppose that any particular honours were paid by the Volunteers to his person, I took care, by my orders, that his coach should be prevented from coming close to the door, that so, under the appearance of respect, I might receive him at some distance from the house, and that, returning with him from his coach, the subsequent salute should appear to be made to me as general, and not to him. This manœuvre he clearly understood, and appeared with difficulty to refrain from showing some symptoms of displeasure.

[Frederick Augustus Hervey, earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry.]

"And now that I have been forced to mention this extraordinary personage, it may not be amiss that I should endeavour to give my reader some slight sketch of his character, which, by the way, it is no easy matter to delineate, as his peculiarities were so great as to border upon something beyond the sane bounds of eccentricity. He was in effect a Hervey, strictly verifying that well known and celebrated apothegm of lord Chesterfield, that 'at the beginning God created three different species, men, women, and Herveys.' Like all his family, he is possessed of considerable parts, but his talents have much more of quickness than of solidity, and are formed for ornament rather than for use. His vivacity has more of petulant smartness than of wit, and the extreme volubility of his tongue and of his ideas, affects his hearers rather with surprise than with pleasure, and seldom, if ever, with profit. His genius is like a shallow stream, rapid, noisy, diverting, but useless. Such is his head, and, such as it is, I fear it is much superior to his

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[1] Frederick Augustus Hervey, born in 1730, appointed bishop of Cloyne in 1767, translated to bishopric of Derry in February 1768. Sir Jonah Barrington mentioned that this bishop of Derry, "at one time, assumed nearly a royal state. Dressed in purple, he appeared in the streets of Dublin in a coach drawn by six horses—and attended by a troop of light dragoons as a life-guard—which had been raised, and was commanded, by his nephew, the unfortunate and guilty George Robert Fitzgerald." The bishop, added Barrington, was "an Englishman by birth and a British peer"—"a man of elegant erudition, extensive learning, and an enlightened and classical, but eccentric, mind:—bold, ardent and versatile;—he dazzled the vulgar by ostentatious state, and worked upon the gentry by ease and condescension:—he affected public candour, and practised private cabal."

[2] Right Hon. Thomas Connolly and Edward Carey, colonels; captains Lackey and Ferguson.

heart.[1] He is proud, and to the last degree vindictive; vain to excess; inconstant in his friendships, if such they may be called, which are never formed but to serve some private purpose; fond of intrigue in gallantry as well as in politics, and sticking at nothing to gain his ends in either. In the former he equals all we have ever been told of Catholic ecclesiastical profligacy. In the latter, though without his abilities, he seems desirous to emulate his worthy prototype, cardinal de Retz. Possessed of no one firm principle, public or private, he is continually assuming, and as continually forfeiting the character of a patriot and of a virtuous man. A bad father, both from caprice and avarice; a worse husband to the best and most amiable of wives; a determined deist, though a bishop, and at times so indecently impious in his conversation as to shock the more reprobate. Profuse at once and avaricious; for, though he will spare no expense to accomplish his ends or to gratify his desires, in all other matters he plainly evinces that his ambition and his lust alone can get the better of his avarice, and he possesses in an extreme degree that mean and base suspicion which is so truly the characteristic of the miser that it is inseperable from that contemptible character. Affecting however an unbounded generosity, and sometimes breaking out into paroxysms of profusion, yet labouring by every possible means to raise the income of his bishopric, though already the most profitable in the kingdom, to the detriment of his numerous tenantry, and enriching himself and his family with the spoils of the people and of the church by an immense acquisition of beneficial leases which his youth has enabled him to outlive.

"This man, having been refused the see of Durham in exchange for his Irish preferment, and, as some pretend, having asked in vain for the lieutenancy of Ireland, detested the king, whom he openly and indecently abused, and, actuated by the infernal spirit of revenge, determined to exert his utmost endeavours towards breeding confusion in this kingdom, to which effect he had made the most intemperate use of every means, which his immense fortune put into his power, and, by feasting, by drinking, and cajoling, had made himself a considerable party, especially among the young men, in that distant part of the north where he resided. To gain popularity every best adapted lure was thrown out to every class of the people. The Presbyterians were gained over by an affectation of patriotism, by unbounded professions in favour of liberty both in church and state, by virulent abuse of his brethren the bishops, and, above all, by coinciding with them, and even going beyond them, in their favourite plan of reform, which they thought would be greatly forwarded, both here and in England, by the patronage of a man of his great property and exalted rank in both countries. The Protestants he allured by an affected and even overstrained affability and condescension, which in a man of his station is a never-failing bait for the vulgar; by lavish promises of provision for themselves or for their children, and by the distribution of church preferments, which, to do him justice in this best part of his conduct, were properly bestowed among the clergy of his own diocese. And with regard to the Papists,—to whom, from his long residence in Popish countries, and from the levelling influence of that new philosophy of which he wished to be deemed an apostle, he was, I believe, sincerely addicted, and whose attachment seemed indeed to be his principal object, as well because they were numerous in that part of Ulster where he resided, as on account of the formidable prevalence of their numbers through all the other provinces of Ireland,—he most effectually gained their hearts by continual declamations in their favour, by

[1] *See* p. 165.

lamenting the grievances under which, notwithstanding the late repeal of the obnoxious Popery laws, he asserted they still laboured, by professing an ardent wish for unlimited toleration, and a fixed determination to endeavour its attainment, by flattering their hopes with a share of lucrative offices both in the state and in the army, and even by more than insinuating his opinion that, in the approaching reform, they ought of right to have their adequate portion of legislation. Such were the means by which this bad man, for the worst purposes, endeavoured to acquire an ascendency over the people; yet, to their honour be it said, though he in some measure accomplished his end, they were honest and wise enough not to be a prey to his designs. The applause bestowed on him, and the honours paid him were seldom spontaneous, but usually extorted by intrigue, and his boasted popularity was so ill founded and unstable as to yield at once to the first return of calm reflection.

[Proceedings of convention of Volunteer delegates at Dublin, 1783.]

"The delegates were now all arrived in Dublin, and met at the Exchange,[1] where the first business to be done was to choose a president. The same reason which had induced me to accept of the nomination from Armagh, and to persuade many moderate friends of mine, much against their wish, to suffer themselves to be delegated, namely, that there should be in the assembly a strength of prudent men sufficient, by withstanding or preventing violence, to secure moderate measures, induced me now to accept the troublesome and dangerous office of president, which was unanimously voted to me. Another reason also concurred to prevent my refusal. The bishop of Derry had, I knew, done all in his power to be elected to that office, and I feared that, if I should refuse, the choice might fall ou him, which would indeed have been fatal to the public repose.

"There being no room in the Exchange sufficiently large to contain so numerous an assembly, we now adjourned to the Rotunda, walking through the town in a procession singularly striking. The streets were lined by the Volunteers of Dublin, who received us with presented arms. The president, preceded by a squadron of horse, led the way, and was followed by a long line of well-dressed delegates walking two and two. In this manner we marched to the Rotunda, which was handsomely accommodated for our reception, an oblong square being formed within it by benches raised one above the other as seats for the delegates. At the upper end, under the orchestra, upon an estrade, elevated by three steps, was placed a gilded chair, in the nature of a throne, for the president, beneath which was a table with seats for the two secretaries. The orchestra was filled with ladies, and the remainder of the room, outside the oblong square, was thronged with Volunteers, who were of right admitted, and with men of all ranks.

"The grand convention, for so it was styled, was now formally assembled, a numerous and truly respectable body of gentlemen; for, though some of a lower class had been delegated, by far the majority were men of rank and fortune, and many of them members of parliament, lords and commoners; a circumstance which may be in some degree attributed to my endeavours; for, though I never cordially approved of the meeting, yet, as I found it impossible to withstand the general impulse towards it, and as, for reasons already assigned, I did not choose to exert myself against it, especially since there was cause to

[1] Now the city hall, Dublin.

fear my exertions would be fruitless, and, if so, might prevent my being useful towards moderating and guiding those measures which I could not with efficacy oppose, and directing the course of that torrent which might otherwise have swept down all before it; I had, upon mature consideration, determined that to render the assembly as respectable as possible was the next best mode to the entire prevention of it, and this, not only for the sake of public tranquillity, but for the sake of the measure also which it was meant to forward.

"The assembly now proceeded to business, and everything was carried on with the utmost regularity, and indeed solemnity and magnificence. A captain's guard of Volunteers constantly attended. Secretaries were appointed, and our first proceeding, after entering into some general resolutions and regulations of order, was to form ourselves into a grand committee, of which Mr. Brownlow was declared chairman, and to appoint a sub-committee for the receiving and digesting plans of reform, in the chair of which was placed colonel Robert Stewart, member of parliament for the county of Down. Some symptoms of violence however appeared at the first outset. A certain Mr. Bruce, a dissenting clergyman, proposed as one of the regulations that in all questions when sentiments were divided, the names of those who voted on either side should be taken down by the secretary and published with the daily minutes of the convention; and this motion, which was clearly meant to intimidate the more moderate, was carried without a division, any opposition to it having been deemed imprudent. Much time having, as is always the case, been spent in matters of form, the sub-committee at length sat, and proceeded in the business committed to them, and indeed their business was arduous and difficult. Hundreds of plans were sent in of the wildest and most ridiculous nature. Every schemer laid before them the crude production of his shallow understanding, and the farrago of matter was such as absolutely to confound the members; until at length, and after the toilsome confusion of many days, the bishop of Derry moved that Mr. Flood, who had not been put upon the committee, should, with the leave of the convention, be called in as an assessor and assistant. This gentleman, whose character and abilities I need not here recapitulate, speedily gained such an ascendant that whatever he said was received as oracular. The most favourite points which, previous to his interference, had occupied and agitated the committee, vanished before his oratory and skilful management. Voting by ballot, which besides the inevitable danger of imposition and consequent ruin, is perhaps in its tendency too democratical to be admitted in a constitution such as the British, yielded to his arguments, and even the bishop's darling object, upon which he meant to ground his influence and to raise his power, the opening the elective franchise to Catholics, for the present at least gave way to that authority which was now become dictatorial. All other plans, even that which had been prepared by the committee of correspondence, were rejected, and one, which he himself had formed, was, with some few alterations, unanimously adopted, and laid before the grand committee, by which, after much debate, it was approved, not so much for its intrinsic merit, its manifold defects being even then apparent to all men of judgment, as from the extreme difficulty of forming any other to put in its place.

"A whimsical, not to say ridiculous, conversation now ensued. There were some among the delegates who had interest in boroughs, such, however, for the most part as was rather burthensome and ideal than advantageous or solid, and such an interest Flood himself possessed. These men arose one after another, and, with an air of the most disinterested generosity, resigned to the public their untenable pretensions.

I, who really and exclusively possessed the borough of Charlemont, remained for a long time silent, as well from my dislike to parade and to public speaking, as because I deemed it unnecessary to ratify in words that cession of my interest which had been already declared by my acceptance of a delegation, till finding that a further declaration was expected from me, I also at length arose, 'assigned as a reason for my silence my opinion that by accepting a seat at the meeting I had already declared a fixed determination to sacrifice to the public that borough, which I had ever held as in trust for the people, and which I now most cheerfully re-delivered to them as the original proprietors ; assuring the assembly that, though I had at all times endeavoured to execute my trust to the public advantage, I had never felt so much real delight in the exercise of those powers which had been confided to me as I now did in resigning them. These few words were received with universal applause not only of the delegates but of all present. The committees having now gone through the business referred to them, the plan was reported to the convention, where some difficulties yet arose. The bishop again renewed the Catholic question, in which he was warmly supported by many of the Connaught and by some of the Munster delegates, while even a few of the northern Dissenters, by their speeches or acquiescence, appeared already to indicate the approaches of that strange madness by which they were not long after actuated, and which I shall have occasion fully to discuss in the sequel of these memoirs. For my own part my opinion upon this important subject had long been decided, and I was clear that every immunity, every privelege of citizenship should be given to the Catholics, excepting only arms and legislature : either of which being granted to them would, I conceive, shortly render Ireland a Catholic country, totally break its connection with England, and force it into the alliance, or rather under the dangerous protection of France or Spain, not to mention the many dangers which must infallibly occur from the nature and situation of Protestant property. Strongly impressed by this opinion, I did every thing in my power to discountenance and to defeat the bishop's machinations, and, with the help of my friends, who warmly adopted the same sentiments, after much debate and a variety of transactions, the detail of which would be tedious, our party was victorious, and the plan remained unembarrased with this dangerous innovation. My conduct upon this business, joined to the endeavours I was perpetually exerting to quell violence and to preserve order and moderation in the assembly, so greatly offended the bishop, that one day, while some time was employed in counting a division, he took an opportunity of approaching my chair, and, with some appearance of discontent, told me in a low voice that the part I took was by no means generally approved, and that it was even thought by some that I was rather lukewarm in my pursuit of that great measure which had given rise to the convention. Highly irritated by the insolent impertinence of this suggestion, I could scarcely refrain from breaking out into passionate expression, till the consciousness of my own innocence and a moment's reflection on the character and function of the aggressor enabled me, though with some difficulty, to restrain myself to the following words : 'If, my lord, the whole tenor of my life be not sufficient to ascertain and to support my character, and to prove the impossibility of my being lukewarm in a matter on which I have declared and pledged my opinion that it is highly important to the public weal, I shall certainly seek no other means to vindicate myself from the base aspersion your lordship has been pleased to intimate, but shall content myself with heartily despising the censure of those who may think what you have insinuated ; yet this I deem it necessary to

say on the occasion which your lordship has now given me, that I will neither be instrumental myself, nor suffer others, be they who they may, to plunge my country into the horrors of civil war. 'Do you then think,' replied the prelate, greatly disconcerted, 'that the present object is not worth the risk of a little confusion? Do you not esteem it fully equal in importance to anything which has hitherto been sought?' 'My lord,' said I, 'I understand you. My answer shall evince the difference I make between the present and the former objects of our exertions. While Ireland was in effect subject to a foreign legislature there were no lengths I would not have gone to rescue her from a state which I considered as positive slavery. To that point I had pledged my life and fortune, and towards the attainment of it I would willingly and cheerfully have hazarded not only them, but what was and still is more dear to me, and far more important, the peace of my country. Our present object I esteem great and of high importance, and to obtain it will do every thing which is not inconsistent with the public peace. But I will go no further. This is my answer. Make what use of it you please.' The business of the division was now over. The bishop retired in confusion, and from this time may be dated the confirmation of that enmity towards me which most certainly does me honour.

"The convention had now sat for the tedious space of twenty long days, and my constant attendance, wholly preventing that morning exercise which had become habitually necessary to me, had much impaired my health. My nerves, from whose extreme sensibility almost every complaint to which I was liable had been derived, were greatly affected from the perpetual irritation of unremitting anxiety. But matters now verged to a conclusion. The business for which the meeting had been convened was performed. The plan had been digested, and was reduced to form. I hoped now to be speedily delivered from my anxious and troublesome office, when new difficulties, new matter of anxiety arose, which rendered these latter days of the convention by far the most painful and perilous stage of it.

[Latter days of the convention, 1783.]

"On Saturday, the 29th day of November [1783], about four o'clock in the afternoon, it was proposed by Flood that he, with the other commoners present, should forthwith go down to the house, that he should there move for leave to bring in a bill grounded upon the plan that had been approved, and that the meeting should not adjourn till the success of his motion was known. This hasty measure was totally contrary to my opinion, which upon the most mature consideration had been decidedly formed, and was that all immediate intercourse between the convention and parliament should be sedulously and cautiously avoided; that the plan now digested should be carried down by the several delegates to their respective counties; that it should be laid before them in full meetings for their approbation, and, if approved, should come back strongly recommended by instructions and petitions to the house of commons from the great body of their constituents. But private interest, private ambition here fatally interfered. Flood was obliged by particular business in a few days to sail for England. The delay, which must necessarily be occasioned by proceeding according to my idea would deprive him of the honour of bringing forward the plan, and consequently of taking the lead in the business of reform, an honour which he could not prevail on himself to resign to anyone, and which

was also closely connected with his interest, as he hoped thereby to acquire such popularity among the reformists of England as would greatly assist in forwarding the design he had then formed of obtaining a seat in the British parliament. On the other hand his abilities in supporting the measure were deemed by the delegates essentially necessary to success, and this consideration united itself to their ardent desire of seeing before their departure from town the fruit of their labours. Confidence in their own strength and formidable importance prevented them from dreading any effort on the part of parliament, which they deemed too much intimidated to venture any opposition to a measure coming immediately from them, and consequently supported by the whole armed people of Ireland.

"These reasons, seconded and enforced by the irresistible eloquence of Flood, and abetted by the petulant violence of the bishop,[1] so far prevailed in the assembly that, though I had many friends who thought as I did, it was deemed imprudent to risk a division, and Flood departed, accompanied by Brownlow, who was to second his motion, and by such of the delegates as were members of the commons. The convention meanwhile continued sitting in anxious expectation of the event. As the time was prolonged even the most sanguine began to doubt; but I, (whose opinion, founded upon my knowledge of parties in parliament, and upon my conscious certainty that we had now put ourselves in the wrong, and had by our precipitation given to our enemies a decided advantage which they could not fail to seize, had been totally adverse to the present measure,) was in the highest degree agitated. Three long hours elapsed, and no news arrived; when at length, guessing, from the delay as well as from the reasons above mentioned, at what had passed, and dreading the effect which such a report as I now expected might produce upon minds inflamed with zeal, enraged at disappointment, heated with animosity, and rendered still more intractable by the impatience with which they had long waited, I, with much difficulty, prevailed on the assembly to adjourn, hoping that the intervention of a day, the morrow being Sunday, might in some degree calm the perturbation of men's minds, or, at the least, give time for prudent counsels.

[Debate in house of commons, Dublin, 1783.]

"I now went down to the house of commons, where the debate was carried on with a violence and want of temper which would have disgraced the assembly I had lately left. Flood had moved for leave to bring in a bill for a more equal representation of the people, and had in his speech given a full detail of the plan. The whole faction of boroughmongers eagerly seized the good ground which had been given them by the imprudence of the convention, and, uniting themselves with government, violently opposed the admission of a bill which had taken its rise in an assembly by them termed illegal, and which had been brought thither hot from a meeting, assuming to itself the deliberative powers of the legislature, and arrogantly hoping to control and overawe parliament. Much illiberal abuse was thrown out against the Volunteers, in which Fitzgibbon in particular gave a loose to his natural petulance, and to that talent for throwing dirt which he mistakes for eloquence. All was confusion, scurrility, and vociferation. Confiding in their numbers, and sure of pleasing government, every man was eager to rise and to rail. To hear them vociferate, one would have imagined that they were not

[1] Of Derry.

afraid, yet an accurate observer would easily have discovered that the contrary was true. Excess of fear sometimes produces a momentary exertion which looks like courage, and every man was loud in proportion to his terror. In vain did Flood solemnly declare that he moved for the bill as his own, that he himself had framed it; an assertion most certainly founded in truth. In vain did Brownlow and the fast friends of reform, exert themselves to the utmost. Leave was refused by a great majority,[1] the more numerous as it consisted of three classes, whom the present emergency had united,—the hirelings of the court, almost all they who had interest in boroughs, and many honest, but timid men, who were, perhaps not without some ground, alarmed at the measures which had lately been pursued by the Volunteers, and who really thought the dignity of parliament, and consequently the national security, at stake.

"This great question being thus disposed of, the victorious party, relying on the strength they had acquired from the causes and motives above mentioned, and impelled by that impetuosity, that bastard courage which is the child of fear, determined to pursue their victory, and a motion was made 'that it be resolved that it is now become indispensably necessary to declare that this house will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever.'

"Upon this new ground a violent debate ensued, and, after much altercation, the question was put 'that the house do now adjourn?' which having passed in the negative, the question was put 'that the house do agree in the said resolution?' when, upon a division, the 'ayes' who went out were 150, the 'noes' who stayed in, 68; tellers for the 'ayes': John Fitzgibbon, Richard Hely Hutchinson; tellers for the 'noes': William Brownlow, sir Edward Newenham.

"And now was brought forward the final manœuvre on which the party most relied, and a motion being made, and the question put 'that it be resolved by the lords temporal and spiritual and commons in parliament assembled, that an humble address be presented to his majesty to declare the perfect satisfaction which we feel in the many blessings we enjoy under his majesty's most auspicious government and our present happy constitution, and to acquaint his majesty that at this time we think it peculiarly incumbent upon us to express our determined resolution to support the same inviolate with our lives and fortunes.' It was carried

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[1] "In this debate some, however, had vouchsafed to enter into the merits, or rather demerits of the plan, and in this it must be confessed that our ground was scarcely tenable; yet, as leave was only asked to bring in a bill, which was afterwards in its several stages to be considered, altered, and new modelled in the committee and by the house, the refusal was certainly a violent and almost an unprecedented measure. I have reason to know with certainty that Grattan upon this occasion not only advised but entreated that the bill should be received, though it were afterwards to be thrown out in the committee, or even after the first reading; but he advised and entreated in vain,—one instance among a thousand of the little weight that men of a certain stamp have in the cabinet, and of the small service which revolted patriots can do to their country by all their boasted influence. Grattan might have got a place for Tydd, but could not alter a measure. He was refused, and yet was silent, voting indeed for the reception, but without uttering a single word. Ought he on this occasion to have contented himself with a silent vote? The motion and the numbers upon this question were as follows:—

"'Sabbati, 29 die Novembris, 1783.—A motion was made, and the question being put, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament, and that Henry Flood, esq., the right hon. William Brownlow, and sir Edward Newenham, do prepare and bring in the same:

"'The house divided: Ayes who went out, 77; noes who stayed in, 159. Tellers for the ayes, William Brownlow, sir Edward Newenham; tellers for the noes, John Fitzgibbon, Richard Hely Hutchinson.'" [C.]

in the affirmative without a division, our friends not choosing to divide, as the lateness of the night had impaired their numbers, a misfortune to which opposition is always liable; and therefore taking advantage of the ambiguous terms[1] in which the resolution was expressed, they chose to content themselves with a simple negative. Nothing now was wanting to complete the measure but the concurrence of the other branch of the legislature, and it was therefore ordered that the right honourable Mr. Conolly[2] do carry the said resolution to the lords, and desire their concurrence; and, this order being made without a division, the house at length adjourned.

"And now the time was come when not only my influence but my temper was to be tried. Connected as I was with the Volunteers, and obliged by them, it was impossible but that I should have sensibly felt the unworthy treatment they had received, and the obloquy which had been thrown out against them by a set of contemptible hirelings, whose principal objection to them was the service they had done their country, and who, like curs tied up to make them fierce, seemed to have acquired courage from their chains, and barked for their daily food. Had the bill been rejected with a calm dignity becoming parliament, much might have been said in favour of such conduct, but the ungrateful intemperance with which a body of men had been treated to whom the constitution owed its existence, and parliament its powers, and to whose exertions the very wretches who vilified them were indebted for their consequence, was indeed enough to provoke any man who was not 'pigeon-livered' and lacked gall.[3] Vengeance too was within my grasp, ample vengeance. I clearly saw the fears of the majority through all their affected bullying, and was sensible that real timidity had masked itself in their assumed intemperance. On the other hand, the spirit of the convention was well known to me. Provoked, as it naturally would be, to restrain it might be difficult; but the slightest encouragement, or even neutrality on my part would, I knew, be sufficient to raise a storm which would bear down all before it. A very little reflection, however, determined me in the part I should take. My country's peace was still my object, and to that I resolved to sacrifice everything. Hard, indeed,

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[1] "The ambiguity here alluded to is apparent, and was calculated to increase the majority by inducing many moderate men, who did not wish ill to the measure of reform, to vote for the letter of the resolution without entering into its latent spirit. To express a satisfaction in our present constitution, and to declare a determination to defend the same inviolate with our lives and fortunes, was in effect, what any man might have voted, who did not wish to see that by 'our present happy constitution,' the majority meant to insinuate that the constitution was absolutely perfect, and that all change, internal as well as external, was unnecessary, and by every means to be resisted. By the answer given to the address, which I here insert, it is clear that English government chose rather to answer the apparent than the latent sense. Unwilling to give any opinion upon the measure of reform, which then in England equally agitated men's minds, his majesty contents himself with declaring that he will always co-operate in the maintenance and preservation of the constitution. The answer was as follows:

"'Mercurii, 17 die Decembris, 1783.—Mr. Secretary Pelham presented the king's answer in these words: George, Rex,—His majesty returns his hearty thanks to the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in parliament assembled, for their dutiful and loyal address. His majesty receives with the highest satisfaction, the sentiments expressed by his parliament respecting his majesty's government, and his majesty's faithful parliament may rest assured of his majesty's determined resolution to concur with them at all times in the maintenance and preservation of that free and excellent constitution on which the happiness and interests of his people of Ireland so essentially depends.'" [C.]

[2] Thomas Conolly, of Castletown, co. Dublin, M.P. for Londonderry county.

[3] "Hamlet," act 2, scene 2.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

it seemed that I should be compelled in some sort to co-operate with those whom I despised and hated, and even to risk in their defence a popularity which they dreaded. But their safety was, in this instance, linked with that of the community, and I could not allow myself to suffer the house to be set on fire that the vermin might be consumed. Determined at every hazard to do what I deemed my duty, I was prepared not only to sacrifice my feelings, but even to forfeit the love of the people rather than my own self-esteem. The next day being Sunday, my friends assembled at my house, and it was presently resolved that every means should be pursued to secure tranquillity; deputations were sent to me from the delegates of some counties with which I was nowise connected, assuring me of their support in whatever part I should take at the present crisis.

[Proceedings at national convention of Volunteer delegates of Ireland, November, 1783.]

"Fully determined now upon the line of conduct I was to pursue, early on the Monday I went down to the Rotunda, and took the chair. Nothing could be more menacing than the aspect of the convention. A sullen gloom overspread every countenance. All were silent, but it was the silence of the elements which forbodes an approaching storm. The appearance of the assembly was that of a black cloud ready to burst into thunder. My first great object was to prevent inflammatory speeching, and especially a retaliation of abuse against parliament. At length after a gloomy interval of some minutes, one of the most fiery spirits arose, and began his speech in the style I so much dreaded. I stopped him instantly, and called to order. I had long sat in parliament; had been intimately acquainted with the proceedings of every well-regulated assembly,[1] both here and in England. One rule was invariable,—never to take notice in one assembly of what had passed in another. No member should therefore presume to allude to anything which had passed elsewhere; if he did, I should call him to order, and rely on the delegates to support that chair in which they had done me the honour to place me. This measure had the desired effect. A respect for my opinion, which was thus clearly divulged, and for that of those friends who were known to co-operate with me, a sense of the unbiassed propriety of my conduct, influenced the majority in my favour, and perhaps, too, a well-founded alarm at the dangerous importance of the present crisis made them not unwilling to be guided. I was well supported, and, though various attempts were made, the more unruly were kept down. The assembly being thus reduced to a state of regularity, it was thought proper, after having shown our coolness, to take such steps as might show our firmness also, and might evince to our constituents, to the nation, and to parliament, our fixed determination steadily to pursue the great object which had called us together; and this was done not only as a measure in itself just and necessary, but as the only method of satisfying the delegates, and consequently of insuring present tranquillity. With these views the following resolutions were moved, and unanimously adopted, with a zeal and ardour which clearly demonstrated how necessary it had been to propose them:

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[1] "This measure was the more likely to succeed, as it flattered the vanity of the delegates; since, by supposing that parliamentary order ought of course to take place among them, their convention was in some degree assimilated to the great legislative assemblies of England and of Ireland." [C.]

"'Resolved unanimously, that it is highly necessary for the delegates of counties, counties of cities, and counties of towns, in conjunction with the other freeholders of their several counties, to take every measure to forward the plan of reform agreed to by this convention, by convening county meetings, or whatever other constitutional mode they may find most expedient; and that they not only instruct their representatives to support the same in parliament, but also request the members of the several cities, towns, boroughs and manors, within their county, to aid in carrying the same into perfect effect.

"'Resolved unanimously, that we earnestly recommend it to the electors of the several counties of this kingdom to appoint proper persons to make a return forthwith of each city, town, borough, and manor, belonging to their county, which is, by our plan, declared to be decayed, to report by what admission of barony, or baronies, parish or parishes, to the right of franchise, such decayed city, borough, or manor may best be opened, in conformity to said plan; and if in any particular place a deviation from the general plan should, by local circumstances, be rendered necessary, that they do specify those local circumstances, with the utmost precision, together with such modes as may appear to them to be the fittest to be substituted in the place of the general regulation, assigning their reasons for the same; but in no case advising such deviation, unless on the most manifest necessity.

"'Resolved unanimously, that the necessity of a parliamentary reform is manifest, and that we do exhort the nation, by every constitutional effort, to effectuate such reform.'

"These resolutions, which were calculated to gratify the pride of the delegates, by showing their determination steadily to pursue their intended course regardless of what had passed in parliament, appeared to give great satisfaction; yet something more was necessary. The Volunteers of Ireland had been calumniated in the house of commons. With regard to these calumnies, though boiling with indignation, they had been prevailed upon to observe a cool and respectful silence. As well to satisfy the more indignant, as to answer in the properest and most dignified manner the base aspersions which had been so lavishly cast on them, an address to the king was deemed a proper measure, and Flood accordingly moved that 'an humble address be presented to his majesty from this convention, as the delegates of all the Volunteers of Ireland.' As in speaking to this motion Flood had fully detailed the purport of his address, than which nothing could be more dutiful and expressive of loyalty, I greatly wished that it might be immediately brought forward, and that the convention, having thus vindicated itself in the most becoming manner, should this night adjourn. Anxious as I was for the public tranquillity, and fearful of the effects which might ensue from suffering such a body of men, after what had passed, to sit together for another day, while the most trifling event might produce matter of inflammation sufficient to make that fire, which was now barely smothered, break forth with redoubled fury, it is no wonder that I should have ardently wished to put a speedy period to the assembly. Flood however objected. His address was not yet prepared, and, though the matter was determined upon, it would take some time to put it in proper form. To break up so suddenly would also look like intimidation, an appearance which was cautiously to be avoided. Another day's sitting would answer every good purpose, and could be attended by no inconvenience. These reasons were certainly specious, and even not without solidity, yet such was my dread of a second meeting in our present

circumstances, and so great was the anxiety of mind under which I laboured, that I still endeavoured, by persuasion and even by entreaties, to accomplish the finishing our business in this night and a consequent adjournment; till at length, perceiving that the proposal of Flood was seconded by the wish of the greater number, I reluctantly acquiesced under a promise that no new matter should, on any account, be moved, and that the business of the next day should be positively confined to the perfecting the address.

"In the delicate transactions of this day it was somewhat remarkable that the bishop of Derry took little or no part, a conduct which, as was evident from his previous and subsequent behaviour, could not be ascribed to moderation, and which may therefore be probably supposed to have proceeded from fear. Many men, who can brave distant danger, betray their pusillanimity at its near approach. He was not now in his northern diocese, at more than a hundred miles distance from government, but in the capital, the residence of the viceroy, and the seat of legislative power.

[Address to the king.—Conclusion of convention.]

"On the next day, Tuesday the second of December [1783], according to our adjournment, we once more met. The promised address was produced, and unanimously agreed to, being couched in the most loyal and respectful terms, while at the same time it expressed everything which the delegates would have wished to say. As a sample of that genius for which no circumstance was too difficult, I here insert a copy:

"'To the king's most excellent majesty, the humble address of the delegates of all the Volunteers of Ireland.

"'Most gracious sovereign,—We, your majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of all the Volunteers of Ireland, beg leave to approach your majesty's throne with all humility; to express our zeal for your majesty's person, family, and government, and our inviolable attachment to the perpetual connection of your majesty's crown of this kingdom with that of Great Britain; to offer to your majesty our lives and fortunes in support of your majesty's rights, and of the glory and prosperity of the British empire; to assert with an humble but honest confidence that the Volunteers of Ireland did without expense to the public protect your majesty's kingdom of Ireland against your foreign enemies at a time when the remains of your majesty's forces in this country were inadequate to that service; to state that through their means the laws and police of this kingdom have been better executed and maintained than at any former period within the memory of man, and to implore your majesty that our humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the parliamentary representation of this kingdom remedied by the legislature in some reasonable degree, may not be imputed to any spirit of innovation in us, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of our fellow subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms.—Signed by order: John Talbot Ashenhurst, James Dawson, secretaries.'

"A motion was now made, and carried with universal applause, that this address be presented by colonel Flood, and the right honourable colonel Brownlow, or by either of them. Neither were the delegates forgetful of their promise. Nothing farther was moved, the usual resolutions of thanks only excepted, and the convention at length adjourned 'sine die.'

[Observations on convention.]

"Thus finally concluded this formidable business to my entire satisfaction; neither can any one be surprised at my eager wish to put a speedy end to it, who is satisfied from these records that the preservation of public tranquillity was ever with me a capital object, and who reflects on the state of men's minds at this important period on both sides of the question. Though I was too well acquainted with the fears of parliament greatly to dread any further violence on their part, yet was it not impossible, in the present frantic ferment, that if the delegates, either by abusive speeching, or by any other intemperate conduct, had put themselves clearly in the wrong, advantage might have been taken by interested and violent men, and the house of commons might have been persuaded, under the pretence of vindicating its dignity, to take such steps as would have been irretrievably fatal. The boroughmongers were powerful. They had been openly attacked in what they had the impudence to call their property; and to quell all such attempts for the future, they would, if not withheld by fear, willingly and without remorse have plunged their country into confusion. Fear then was our only safeguard on that side; and how far interest, the support of government, and of a decided majority, might prevail over it, was at least problematical. On the other hand the delegates were exasperated to their utmost bearing. Inflamed as they were, the smallest spark would have been sufficient to raise a general combustion. Had parliament proceeded one step further all restraint would have been impossible. They would have been supported by forty thousand men in arms. A consciousness of this support precluded every idea of timidity. Some of them also, few indeed, were of doubtful characters. Their involved circumstances, their politics influenced perhaps by a religion which they had nominally quitted, induced a suspicion that they might wish for disturbance. In troubled times, indigence and Popish zeal are dangerous concomitants, and French influence, or even French money is never wanting when any opening is given for their interference. Under these circumstances my situation was indeed trying and painfully anxious, neither is it surprising that, both for my own sake and for that of my country, I should eagerly wish to be extricated. Placed at the head of the convention, I seemed to myself in some sort responsible for the event, and every hour of delay was replete with peril. To evince the dangerous state to which matters were reduced and the spirit by which some of the more violent among the Volunteers were inflamed and agitated, the following fact is sufficient: Colonel Cannier, a hot-headed though honest young man, who on the Monday succeeding the debate in parliament, commanded the Volunteer guard, which was posted at the Rotunda, gave out in orders that the guard should attend with a certain number of ball cartridges as for actual service. And though this order was, I am persuaded, absolutely unknown to any one individual of the assembly, the apprehensions as well as the resolution of the corps may clearly be inferred from it.

[Affairs in house of lords, Dublin.]

"The assembly having now adjourned, I immediately went down to the house of lords, where a warm debate had already lasted for some hours upon the resolution of concurrence with the address sent up by the commons. The business was here carried on with somewhat more decency than in the lower house; yet still a great degree of warmth

made it appear that many of their lordships were possessed of boroughs. The influence of government, by which this courtly assembly is at all times peculiarly swayed, was also apparent from the names and characters of the principal agitators. At about ten the question was put, and carried for concurrence by a very great majority, a measure against which I protested, though accompanied but by few. This protest was, I fear, far inadequate to the occasion, having been written on the table, in all the hurry and confusion of debate.

[Conduct of Hervey, bishop of Derry.]

"And here I cannot avoid mentioning the conduct of the bishop of Derry, who, instead of accompanying such lords as went down from the convention to the house, and joining with them in their protest, immediately set out for the country; a conduct only to be accounted for by that timidity, which in his inconsistent character was strangely united with rashness and violence. Bold and daring when backed by numbers, he feared to encounter the attack of an assured majority, whose indignation, the effects of which he may possibly have dreaded, would, he supposed, be peculiarly pointed at him. To his headquarters at Downhill, where alone he thought himself perfectly secure, he therefore posted with all possible speed, saying perhaps at his departure, with Antony, though providentially without effect—

'Now let it work; mischief, thou art afoot!
Take thou what course thou wilt.'[1]

"On his road, however, as I have been assured, he was not unmindful of that causeless animosity which he had lately taken up against me, nor wanting in his endeavours by sly and distant insinuations to depreciate my conduct upon the late occasion. But my reputation was too deeply rooted in the public opinion to be shaken by the breath of his contemptible slander. Nay, upon one occasion, the consequence had well nigh been fatal to himself. At Armagh, where he and his drunken companions had the impudence to insinuate something which was deemed disrespectful, they were saluted with a volley of stones, and the populace was with difficulty restrained from farther mischief.

[Results of the preceding transactions.]

"My anxiety was now, for the present, at an end, but not its effects. During the agitation of my spirits I had not leisure to feel the pernicious consequences of that agitation which now showed themselves with returning tranquillity. For many days I was extremely indisposed, during which time I experienced in perpetual visits and messages the goodness of all my friends, Grattan alone excepted, who, though he usually passed by my door every day, passed it by, however, without either calling or inquiring. This conduct, which I vainly endeavoured to ascribe to a certain awkwardness and carelessness, the natural faults of his temper and behaviour, was a source of much uneasiness to me. The feelings of the heart will always break through such imperfections of manner, and the attentions, of which I deplored the deficiency, were by no means attentions of ceremony. The more than apparent neglect of a friend sunk deep into my heart, while the whimsical effect of my recent conduct

[1] Shakespeare, "Julius Cæsar," act. iii., scene 2.

upon the behaviour of the lord lieutenant was with me an object of perfect indifference, nay, even of derision. Certain it is that in the plan which I had pursued I never once thought of serving administration, nor of conciliating their affections, yet it is as certain that my conduct had eventually been to them of the most essential service. In labouring to secure the peace of my country I had prevented a crisis, which must have been to the last degree embarrassing, dangerous, and perhaps even fatal to English government, and more immediately so to their deputy in Ireland. It was impossible to ascribe my conduct to any sinister motive, and the manner in which I had acted was notorious, the convention having been at all times open to every one who bore the semblance of a gentleman, and consequently ever accessible to the spies of administration, some of whom were always present at our meetings. To these it was evident that unswayed by an ambition, which might possibly have allured me into the paths of confusion, I had, at the hazard of all my popularity, constantly succeeded in restraining violence and preventing mischief. It was therefore not unnatural to suppose that I should have found in the behaviour of the lord lieutenant at least a tacit approbation of the manner in which I had conducted myself; but, on the contrary, my reception at the castle was colder than ever. The civility due to my rank was indeed kept up, but, through the thin veil of cold civility, disapprobation, and even dislike, were perfectly visible. The general of the Volunteers and the chairman of convention was an object of fear, and consequently of hatred, and, though my having accepted that important and painful pre-eminence had probably been the means of saving my country from ruinous confusion, and administration from difficulties of the most embarrassing, not to say perilous, nature, yet still I was powerful, and consequently obnoxious; pusillanimous minds never forgive those who have had it in their power essentially to injure them, however well, and even serviceably, that power may have been exerted. But if I was coldly, others were rudely treated, Brownlow in particular, whose consequence as a man of family and of extensive property, and as a dignified and active member for one of the first counties in Ireland, ought naturally to have commanded respect, was not even spoken to at the levée,—but he had been chairman of the grand committee for digesting and reporting the plan of reform, and he had seconded Flood's motion in the house of commons. In a word, government had been terrified, and every individual of that assembly which had caused their terror was an object of detestation. Perhaps also some crude and distant ideas might at this time have been entertained of preventing for the future any measure of a similar nature by crushing the Volunteers, and consequently it may have been thought expedient to keep at a distance the leaders of that body. Whether the present ministers were hardy enough even to think of any such hazardous enterprise I will not venture to determine. Of their wishes I have no doubt, and their late fears may possibly have inspired them with a degree of false courage sufficient at least to make them think boldly. Men are apt to rush from one extreme to another, and consternation may have been succeeded by rashness. But, if any such extravagant idea ever was entertained, it soon passed away, and ministers relapsed into a prudent timidity. Singular indeed it would have been if, under the administration of the duke of Portland, any attempt had been made against the Volunteers, or if, when Mr. Fox, the great abettor of reform in England, was secretary of state, an endeavour at reform should have been deemed so criminal in Ireland that civil convulsion should have been hazarded for its punishment. Yet, singular as this might have appeared, it was not altogether impossible; ministerial consistency is not bound to extend beyond the limits of

England, and a Whig in London will still be esteemed an excellent Whig, though he governs Ireland upon the principles of the most positive Toryism.

[Considerations on movements for parliamentary reform.]

"Thus was the great purpose of this very extraordinary, and, it must be confessed, dangerous measure, for the present entirely defeated, a defeat which, as my wish for reform was sincere and ardent, being founded upon my full persuasion of its constitutional utility if not necessity, naturally afforded me the deepest concern; yet, as by the bounty of providence, our misfortunes frequently carry with them some consolatory antidote, I am free to confess that the pleasure I felt in having been thus able to rescue my country from impending mischief tended in a great degree to assuage in my mind the pain of disappointment. Neither were other considerations wanting to balance the check we had sustained. The sense of the people had now been uncontrovertibly made known, and sooner or later must produce its effect, and that too most probably in a manner less exceptionable than this in which it had now been demonstrated. Had the convention been victorious, what might have been the effects of victory on the heated minds of its members? The most consummate prudence would have been necessary to check the course of their prosperity, and could consummate prudence or wise forbearance be expected from an assembly so constituted? Would they have stopped at this first just and necessary acquisition, or might they not rather, elated by success and confident in their strength, have precipitated themselves into demands inconsistent with the safety of the constitution? The very end and purpose of their meeting was only salutary in proportion as it was moderate. The true definition of a just and beneficial reform in the representation of the people is simply this, that property should be equally and fully represented. But change this into the allowance of suffrage to every indigent individual of the community, and, instead of constitutional freedom, the alteration would be productive of anarchy, and of the worst of all possible democratic republics. As a true friend to liberty I abhor democracy, which may, in my opinion, be thus defined: that it is in effect no other than a fluctuating despotism.

[1.—Creation of earldom of Charlemont,[1] 1763.]

"The following testimonial is engrossed, signed, sealed, and annexed to my earl's patent:

"'Lest it should be hereafter imagined, to the disgrace of my memory, that I, James, earl of Charlemont, had been weak and mean enough to solicit the honour conferred by the patent to which this parchment is annexed, at a period when the indiscriminate profusion of government in bestowing titles had rendered such favours undesirable, not to say disreputable, I think it necessary in my own defence by this testimonial to inform my posterity that the increase of my rank from viscount to earl was conferred, and almost forced upon me, unsolicited, unasked; a circumstance which should have been mentioned in the preamble to the

[1] *See* p. 22.

patent, but that, upon consultation, such mention was found to be unprecedented. Upon my return from the north, where I had been of some service in aiding to quell the insurrection of the people called Oak-boys, the earl of Northumberland, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, called me into his closet, and told me that his majesty, sensible of the services which I had performed, and desirous to recompense them, had ordered him to offer me this advancement of my rank, and upon my demurring on account of the inconsiderate profusion above mentioned, answered my objections by assuring me that the offer came immediately from the king himself, and by hinting the idea of disrespect which must attend my refusal. This circumstance, added to the consideration of the great difference between honours voluntarily bestowed, and those extorted by solicitation, purchased by the infamy of a bribe, or basely and dearly earned by the mean and wicked drudgery of political servitude, induced me to think my compliance proper and even necessary, and from this necessity alone I trust that I shall be excused by posterity.

"'I have only to add that whereas, from the impossibility of finding reasons in any sort to justify many of the late creations, I thought it incumbent upon me to revive this ancient and honourable usage, declining however to allow the reasons alleged for this my advancement to be inserted in such preamble, from a consciousness that the services by me performed were too inconsiderable to be recorded, and rather choosing to mention the merits of the first peer [1] of my family, and the remarkable circumstance of an earldom having been intended for my ancestor so early as in the reign of James the First.—Charlemont.—Dublin, March 13th, 1772.'

[2.—Disturbances in Ulster, 1763.]

"For the better understanding that part of the above transcript which relates to the cause assigned by the lord lieutenant for my promotion, it may be necessary to mention that in the summer of the year 1763 the province of Ulster was greatly disturbed by tumultuous risings of the people through almost all its several counties; and these insurrections were the more alarming as the insurgents were, for the most part, from among the Protestants and Dissenters, those real citizens of Ireland in whom her strength consists; so that any disorder among them may well be said to have attacked the kingdom in its vitals. Two causes had principally given occasion to these disturbances,—the rapacity of the clergy [2] in the collection of their tithes, and the heavy taxes laid upon the country for the making and repairing of roads. The clergy, it must be confessed, had not, for a very long space of time, received what was strictly and legally their due, but a sort of prescription from ancient usage had now taken place; their incomes were great, and their conduct not, in all instances, exemplary, and there seemed to have been a sort of tacit agreement between them and their parishioners that nothing more should be exacted than what had been usually paid, upon the faith of which supposed agreement farms had been taken and rents stipulated. This however they now appeared determined to break through, and the

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[1] Sir Toby Caulfeild, created baron Caulfeild of Charlemont, 1620. For notices of him, and an old drawing of the fort of Charlemont, *see* "Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland," Part iv.—l., London, 1882. The royal letter in relation to the earldom above referred to was dated 16th July 1622.

[2] Of the Established Church.

attack was begun by doctor Clarke, rector of the parish of Clonfeikle, in the county of Armagh, who, being already in the peaceable receipt of nine hundred pounds a year, was told by his agent that he might raise his income to thirteen hundred; an information which he willingly believed, and began to act accordingly.

"In the business of assessment the laity were as much, perhaps more, to blame, as their encroachments were made without even the colour of right. Nothing is more certain than that it is highly advantageous to every country, and particularly to one emerging out of an uncultivated state, that good roads should be made through every part of it, but in laying out such roads the public advantage should be invariably and exclusively pursued, so that it should be obvious to the people that the taxes levied upon them were expended really and intrinsically to their advantage. In this however the gentlemen were in many instances undoubtedly partial and oppressive, as, by their influence in the grand juries presentments were too frequently procured merely for the emolument and convenience of particular persons, and by no means with any view to the advantage of the community. The many roads still observable, which seem to go out of their way in search of mountains, but in reality deviate for the sake of paltry villages, are so many monuments of the oppression of the gentry, and of the justice of the tenantry in their complaints. So true it is that the people, though in the end they usually put themselves into the wrong, have almost always at the beginning some reason even for their most irregular sallies. As Cæsar says of himself in Shakspeare's tragedy: 'they never do wrong but with just cause,' and even upon this occasion they had without doubt originally good reason for that ill-temper, which now urged them to the most outrageous excesses.

[3.—Oak-boys.—White-boys.]

"The whole country was now in confusion. The peasantry accompanied and led, as it was supposed, by many substantial freeholders, and calling themselves Oak-boys, from a branch of that tree worn in their hats, assembled in various parts at the sound of a horn, with such arms as they could procure, in great bodies sometimes four or five hundred strong, threatening those whom they called their enemies with immediate execution, and for this purpose gallows were in many places ostentatiously erected. The houses of several gentlemen were beset, and all such as they could by any means get into their power were compelled to swear—the clergy that they would not levy more than a certain proportion of a tithe, the laity that they would not endeavour to assess the county at more than a stipulated rate. Doctor Clarke, who was particularly obnoxious, was taken out of his house, and, being first duly sworn, was set upon the top of his own coach, and thus paraded about the country amidst the shouts and hisses of an enormous mob. Many gentlemen also were abused, and, as they termed it, 'hustled,' but none of them hurt; for to the honour of the people it ought to be mentioned that, in the midst of their madness they abstained from every species of cruelty, nor was there in this part of the country, through the whole course of these riotous proceedings, a single life lost,[1] nor any person maimed, or

[1] "This, however, must be confined to the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where my property and influence principally lay. In Fermanagh, Cavan, and other wilder and more Popish counties bordering upon Connaught, matters were carried to greater extremities. Mr. Coote, now earl of Bellamont, who was rewarded for his services with the order of the Bath, took an active part in these counties. Some

otherwise essentially injured. Lavish of threats and hard words they proceeded no further, and, when even possessed of the persons most obnoxious to them, they contented themselves with terrifying them, obliged them to swear, and then set them at liberty. And here I cannot avoid observing the striking difference of conduct between the Protestant insurgents of the north and the Popish White-boys of the south, a difference which however I do not so much ascribe to the diversity of religion, as to the horrid oppression under which these latter wretches had long laboured. A rebellion of slaves is always more bloody than an insurrection of free men.[1]

"Matters were in this situation, and the people were daily extending, as is always the case, their system of grievances, and consequently growing more and more unreasonable and dangerous, when I, as lieutenant of the county of Armagh, thought it my duty to interfere, and to exert my influence and authority for the suppression of these formidable tumults. The popular interest, which I have ever possessed in that county, and which, I confess, was dear to me, might certainly be injured by such interference, but it has ever been my principle, that when duty calls, popularity should always be risked, and more particularly upon this occasion where that influence might be of service in appeasing the people. With this intention, while others were flying for shelter to the metropolis, I determined immediately to set out for the north, and previously waited on the primate,[2] the only one of the lords justices then resident in Dublin, informing him of my purpose, and desiring his commands. His grace greatly applauded my intention, desired that, though the northern quarters had already been reinforced, I would however let him know what other troops might be necessary,

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skirmishes happened, and a few lives were lost; yet even here it may be doubted whether, with a little more temper, such mischief might not have been avoided." [C.] Charles Coote, baron of Colloony, member of privy council, Ireland. By direction of the king, he was invested with the ensigns of the order of the Bath by the lord lieutenant at Dublin castle on 16th July 1764. Lord Colloony was created earl of Bellamont in 1767. His wife was Mary, second daughter of James, first duke of Leinster.

[1] "As an instance of the disposition in the rioters to content themselves with terrifying, I will mention a not uncomical incident which happened at Charlemont. Mr. Verner, who was at that time my agent, was one of those whom the people had marked with their highest displeasure, and against whom they had vowed vengeance. Of this gentleman I will only say that he was an attorney, and that, though born to no estate whatsoever, he is now in the possession of 4,000*l.* a year. As he had purchased in a very wild part of the county, it may have been necessary that roads should be made through his lands, and in the execution of this plan he had certainly not been sparing of the public money. The corporation had met at Charlemont for the election of magistrates, at which meeting Mr. Verner presided as portreeve, when a very great body of the rioters made their appearance upon the adjacent hills, where a magnificent gallows was instantly erected. A deputation was by them sent to the portreeve, informing him that, as they had a high regard for me, they did not wish to disturb a business in which I was interested, but civilly entreating that he would as quickly as possible dispatch the corporation affairs, and then come out and be hanged. This very polite message not being complied with as speedily as they wished, another embassy was sent rebuking him for his ill-breeding in keeping so many gentlemen waiting, with an assurance that he most certainly must be hanged, and had therefore better make no longer delay. Finding however their civil endeavours ineffectual, they marched directly into the town, and surrounded the court-house, to which they swore they would set fire if Mr. Verner did not immediatcly come out to them; under this dilemma disobedience was vain. Mr. Verner came out, was seized, sworn, hustled, that is to say, violently pushed from one to another, and, when heartily sweated with fright and exercise, they dismissed him with a hearty curse, bidding him go and be damned, as hanging was too good for him." [C.]

[2] George Stone. *See* p. 5.

and assured me that I should be supported in my laudable endeavours to pacify the country with all the strength of government. On my arrival at Newry, the frontier of Armagh, a town which had always been much addicted to me and to my interest, I was visited by many of the principal citizens, who assured me that I could not, without the most imminent danger, proceed on my journey towards Armagh, where I meant to attend the assizes with the view of adding all the weight I could to the king's commission. They told me that the country through which I was to pass was a principal seat of the rioters, and that I should infallibly be attacked by great bodies of them, who would insult, swear, and perhaps illtreat me. They therefore advised that, if I meant to pursue my journey, which they thought might be useful, I should take for my protection a strong guard of the military then quartered at Newry, who, as they well knew, had received orders from government, as well as all the other troops of the province, to obey me in every thing. To this I replied that I could by no means bring myself to think of travelling through my own country with a military guard. That I was very certain the people meant me no harm, but that, however, for farther security, I would for that night sleep at Newry, and would request them to send out some intelligent scouts, who might go into the quarters of the rioters and inform themselves whether they meant to attack me; and that, if they should be found to have any such intention, I would in the morning set forward, escorted, not by a military guard, but by them, the gentlemen of Newry, if they would be so kind as to arm themselves and accompany me. To this they readily consented, and scouts were accordingly sent out, who returned next morning with intelligence that, having seen and conversed with the principal among the rioters, they had been by them assured that I was by no means obnoxious to them. That they had on the contrary much regard for me, and that I might freely pass unmolested. I now set forward, with two gentlemen,[1] who had accompanied me from Dublin, and two armed servants only, and met not the smallest obstacle during my journey. Near the bounds of the county, indeed, a well-appointed gallows was erected, which was so disposed across the road that it was necessary to pass under it. To this gallows was affixed an excellent new cord, together with a clean night-cap for the greater decency of execution. Arrived at Armagh, I found all the gentlemen of the county assembled in the utmost apparent consternation. I endeavoured to dispel their fears, and informed them that I was come to their assistance with a promise from government of every military support which they might deem necessary. This information seemed to give them the highest satisfaction. A consultation was immediately held, and I was requested to write forthwith to the lord justices, requiring a certain number of additional troops, which were to be stationed at certain stipulated posts. With this request I complied and wrote accordingly to the lord primate:

"'I shall defer giving your grace any exact account of the several occurrences which have happened since I arrived in this country till

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[1] "One of these was Mr. William Stewart, of Killymoon, in the county of Tyrone, a great maker of roads, and therefore peculiarly obnoxious to the rioters, though I am convinced without reason, as all his undertakings were, I verily believe, founded in public utility. As he, however, had laid out a great deal of public money, the undiscerning mob had made him a principal object of their wrath, and, having forced him by their threats to fly the country, they had more than once attacked his house, but were quietly dispersed without further mischief by the incomparable spirit and excellent conduct of his wife. This gentleman had now taken the opportunity of returning home under my escort." [C.]

I have the honour of waiting on you in person, and shall make use of these few minutes to transmit to your grace the enclosed paper, containing the joint request of the gentlemen of the grand jury of the county of Armagh for an augmentation of the military force in that county. Now, my lord, is most undoubtedly the crisis of our affairs, and, with a proper force, a very few weeks will probably re-establish our peace and tranquillity. A person supposed to be one of the leaders in the late insurrections is now here in jail, and we have had certain information of a threatened rescue. I did intend to have set out to-morrow for Dublin, and hoped to have the honour of delivering the enclosed in person, but the distracted state of our affairs makes me think it my duty to remain here for some time longer. Military force, my lord, is all we have to depend upon; for such of our tenants, as might be otherwise well disposed till they find themselves properly supported, are afraid to show their good disposition.

"'I send your grace the copy of a letter received to-day by the high sheriff while we were all assembled at dinner. Allow me, my lord, to take the liberty of begging that you would be as speedy as possible in sending us the aid required, as its utility entirely depends upon our immediately receiving it.'

"I received from the primate by express the following answer:[1]

1763, Thursday, 28th of July, Dublin Castle.—"I have this moment received the favour of your lordship's letter by express dated the 27th from Armagh. I have communicated it to the speaker, (who is arrived from Mallow) and he desires me to make his compliments to your lordship, and desires me to assure you, that he has the fullest sense, as I most certainly have, of your lordship's wise and spirited conduct upon this occasion. We have ordered a regiment of foot to march from Galway (the nearest place where any foot are quartered) with all possible expedition to these quarters, which your lordship has pointed out in the county of Armagh. The regiment is the 10th, General Sanford's, consisting of ten companies, and near four hundred men. Two troops of light dragoons are also ordered from Clonmel. These orders shall be sent by express to the troops, and all possible expedition will be used. The council have this day ordered a general admonitory proclamation to dehort people from following their wicked leaders, and informing them of the extent and nature of their guilt, which is ordered to be read in all the churches and meetings of Protestant dissenters. It was thought proper to begin with a proclamation of this nature, before we proceed towards offering rewards for apprehending particular persons. It will be happy if there could be a dispersion of the great bodies, and the deluded and of course the least guilty would forsake their leaders, who will be the most proper objects of legal punishment: and your lordship will of yourself be aware of the inconveniences that will attend the filling of the jails; and if we can point at the capital offenders principally, it will, upon all accounts, be best. What I mention in this last paragraph is only a hint in private, for your lordship's discretion is entirely relied upon by the lords justices and council.—George [Stone, archbishop of] Armagh.'

"By this considerable, and, in my private opinion, by no means necessary accession of strength, the apprehensions of gentlemen were tolerably quieted, and the assizes proceeded in perfect tranquillity, notwithstanding hourly rumours of the approach of the rioters in arms, and perpetual intelligence of firelocks concealed in various places, none of which, upon the strictest search I was ever able to find. The judge,

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[1] Here printed from original letter in this collection.

Robinson,[1] whom I constantly accompanied with a view to add dignity to the commission, pronounced a long lecture to the people upon his favourite topic, treason, which had however a good effect. Some leaders among the rioters were seized, and peaceably committed, care being taken by me, in pursuance of the primate's sensible hint, to discourage the seizure of any but the ringleaders. The gentlemen gathered spirit, and in proportion the people were intimidated, and everything wore the aspect of returning tranquillity.

"From hence I proceeded towards Tyrone, having appointed a meeting at Charlemont with the gentlemen of that county, whom I found, if possible, still more alarmed than those of Armagh. I did not, however, find it difficult to restore their spirits, and in consequence of a little exertion regulated by prudence, all this part of the north was presently quieted. Indeed, the principal difficulty I had to encounter was to prevent the unnecessary filling of the jails; for, as is always the nature of fear when it gives place to security, the gentlemen would willingly have imprisoned one half of this populous country. And here, having dwelt much upon the alarm which I found universally spread, it may not be improper to observe that such alarm was by no means surprising nor unreasonable. The acts of violence which had been committed, and still more the threats which had been thrown out, were indeed sufficient to justify much apprehension; and, if I was less than others affected with fear, it was probably because I had not been in the way of seeing those violences, and of being for a long time hourly liable to them. Such were the services which his majesty thought proper to reward, but which I did not choose to mention in the preamble to my patent, as they appeared to me too inconsiderable to be there recorded, being merely acts of duty.

[4.—Viceroyalty of earl of Northumberland, 1763.]

"Matters being thus quietly settled by an exertion of temperate spirit, without bloodshed or any sort of mischief, I returned to Dublin, where, in the September following, the earl, now duke of Northumberland, arrived,[2] and was sworn into the lieutenancy. With this nobleman I had been previously acquainted, but still more intimately with his secretary, William Gerard Hamilton, whose talents as a public speaker as well as his unaccountable frugality in the exertion of those talents, will be long remembered both in England and in Ireland. Having waited on his excellency at the castle, I was desired to attend him in his closet as soon as the levée should be over, and there, after many compliments and great praise of my conduct, that conversation passed which is mentioned in the testimonial, with this addition, that it was not till after several days of deliberation and consultation with my friends, that I at length accepted his majesty's offer, and also that I thought it indispensably necessary to stipulate with the lord lieutenant that my acceptance should not be construed into the smallest intention of suffering my parliamentary conduct to be in any degree influenced, which I positively declared should be as free as ever. His excellency assured me that no such influence was meant or expected, and added that, since he could claim no merit from a promotion, which came immediately from the king, he greatly wished that I would put it in his power to show his high regard and friendship towards me, as an old friend, by pointing out to him some method of obliging and serving me. I returned many thanks

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[1] Christopher Robinson, justice, king's bench, Ireland. [2] *See* p. 22.

for his kind intentions, but assured him that I wanted nothing, that I had no object whatsoever in view, and that the accepting favours from government was contrary to my principle and practice. At length, however, upon the frequent reiteration of his request, I told him that, since he wished to confer on me some mark of that friendship with which he was pleased to honour me, I should not be displeased, when there should be a vacancy, at being appointed one of the trustees of the linen board,[1] which I the rather mentioned because it was attended by no emolument, and because, from the situation of my property in a linen country, I seemed to have some sort of claim to it. To this he replied that I had asked no favour, but my right, and assured me that my name should be inserted at the first vacancy.

[5.—Movements in house of lords, Ireland.]

"Not long after this conversation parliament met, and in pursuance of my declaration to the lord lieutenant I proceeded therein in my usual manner, opposing government wherever I thought opposition necessary, and, even before my patent had passed through the usual forms, an opportunity offering itself in the house of lords of protesting, I seized it the more eagerly as a means of evincing my fixed determination to preserve my parliamentary conduct uninfluenced, and accordingly protested against that part of an address to the king which expressed an approbation of the late peace, that of Paris; in consequence of which conduct, notwithstanding the assurances of the lord lieutenant, my court favour sensibly declined.

[6.—Patent for earldom of Charlemont.—The Linen board.]

"A preamble had been drawn up for my patent, which was, as usual, laid before the lord chancellor, Bowes.[2] In this had been inserted the circumstance of my promotion having been unsolicited, which however the lord chancellor struck out, declaring such recital to be unprecedented. This erasure occasioned some altercation between him and me, when I declared that, if matters had not proceeded so far as that my refusal might look like disrespect to my sovereign, I would even now refuse the earldom, but that, at all events, I would take care to make up for the deficiency in the preamble by annexing to the patent an engrossed testimonial, in which the manner and circumstances of my promotion should be amply stated. This, however, I forgot, as will appear from the date, till some years after, when the increasing profusion of titles reminded me of it, and made it appear more than ever necessary.

"With regard to the linen board, though many vacancies happened during lord Northumberland's administration, my name was never mentioned. Of this, however, I took no notice till many months after, when, his viceroyalty being at an end, I had an opportunity of seeing him in London. I then reminded him of what had passed between us respecting the linen board, calmly assuring him that I only mentioned it lest he should suppose that it had escaped my notice, and by no means with a view of upbraiding him with a breach of promise, as I was well apprised that all such engagements were conditional, and as I was thoroughly sensible that I had in no sort performed my part of the contract. He seemed much confused, and only answered that to his great concern it

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[1] Board of trustees of the linen manufacture in Ireland, constituted under acts of parliament, and consisting of eighteen members, nominated by the lord lieutenant, for each of the four provinces.

[2] John Bowes, chancellor, Ireland, 1760–1767.

had not been in his power to act otherwise. And in justice to this worthy man I must add that, notwithstanding the constant opposition I had given to his government in Ireland, there was no sort of kind politeness of which he, and his excellent duchess, were not lavish both towards me, and, what was of much more importance, some years afterwards, towards lady Charlemont, whom I had brought with me to London, and to whom, as a perfect stranger, such politeness was of much consequence. This anecdote respecting the linen board I have only mentioned to show what sort of gratitude was expected from me for the supposed favour of my promotion, though avowedly conferred for services performed.

[7.—Viceregal administration.—Earl of Northumberland.—Governmental "undertakers."]

"From hence also it appears that no lord lieutenant, however well disposed, as lord Northumberland certainly was, will be suffered by his advisers to fulfil even a voluntary promise to the person who shall venture to oppose the measures of government, and consequently that court favour and honesty are incompatible. The sun of heaven shines equally on the just and the unjust, but the latter only are the objects of court sunshine. The earl of Northumberland will also appear still more excusable in the above-mentioned transaction, when we consider that, at the period concerning which I am now writing, both the country and its government were ruled by a faction. A certain set of men, whose only principle was the lust of power and emolument, and whose only ability was the art of party management, had then such influence in parliament, an influence as ill-directed as it was undue, that the lord lieutenant was wholly in their power, and could confer no favour but at their recommendation. They were styled 'undertakers,' and justly so in every sense of the word, as they certainly were, both from education and from habit, well fitted to preside at the funeral of the commonweal. At his first arrival the infant viceroy was consigned to their nursing by their powerful connections in England, who taught him to believe that by their means alone his life in Ireland could be made easy and happy. His plan of operation was immediately laid before them, which, if not sufficiently bad, was usually made worse by their constant and unalterable attention to English domination, which they affected to style the Whig interest, and by their wish to make themselves appear perfectly unbiassed, and untainted by any tincture of patriotism. Thus modelled, and enriched with jobs, their favourite expedients, they boldly undertook to carry it through, provided only means were given them of keeping together their old friends, and of making new ones by the distribution of offices; and if at any time the chief governor should venture to hint at the conferring a favour, though ever so trifling, upon any person unconnected with them, an immediate clamour was raised, and the cry was: 'It cannot be; we are already under promise. Another must have it, or the king's business can not be done.' Their encroachments had indeed proceeded so far that not only the country cried out loudly against them, but even English administration began to grow weary of them; and, a few years after this period,[1] an end was put to their

[1] "In 1767, during the viceroyalty of the lord viscount Townshend (whose administration, bad as it was, will yet be remembered with some degree of satisfaction, on account of his having rescued the kingdom and its government from this shameful bondage), the constant residency of the lord lieutenant, and the octennial act, that source of Irish liberty, which, though he can claim but little credit from that wonderful and fortunate event, passed in his time, were the principal means of destroying the unconstitutional influence of this domineering faction." [C.]

usurped domination. Into these hands the earl of Northumberland, who, as I have every reason to believe, came over with the best intentions, was immediately thrown, and consequently his administration could not essentially differ from that of his predecessors in office, since his ministers, or rather rulers, were precisely the same.

[8.—Viceroyalty of Earl of Halifax.[1]—William Gerard Hamilton.]

And here, in order to show the wretched situation of Ireland in these times, as well as to justify my opinion of lord Northumberland, I will conclude this section with an anecdote, which, long after the expiration of his viceroyalty, I had from his own mouth. During the lieutenancy of his immediate predecessor, the earl of Halifax, parliament had thought proper to entrust the chief governor with a vote of credit for three hundred thousand pounds, one hundred thousand of which sum still remained uncalled for when lord Northumberland succeeded to the office. Soon after his arrival Mr. Clements,[2] then deputy vice-treasurer, waited upon his excellency to inform him that the above-mentioned sum was still in his power, and to advise that it should immediately be borrowed. The earl desired to know of him whether the money was wanted; to which he replied that it either was or would be necessary, but that at all events the constant course of business was that all such grants should as soon as possible be converted into money, and lodged in the treasury. To this however the earl demurred, declaring that he would not suffer so large a sum to be borrowed till he had satisfied himself, by inspecting the public accounts, of its being necessary. The financier assured him that he was acting a part until now unheard of; that this innovation on the usual course of business would be highly unacceptable; that the treasury ought to be kept as full as possible. These arguments, however, did not prevail. The viceroy continued obstinate, and finding upon a careful inspection of the accounts that the usual revenue would more than supply the current expenses, the money remained unborrowed, to the great advantage of the public, but to the very great vexation, and considerable loss of Mr. Clements.

"William Gerard Hamilton,[3] whose talents for public speaking were indeed admirable, had already been secretary under lord Halifax, and had been continued in that office by lord Northumberland, by whom, however, he was dismissed, and succeeded in his office by the earl of Drogheda, yet not without the consolation of being appointed chancellor of the exchequer. In England he had got the nickname 'Single-speech,' from his not, at that time, having spoken more than once, an appellation which he in vain endeavoured to get rid of by a second oration. In Ireland he was obliged to be somewhat more liberal of his talents, spoke several times, and always excellently. He was the only speaker among the many that I have known, of whom I can say with certainty that all his speeches, however long, were written, and got by heart. Of this fact I am confident, as an intimate friend of his assured me that he had repeated to him no less than three times an oration which he afterwards spoke in the house, and which lasted near three hours. To this painful necessity of preparation can alone be ascribed his venturing to speak so seldom, and his consequent uselessness as a debater. His talents however, if

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[1] *See* p. 15.

[2] Nathaniel Clements, privy councillor and M.P. for Cavan. His son, Robert Clements, was created baron of Leitrim in 1783.

[3] For letters of W. G. Hamilton, *see* Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS., 1881, pp. 189, 193–202.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

fame says true, did not remain unemployed, as he was supposed to be, and I believe with good grounds, the author of Junius's letters. His speeches were by many ascribed to his friend Burke, though, I am confident, without reason, as his own abilities were fully equal to them. With this gentleman I had long been acquainted, and was indeed the first who introduced to his knowledge my wonderful countryman Burke, in consequence of which I was chosen umpire in their whimsical quarrel. . ."

[9.—Apprehensions of French invasion, 1781.]

"In the month of —— of the year 1781, a report[1] was spread abroad that the French immediately intended to invade this island. As such reports had however been frequent, and hitherto false, I gave little credit to it; till finding that it gained universal belief, and being assured that it was authenticated at the castle,[2] I waited upon lord Carlisle[3] for intelligence, by whom I was assured that he had every reason to believe that the fact was literally true, and in confirmation of it he showed me a letter which he had received by express from lord Stormont,[4] then secretary of state, in which the intention was stated as certain, the number of troops to be employed upon this expedition ascertained, the ships of war, which were to serve as a convoy, named, the port fixed where they had already rendezvoused, and from which they were immediately to sail, the city of Cork expressly mentioned as the first object of this formidable invasion, and the undoubted certainty of the intelligence strongly asserted. All doubt being thus removed, I informed the lord lieutenant that I should forthwith set out for the north, from whence I was confident that I should be able to procure such assistance as would render nugatory every effort of the enemy. His excellency highly applauded my intention, and the next morning I set out for Armagh, where I arrived early in the evening. It was then assizes time, and consequently all the officers of my regiment, which consisted of a thousand men, two troops of horse, and two artillery companies, were assembled at Armagh. I called them together, stated the certainty of an invasion at Cork, repeated the words of lord Stormont's letter, and desired to know how they would determine to act upon this occasion, and what message they would empower me to deliver from them at the castle. After a short consultation, the lieutenant-colonel, whom they had chosen for their spokesman, thus addressed me: 'My lord, till this instant you have never done anything displeasing to your regiment, but now we must say that you have not a little offended us. Your present application to us is not only needless, but in some degree offensive to our feelings. We have unanimously chosen you our colonel, and in that quality, relying upon our spirit, and certain of our obedience, instead of applying to us, you should in the first instance have assured the lord lieutenant that your regiment would immediately join the king's troops at Cork. You should then have sent down your orders, and we would instantly have obeyed, marched, and met you in the field.' To this I replied by expressing my obligation to them for their kind reproof; that however I had thought it advisable, and indeed my duty, to consult with them before I took any step at the castle; and that I now wished that they would frame some resolution, which I might on their behalf present to the lord lieutenant. In answer to this they unanimously

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[1] *See* p. 72.

[2] Of Dublin.

[3] Frederick Howard, earl of Carlisle, lord lieutenant of Ireland, from 29 November, 1780, to 8 April, 1782.

[4] David Murray, viscount Stormont.

declared that they would enter into no resolution whatsoever. That they only desired that I would assure his excellency, in my own name, and on my own behalf, that my regiment would be at Cork as speedily as any troops in his majesty's service, and that they had nothing further to request of me but an assurance that I would never again treat them in a like manner, but that, upon any future occasion of a similar kind I would speak for them, as by my rank and command I was entitled to do. Such was the spirit, and such the kind conduct of my Armagh fellow-soldiers, and the same spirit spread through the whole province. All the north was in motion. The men were everywhere employed in preparing for their march, and even the women were busied in casting of bullets. Addresses were hourly pouring into the castle declaring the resolution of the northern Volunteers, at the first hint from government, to march to the south, to subject themselves to military control, and to the command of the king's general. Indeed the only difficulty that occurred was so far to restrain this impetuosity as that Ulster should not be totally disfurnished of troops. Leaving men's minds in this disposition, I immediately returned to Dublin, informed the lord lieutenant of the alacrity of the northern Volunteers, and only stipulated that camp equipage should be furnished to such of the troops as had none of their own, a stipulation which was cheerfully complied with. In other parts of Ireland the Volunteers showed equal readiness, and the king's troops, if there had been occasion, would certainly have been reinforced by, at the least, fifteen thousand men, still leaving a sufficient force for the defence of those counties which were distant from the scene of invasion. These preparations were however probably known in France, and the intention was laid aside.

"One remarkable circumstance of public virtue I have forgotten to mention. At Newry, where all the youth had determined to leave the town, the elderly men formed themselves into a body for the defence of their city. In this corps no man under fifty was to be enrolled, nor any who had not a wife and children. They called themselves 'the ladies Fencibles,' and continued to exist long after the occasion was past.

"At the opening of the session, with the concurrence of government, I made and carried unanimously the following motion in the house of lords, the same nearly having passed the lower house:

"'Die Mercurii, 10 Octobris, 1781.

"'Resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled that the thanks of this house be given to the several Volunteer corps in this kingdom for the continuance of their efforts in defence of this country, and for their spirited offers to government on the late alarm of an hostile invasion meditated against this kingdom.

"'Ordered that the said resolution be sent by the clerk of the parliaments to the several sheriffs of the different counties and cities of this kingdom, to be by them communicated to the several Volunteer corps in their respective counties.'

[10.—William Eden,[1] secretary to lord Carlisle.]

"This conduct[2] of Mr. Eden most certainly required all the effrontery of a confirmed statesman, and yet could not surprise anyone who was

[1] Subsequently lord Auckland. In 1780, Eden published "Four letters to the earl of Carlisle," on perversions of political reasoning; the present circumstances of the war with France and Spain; the public debts; the representations of Ireland respecting a free trade. In the same year, Eden published a "Fifth letter to the earl of Carlisle, on population; on certain revenue laws and regulations connected with the interests of commerce; and on public economy."

[2] *See* p. 54.

well acquainted with his wonderful talents and acquirements in that science. This gentleman had, through the whole course of his administration, exerted every ministerial nerve, and put in practice every art of corruption to defeat the endeavours of the patriots, and to counteract the wishes of the people; and, to the shame of the country it must be confessed that his efforts had thoroughly succeeded in procuring great majorities in defence of every bad measure, and in contradiction to every patriotic attempt. His policy, however, as is often the case, had overshot its mark, and I well remember that, when my friends were inclined to despond at the immense majorities by which every court measure was triumphantly carried during lord Carlisle's administration, I then declared that I saw them with pleasure, for that these very majorities were the forerunners, and would be the cause of a great and beneficial change. Under lord Buckinghamshire, from various causes, the popular party had increased in spirit and in numbers, and questions had even sometimes been carried against the court. Confidence was consequently restored between the constituent and the representative, and the people began to entertain sanguine hopes that their parliament would finally go through with the great work unassisted by their exertions, an expectation in which probably they would have been disappointed; but the turn given to affairs by the dexterity of Mr. Eden reduced the people to despair, and invited them, trusting no longer to a parliament which had deceived them, to take the business into their own hands. Had the minister been contented with smaller majorities, perhaps we should never have heard of the decisive Dungannon meeting.

"Mr. Eden, from his proficiency in the science of corruption, was known in England by the name of the 'man-monger.' And this was the gentleman who, for the sole purpose of disconcerting and forestalling administration, had the assurance to move the repeal of an act in the house of commons of England, which in that of Ireland he had used every indecent and corrupt means of supporting against the united wish and endeavours of the nation."

[11.—Observations on Edmund Burke.][1]

"This most amiable and ingenious man was private secretary to lord Rockingham, a situation which was procured for him by the just attestation of all who knew him in behalf of his worth and abilities. It may not be superfluous to relate the following anecdote, the truth of which I can assert, and which does honour both to him and to his truly noble patron. Soon after lord Rockingham, upon the warm recommendation of many friends, had appointed Burke his secretary, the duke of Newcastle, wishing probably to procure the place for some dependant of his own, with a view which in an old ministerial statesman will be easily guessed, and instigated by the enemies of Burke and of merit, waited on lord Rockingham, over whom his age, party dignity, and ancient family connection had given him much influence, and even some degree of authority, and informed him that he had unwarily taken into his service a man of dangerous principles, and one who was by birth and education a Papist and a Jacobite; a calumny founded upon Burke's Irish connections, which were most of them of that persuasion, and upon some juvenile follies arising from those connections. The marquis, whose genuine Whiggism was easily alarmed, immediately sent for Burke, and fairly told him what he had heard. It

[1] *See* p. 60.

was easy for Burke, who had been educated at the university of Dublin, to bring testimonies to his Protestantism, and with regard to the second accusation, which was wholly founded upon the former, it was soon done away, and lord Rockingham, readily and willingly disabused, declared that he was perfectly satisfied of the falsehood of the information he had received, and that he no longer harboured the smallest doubt of the integrity of his principles; when Burke, with an honest and disinterested boldness, told his lordship that it was now no longer possible for him to be his secretary; that the reports that he had heard would probably, even unknown to himself, create in his mind such suspicions as might prevent his thoroughly confiding in him, and that no earthly consideration should induce him to stand in that relation with a man who did not place entire confidence in him. The marquis, struck with this manliness of sentiment, which so exactly corresponded with the feelings of his own heart, frankly and positively assured him that what had passed, far from leaving any bad impression on his mind, had only served to fortify his good opinion, and that, if from no other reason, he might rest assured that from his conduct upon this occasion alone he should ever esteem, and place in him the most unreserved confidence and trust, a promise which he most faithfully performed; neither had he at any time, nor his friends after his death, the least reason to repent of that confidence, Burke having ever acted towards his surviving friends with a constant and disinterested fidelity, which was proof against his own indigent circumstances, and the magnificent offers of those in power; a fidelity which, during the short-lived administration of the duke of Portland, was rewarded with the office of paymaster-general. It must however be confessed that his early habits and connections, though they could never make him swerve from his duty, had given his mind an almost constitutional bent towards the Popish party, as plainly appeared from his very imprudent conduct respecting that party in Ireland. Prudence is indeed the only virtue he does not possess; from a total want of which, and from the amiable weaknesses of an excellent heart, his estimation in England, though still great, is certainly diminished. What it was at this period will appear from the following fact, which, however trifling, I here relate as a proof of the opinion formed of him by his party. Having dined at lord Rockingham's, in company with him and sir Charles Saunders, this latter gentleman carried me in his coach to Almack's. In the way, Burke was the subject of our conversation, when the admiral, lamenting the declined state of the empire, earnestly and solemnly declared that, if it could be saved, it must be by the virtue and abilities of that wonderful man."

[12.—Officers of 'Fencible' regiments.[1]]

"Mr. Blennerhasset,[2] of the county of Kerry, and Mr. Dawson,[3] of the county of Armagh. The latter of these gentlemen was a remarkable instance of the animosity which had taken place in the country against those who had accepted 'Fencible' commands. At the last general election he had carried the county against all the principal interests and against mine among others. In parliament he had ever acted the most patriotic part, firmly and warmly exerting himself in the late

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[1] *See* p. 75.
[2] Arthur Blenerhassett, M.P. for Kerry.
[3] Thomas Dawson, M.P. for county of Armagh.

struggles; and among the Volunteers, in which service he was lieutenant-colonel to a battalion of my regiment, he had ever employed his great influence to the best purpose, having been one of my principal and most trusty agents in quelling the more violent, and in securing moderate measures, in which last capacity he was to me and to the country an irreparable loss. As it has ever been my principle that gratitude in constituents is a positive duty, and as his conduct in parliament had ever been irreproachable, I did not think his acceptance of a 'Fencible' regiment, which I attributed to mistaken policy, and to the narrowness of his circumstances, a cause sufficient to cancel obligation, or to exclude him from the county which he had so virtuously represented, and therefore, at the risk of my popularity, and though I thereby made myself liable to party abuse, I now gave him that interest which, when untried, I had refused him; notwithstanding which he lost his election, partly indeed from some unlucky circumstances, but principally through the unwillingness of the people to vote for a 'Fencible' colonel. And here, purely for the sake of those for whom I write, I will briefly mention my sentiments and conduct respecting my tenantry in election matters. In the general election of 17[83], I had espoused the interest of sir Capel Molyneux against Mr. Dawson, merely because the latter had little or no estate in the county, and was a person whose principles were utterly unknown to me. My tenantry, as has indeed been always the case, gave their votes according to my known inclinations, all except five, who, carried away by the opinion of the day, voted for Mr. Dawson. A few months after the election one of these came to me to ask a favour; I desired to know of him whether he thought his request grounded upon right, or whether what he asked was in his opinion merely a matter of favour; and upon his reply that it was certainly the latter, I asked him whether he thought himself entitled to any particular degree of favour from me. He answered, with much confusion, that he well knew he was not. 'And now, my friend,' said I, 'lest you should imagine that I in any sort resent your behaviour at the late election, what you desire shall be granted; and I am glad of this opportunity of stating to you, and through you to all my tenants, my opinion with regard to the influence a landlord ought to have over the votes of his tenantry. Every freeholder has an absolute right to give his vote as to him shall seem best. It is a positive, unalienable property vested in him by the constitution. He is to act to the best of his judgment, and to vote for that candidate whom he shall think most likely to serve the country. But if he should happen to have a landlord who has in every respect performed his duty towards him and towards the public, whose understanding he has no reason to question, and whose public principles and conduct have uniformly been such as to merit his esteem, the recommendation of that landlord ought to have the greatest weight with him, both because he may be assured that a man of the above-mentioned description could never recommend an improper person, and because he ought to suppose that the landlord, from his situation in life, and his consequent opportunities of knowing men and characters, is more likely to form a proper judgment of the fitness of a candidate than the tenant possibly can. This is all the influence I shall ever desire, and so much, and no more, I shall always expect; my influence will thus depend upon the good opinion of my tenantry, and when I deservedly lose the one, I ought, most unquestionably, to lose the other.' The poor man burst into tears, declared that he would give the world to recall the past transaction, and that while he breathed he never more would vote against my wish, and he has been as good as his word."

[13.—Institution of order of St. Patrick, 1783.]

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

"Whereas I have thought it necessary to transmit to my posterity, in justification of my conduct, the means by which I was induced to accept of an earldom, and whereas I have since been installed in the new Irish order of knighthood, it may not perhaps appear superfluous to those, who, living after me and possessing my name, may be particularly interested in the honour of their ancestor, that I should trace, as succinctly as possible, the transaction which led to my acceptance of this royal grace.

"I will not attempt to give any account of those wonderful events which have rendered the years 1781 and 1782 the most brilliant period of Irish history, and perhaps as illustrious as any period which can be produced in the annals of time. That task requires a more able pen. I will therefore hasten to the more immediate subject of this record by informing my reader that on the 15th September 1782, earl Temple [1] succeeded in the government of Ireland to the duke of Portland, who resigned his viceroyalty in consequence of the ever-to-be lamented death of my beloved friend the marquis of Rockingham, a man with whose virtues the fate of the empire seemed to be interwoven. Some time after his excellency's arrival, and about a month before the business of the intended order was made public, he sent for me, and, calling me into his closet, informed me that his majesty having determined upon this measure, which appeared to him the more proper on a consideration of the illustrious period in which the order was instituted, and having commanded him to make out and transmit a list of such earls as might, he was pleased to say, do honour to the institution, he had fixed upon me as a person, etc., etc., and desired my leave to put my name upon the list. The stomach is apt to turn at the proffer of any viand to which it has been wholly unaccustomed, and such was the effect upon me of this unexpected proposal, at which I was more alarmed than perhaps I ought to have been. After some hesitation I answered his excellency, that, as the business appeared to me of nice importance, I must beg some time for consideration; which being most politely and readily granted, I retired; nor did I afterward see the lord lieutenant for the space of three weeks, at the end of which period I received from his excellency the following letter:

"'Dublin Castle, January 13, 1783.—Your lordship will not, I hope, think me troublesome in expressing a wish to know your commands upon the subject of the new order. I should not have broke in upon your thoughts, but that I received by last night's mail his majesty's directions to send immediately the names and plan for the order, accompanied with his wish that no delay [2] should prevent an immediate dispatch upon it. With this order I must comply by the mail of to-night, and if your lordship could enable me to add your name, it would give me great satisfaction to see it upon a list so truly respectable.—Nugent Temple.'

"In answer to this letter I immediately waited upon the lord lieutenant, and, having asked pardon for my delay, which had principally

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[1] *See* p. 81.

[2] "Dispatch was now absolutely necessary, as the installation was fixed for the festival of the patron saint, St. Patrick, and there was now barely time for the preparation." [C.]

proceeded from my wish to consult my friend Grattan,[1] who was not yet come to town, I told him that I had still unfortunately more cause for apology, as I was even now by no means prepared to give him a decisive answer, being just as undecided as when I had last the honour of conferring with him. I had given the measure every consideration in my power; I had examined it in every point of view. Its first aspect was indeed extremely pleasing. It seemed to be, and in my opinion really was, a proper and honourable distinction to the kingdom, and might be considered as a badge and symbol of her newly rescued independence. The time also most assuredly was, as his excelleney had hinted at our last conference, peculiarly favourable, since as such institutions usually take place in consequence of some signal success, the present period must be allowed of all others the most proper, as no events could possibly be more worthy of commemoration than those which had lately happened. There was however another point of view in which the measure assumed a very different aspect, and appeared to threaten consequences which no lover of his country would wish to promote. It might in some degree tend to increase the influence of the crown, that 'impolitic and unconstitutional' influence,[2] which every good man wished to combat, and which his excelleney was pledged to diminish. This objection might, however, it was true be answered; and I would furnish his excelleney with an argument which, even if it had occurred to him, his politeness would probably prevent him from urging. As long as this honour was confined to the house of lords, and more especially to the earls' bench, I must confess that the crown would not be likely to gain much additional influence by it, as nothing could possibly render my illustrious brethren better courtiers than I knew them already to be. But then, on the other hand, this very argument militated against my acceptance, as it could not be very pleasing to me to be one of an order which must be composed of men who differed so essentially from me in every political principle, and whose association might not be advantageous to my character as a public man. His excellency had advanced, as an additional inducement to my acceptance, that the order was to be kept as chaste as possible, and that, for this purpose, none but earls were to be admitted. This I confessed was the best line that could be pursued for the attainment of the end proposed. Yet, with regard to my own feelings, what effect could it have on me?—since I must candidly confess that was his excellency to suffer me to select fourteen peers from among the earls, I should not be able to find one half of that number with whom I would wish to class myself. This might appear somewhat impertinent, but unfortunately it was but too true. The honour besides would probably descend into the lower ranks of nobility, and possibly into the commons. Should that ever happen, as in the course of time, and change of governments was by no means improbable, my former objection would remain in its full force. These inconveniences might, however, perhaps be outweighed by the honourable distinction resulting to Ireland from the institution, and, with regard to my determination, the great and capital point was, I must confess, to discover, if possible, how the measure would be taken by the

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[1] "I had, in this interval, written to Grattan, without consulting whom I at this period never allowed myself to take any step, and had received his answer, which was by no means satisfactory, as he would not venture to give me any decided advice. His principal difficulty was the danger of my acceptance being disapproved by the people." [C.]

[2] "I here made use of the very words which the lord lieutenant had used in his letter to me." [C.]

people. This was indeed with me a principal consideration, and having mentioned it, I would seize the opportunity of laying before his excellency my real sentiments respecting popularity, as my wish for his esteem made it highly important to me that they should not be mistaken by him. 'I will not,' my lord, said I, 'pretend to assert that I do not love popularity. If I said so, I should be guilty of deceit, and should, in my opinion, vilify myself, since I look upon it as an essential duty of every citizen in a free state to love popularity, and to seek it by all honourable and honest means. I do love it, my lord, and no consideration of honour or emolument shall ever purchase it from me. And yet, if I know myself, I can assure your excellency that to do my country any real service, either respecting her constitution or her interest, I would this moment consent to lay it down, and to become the most detested man in Ireland. But, my lord, I will never hazard it for a trifle, and such to me is the proposed honour, however great I allow it to be,—to me, I say, whose ambition lies clear another way, and is not turned towards ribbands, honours, or emoluments. I am now, my lord, a very popular man, and I have made use of that popularity to two purposes; first towards the emancipation of my country as far as my slender abilities went; and to the accomplishment of this purpose, believe me, my lord, there is no length to which I would not have gone. This great point having, in my opinion, been gained, I have since used my popularity to another purpose, namely, the pacification of my country, as your excellency must have known; and in this I think myself not only a true and faithful servant of the public, but in some sort of the crown also; neither can it be assuredly his majesty's interest to deprive of popularity a person who is determined never to make a bad use of it, and whose actions have indicated that such is his determination. In a word, my lord, I affect popular influence as the best and surest means by which I may hope to serve my country. With this view and to this purpose only I will seek it, and will endeavour to retain it by acting honestly, by serving the people, not by flattering or deceiving them. I shall now close this long discourse by assuring your excellency that, excepting you and the duke of Portland, there never has been, during the course of my political life, any lord lieutenant, to whom, had he made me such an offer, I should not have answered by a flat denial. But I had every public reason to esteem the duke of Portland, and from what I have seen of your excellency's administration I have every reason to think well of you and of your intentions; neither would I wish upon any account that my refusal of this proffered honour, which would certainly be known, though never through me, should be construed by my countrymen into a suspicion of you, or of your purposes towards this kingdom. As no suspicion exists in my mind, I should be unhappy if it were thought I harboured any such; and this is indeed the principal reason that induces me to doubt respecting the propriety and expediency of my refusal; for I hope that it is unnecessary that I should repeat to your excellency that the decoration of a ribband can have little effect upon a man, who, though not vain, knows how to set a just value upon his situation in life, and who seeks for honour, rather than for honours. I have now candidly laid my sentiments before you, and freely confess myself yet undecided. Will your excellency be pleased to weigh my reasons, and to decide for me?'

"The lord lieutenant, who had heard me with more patience than I thought him capable of, kindly answered that he highly approved of all I had said, and was particularly obliged by the latter part of my speech, and highly gratified at the opinion I had expressed of his conduct and

intentions. That, with respect to ribands, etc., as his sentiments and mine exactly coincided, it was not to be supposed that he could conceive any such trifles were a bait for me; that he should however be extremely sorry if I were to refuse his offer; that such refusal would most certainly have all the effect I so kindly feared; that there was nothing he would not do to induce me to comply with his desire, and a thought had just then struck him, which would probably produce the desired effect; that he would write me an official letter, which I was at liberty to show to whomsoever I pleased, in which he would put the offer upon such a footing as he was certain would remove all my scruples. I replied that I was greatly obliged to his excellency for giving himself so much trouble upon my account, that I would see the letter, and decide accordingly.

"In consequence of this, the next morning I received the promised letter, enclosed in a sheet containing these words: 'The enclosed letter ought in discharge of my promise to have been sent last night, but after writing from dinner time till past twelve at night in order to close my dispatches, I was so completely tired that I trespassed upon your goodness to excuse my letter till this morning. I hope it will meet your ideas. . .—Nugent Temple. Tuesday morning, 14th January 1783.'

"The enclosure herein contained was as follows:

"'Dublin Castle, January 6th, 1783.—My lord, his majesty having been pleased to institute a new order of knighthood in Ireland, as a measure calculated to convey to his Irish subjects the sense he entertains of the present respectable situation of that kingdom, and the peculiar interest which he always takes in whatever regards them, I have received his commands to prepare for his approbation a list of such names as may best promote his majesty's intentions of placing this order upon the most respectable footing. And I am convinced that I cannot better promote this gracious disposition than by addressing myself to your lordship, whose birth, rank, and property would well entitle you to every mark of distinction. But when I add to these considerations your public services so justly distinguished, and of a nature which this kingdom must ever most gratefully remember, I cannot hesitate a moment in requesting your lordship's permission to place your name upon the list which I am preparing in pursuance of his majesty's commands. And I mention this idea to your lordship with the greater satisfaction as the motto of this order will tend to enforce that explained constitutional and solid union between the two kingdoms so necessary to both, and which your lordship has so long laboured to establish upon the surest foundation, that of mutual confidence and affection.—Nugent Temple.'

"This letter, so perfectly calculated to remove my scruples, rendered it impossible for me any longer to refuse without justly incurring the blame of criminal obstinacy, or of an unfounded suspicion of the present government. Nothing could indeed be more honourable to me, nor more decidedly favourable to the party with which I was connected, than the reasons alleged for the offer made me, of which the sense in effect was, that I was distinguished by a royal grace in recompense for the active part I had taken in those measures which led to the emancipation of my country; or, in other words, that the king by this mark of his favour approved of that steady and uniform opposition to his former measures which had finally produced the renovation of Irish freedom, and, by thus approving of the means, gave, in the strongest manner, his royal sanction to the end which those means had produced. My principal objection, I confess, had been lest the people should consider my acceptance of any royal favour as a dereliction of their

interests, and should on that account withdraw from me that unbounded confidence by which alone I could be useful. But every such danger was by this letter clearly obviated, since both the people and the Volunteers might therein at the first glance perceive that the honour was offered and accepted merely as a reward for services performed, not to the crown, but to them; and the letter contained in effect an implied but full approbation, not only of all those parliamentary proceedings which had heretofore been branded with the epithet violent, but even of the armed associations, and of every measure which had been pursued in the late struggle for the attainment of our renovated constitution. The last sentence alludes to the late final settlement by the renunciatory act, which is meant by the words 'explained constitutional, and solid union,' and the motto of the order, 'Quis separabit?' is said to enforce that idea of perfect and unalterable connection which had been now established upon the firm foundation of mutual confidence and affection; neither does it appear at all unnatural that lord Temple should bring forward and emphatically dwell upon this measure, which had been the product of his own administration, as the real and solid basis of national concord between Ireland and the sister kingdom. Another reason made this letter highly pleasing to me. I had, I confess, wished that in the offer made to me of the ribband, and the manner in which this honour was conferred, some difference should occur between the man of the people, the commander of the Volunteers, and the other noblemen on whom the order was bestowed. In this light also the letter was fully satisfactory, as it was evident that none of the candidates could possibly receive the order in the same manner or from the same causes, and it was also clear that, instead of asking, I had been solicited, and had refused to accept till such causes were alleged and such distinction made.

"Under these circumstances I waited on the lord-lieutenant, and, thanking him for his politeness, assured him of my ready compliance with his desire; neither had I ever any reason to repent this procedure, the people and the Volunteers being not only perfectly satisfied, but rejoiced at my promotion, universally declaring that they never could have pardoned a government who had omitted me in such an institution. The truth is that, as this was merely a matter of honour, I had no great reason to dread a contrary effect, emolument, and not honour, being the object of popular aversion.

"In this transaction lord Temple not only acted handsomely but wisely also, since it was certain that, had I refused, the order would have become unpopular, and possibly might have fallen to the ground; and this was an additional reason for my acceptance, as I did not wish to take upon myself the possible danger of depriving the kingdom of so honourable and so proper a distinction.

"At the installation everything proceeded as I could have wished. The Volunteers, in conjunction with the king's troops, were appointed to line the streets, and, at my particular desire, a post was assigned them in and about the church,[1] so that they became spectators, and, in some degree, a part of the ceremonial. This had a good effect, as it highly gratified them, and particularly distinguished me from my noble compeers, being saluted as general by the whole line, while the people, who were assembled in amazing crowds, received me everywhere as I passed with loud acclamations and shouts of applause.

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[1] St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

"The following circular letter was written by Mr. Secretary Hamilton upon the receipt of his majesty's approbation of the persons recommended for the new order:

"'Dublin Castle, 4th February 1783.—My lord lieutenant has commanded me to acquaint your lordship that he has received with very particular pleasure a letter from the right honourable Mr. Townshend, conveying to his excellency the king's entire approbation of your lordship and the other noblemen whom he has recommended to his majesty to be created knights of the order of St. Patrick. His excellency can not give a more convincing proof of the high estimation in which the king holds the noble persons who are to be companions of this order, or of his majesty's desire to gratify the wishes of his nobility of Ireland, than by acquainting your lordship that his majesty has been graciously pleased to take the first stall to himself, and to nominate his royal highness prince Edward to fill the second. His majesty's letter [1] for carrying the constitution of this order into execution is expected to arrive very shortly, and your lordship will have the earliest notice of the day which shall be appointed for the investiture.—Sackville Hamilton.'

"It may not be superfluous to mention here the following authentic anecdote: Soon after the order was determined upon, lord Mornington, who happened to be at the opera in London, was accosted by the prince of Wales with warm congratulations upon the honour intended him of being created one of the knights, adding that the high respect he entertained for the kingdom and people of Ireland, induced him to esteem it an honour indeed of the first magnitude. 'At this instant, my lord,' said he, 'there is no nation upon earth which so justly claims universal respect; and to show your lordship how sincerely I enter into this sentiment, I must inform you that I have this day sent to my father to request that I may be of the order, and I have nothing more at heart than that my desire should be complied with.' The fact was literally true. The prince had desired to be of the order, and the king was willing to comply, but upon its being intimated that his royal highness would expect a permission to go to Ireland to be there installed, those unfortunate jealousies, which have at all times subsisted in the present royal family between the king and the heir apparent, and some other obvious reasons, interfered, and induced his majesty to refuse his compliance with his son's desire, and, instead of the prince of Wales, prince Edward was appointed. This anecdote I had from lord Mornington [2] himself, and I mention it not only for the honour of the order, and to show the estimation in which her late exertions had placed this country, but also as an instance of the jealousy which then subsisted in the royal family.

[14.—Administration of lord Temple.]

"In speaking as I have done [3] of lord Temple, I am well aware that I differ from many. He is by no means generally beloved either in England or in Ireland; that in the latter country he should have many enemies the causes stated in the text will sufficiently account for, and his conduct in England as a party man, where he has been successful in forming a new ministry upon the ruin of the old, and, at least as he pretends, in rescuing the king from aristocratical dominion, must undoubtedly have procured him much party abuse. His manners also are by no means

[1] The royal warrant was dated 5th February 1783.

[2] Richard Colley-Wesley, second earl of Mornington, an original knight companion of the order of St. Patrick, subsequently marquis of Wellesley.

[3] *See* p. 81.

formed to please, and his address and first appearance is rather unfavourable. He knows a great deal, but is too fond of communicating that knowledge, and too verbose and minute in the communication, which, in the present delicate times, is esteemed an unpardonable fault; for, besides the certainty of incurring the fashionable appellation of a bore, the man who is always teaching us seems to claim a sort of superiority to which we unwillingly submit. He is proud, and too apt to undervalue his equals, a defect never yet excused; passionate, and in his heat sometimes imprudent, which often lays him open to just censure. His enemies also affirm that he is deceitful; of this however I have seen no instance, and think that quality rather incompatible with the defect last mentioned. When I have been loud in his praise, it has been sometimes objected to me that I was imposed upon by him. That indeed may be, and heaven forbid that it should be impossible, for I desire no intimacy with the man who either is or thinks himself incapable of being duped. It has also been said that, though he may have done well by his short viceroyalty, he had not been sufficiently tried, and that if he had met the parliament we should have severely felt a difference in his character and conduct. To this I answer that so it might possibly have proved; that I do not pretend to say what he would have done in that trying situation, as I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy; but that, however, if a man shall conduct himself well in any circumstance, there is rather a presumption in his favour that he will not act improperly in circumstances of a more trying nature. The truth is that in what I have said in the text I have only spoken of lord Temple as I found him, and, without pretending to ascertain his character, I only speak of his conduct; perfectly capable to judge of the one, though, from my short acquaintance with him, certainly incompetent to pronounce upon the other, and in order to justify the idea I have given of his administration I will here mention a few facts.

"That constant assiduity in business, which I have stated in the text, was indeed truly astonishing in so young a man. From nine in the morning till five or six in the afternoon he never left his closet, where all the time that was not taken up in audiences was employed, sometimes in writing, but principally in the inspection of the national accounts, by which means he soon made himself perfect in all the complicated business of the revenue, and in everything relative to receipt and expenditure; nor was there a single defaulter in that innumerable band, with whose deficiency he was not perfectly acquainted, as well as with the causes of such default. But this diligence will the less surprise us when we consider the following anecdote which I have from good authority: His father, George Grenville, left behind him a quantity of papers sufficient to fill a very large room. The enormity of the mass terrified every one from venturing to inspect them, till lord Temple, then scarce one and twenty, boldly undertook the task, and not only perused, but arranged and abridged them. The boy who could achieve such a labour bid fair in his riper years to be a perfect Alcides.

"In his consultation he scorned to be limited by the narrow bounds of party, but sought for information wherever he was most likely to find it, carefully searching for such as, upon any particular subject, were the best informed, and advising with them, let their rank or party be what it would. At a certain period when a scarcity of corn was much apprehended, having received certain letters from an eminent merchant of Newry, which tended strongly to corroborate those fears, I thought it my duty to lay them before the lord lieutenant. He read them, and told me that he clearly saw to what they tended, namely, to an embargo;

that he detested the measure as unconstitutional, yet, if absolutely necessary, must give way to it, provided always it was understood that at the meeting of parliament he should be indemnified by a special act to that purpose. To this I answered that, with such a declared intention, an embargo would be the most popular of measures. We then entered into conversation upon the approaching scarcity, and though the apprehension had not been formed above a fortnight, I found him perfectly acquainted with everything relative to the subject. He knew precisely the price of corn, not only in every part of Ireland, but of England also, and in every town upon the continent from whence we might expect supply, together with every facility or difficulty which might possibly occur. But that which gave me the first good impression of lord Temple's administration, and the most sanguine hope of its being useful to the public, was the following transaction relative to Mr. Adderley.[1] This gentleman, who had been married to my mother, though, for many reasons not worth mentioning, our connection had long since ceased, was treasurer to the barrack board, and was strongly protected by lord Shannon,[2] the most powerful of all our parliamentary leaders, through whom he had obtained his seat in parliament, where he had always acted with the most implicit obedience. Upon inspecting the long neglected business of the several boards, lord Temple found him deficient in a sum of very great magnitude, and, though the blame was, as usual, laid upon his clerk, thought he had reason to suspect him of improper conduct. In consequence of this, he was dismissed from his office, and, being a man of considerable fortune, proper measures were taken on behalf of the public to recover the money. In vain did lord Shannon, whose interference had never till now been ineffectual, exert his influence in favour of his faithful dependant. In vain did the old courtiers endeavour to alarm the lieutenant with assurances that he would ruin his administration by offending so powerful a leader. In vain did all the protectors of all the peculators, making his cause their own, labour to support him by bold entreaties and insinuated threats. Lord Temple was resolutely obdurate, and informed the baffled crew of sturdy petitioners that, while he acted for the public benefit, he feared no opposition, but would confidently lay himself for support upon that public, which he was endeavouring to serve. In this opinion he persisted; under this novel idea he acted; and to the grief and terror of the court; to the joy of those who wished well to their country, but to the astonishment of all, Adderley was dismissed.

"Lord Temple's behaviour towards me upon this occasion was more than polite. Previous to the dismission he sent for me, and, stating the fact as it was, told me that he could not think of turning out of office a person with whom he had been told I was connected without first informing me, and assigning his reasons. To this I answered, with many thanks for his kindness, that I had not then any connection with

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[1] Thomas Adderley, of Inishannon, in the county of Cork, and M.P. for Bandonbridge, was lord Charlemont's guardian. Letters from Adderley are printed in the present volume. Lord Charlemont's mother married Adderley in October 1740, and died in May 1743. Circumstances, which led to the termination of the connection above referred to, formed the subject of a letter addressed by lord Charlemont from London to Adderley, on 9th August 1760. "Your manner," wrote Charlemont, "of behaving in parliament last winter, gave me no small uneasiness, as it was by no means what I expected from a representative of the borough of Charlemont. With regard to putting my affairs in some sort, into other hands, many reasons concurred to induce me to it. Your business public and private, was grown very considerable, and I thought it not an unfriendly part in some degree to lessen it."

[2] Richard Boyle. *See* p. 52.

the gentleman, but that, if I had, and that he were dear to me as a brother, I should applaud his excellency's conduct. 'My lord,' replied he, 'I am happy in your approbation ; and be assured that there is not at this instant in Ireland a board which doth not tremble.'

"I had almost forgotten to mention a circumstance, which, though not of a public nature, I will not omit, as it shows much goodness of heart, a virtue in which lord Temple's enemies pretend he is deficient. A soldier of excellent character, and a native of my part of Ulster, having been sentenced for desertion to be transported to the coast of Africa, an almost certain and cruel death, was, at my intercession, and at that of general Massey, who knew and esteemed him, pardoned. Several others were at that time confined under a like sentence for the same offence, and, as the peace had rendered punishment less necessary, lord Temple pardoned them all, declaring that it was a pity the wretches should suffer merely because they had no one to speak in their behalf. In the above account of lord Temple's conduct respecting Adderley, I forgot to mention that lord Shannon had been his security, and was of consequence peculiarly interested in his behalf.

"The following letter from lord Temple was written in answer to one from me, acquainting him with the intention of the Volunteers of Dublin to escort him at his departure, and requesting that he would let us know the time:

"'Phœnix Lodge, June 3, 1783, ¼ past nine.—As soon as I had resigned the government into the hands of lord Northington, I did not lose a moment in settling with his excellency the arrangements upon which the day of my departure depended, and it is my first object to inform your lordship that, as the tide will serve on Thursday next about one o'clock, I shall at that hour leave the castle, and shall immediately embark at the Pigeon-house. The honour proposed to me by the Volunteers of Dublin is too flattering to every sensation of honest pride for me to decline it; perhaps, too, the acceptance of it is the only civil acknowledgment which I can make; else I should strongly regret the personal inconvenience to which they subject themselves in giving me this testimony of their affection. In this moment, my lord, the extent of my obligations to your lordship present themselves to me for the repeated marks of regard with which you have honoured me; accept my cordial thanks for them, and permit me to hope that I shall live in your remembrance as warmly impressed with those sentiments of respect and esteem, with which I have the honour, etc.—Nugent Temple.'[1]

[15.—Views on repeal and renunciation.]

"The following letter was written at that period when the country was at the highest pitch of agitation on the subject of repeal and renunciation,[2] in answer to one from colonel Charlton, lieutenant-colonel of the Strabane battalion, a numerous and very high-spirited body of men, who were commanded by my dear and excellent friend, James Stewart, member for the county of Tyrone. My correspondent, though a very respectable and honest gentleman, was by nature inclined to discontent and to violent measures, which natural disposition was irritated and excited by some ill-treatment he had met in the army, but still

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[1] Earl Temple, with the additional title of marquis of Buckingham, became lord lieutenant of Ireland again in 1787. In a memorandum subsequent to that date, Charlemont noted that he considered that he had previously formed too favourable an estimate of the character of this peer.

[2] *See* pp. 61, 65, 66-7, 78–87.

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more by his close connection with the earl of Bristol, who had obtained a dangerous ascendancy over him. The contents of his letter will be sufficiently known by my answer, which was intended not only for him, but for the battalion, and indeed for the whole country, and which I was happy to find had, in a great measure, the desired effect.

"'Though it gives me much concern that discontent should now prevail in any part of Ireland to cloud the brightness of this illustrious period, yet must I confess that I am tenfold more unhappy when I find that it has spread itself among those sons of liberty, whose judgments may be misled perhaps the more easily because the arguments, which have been used to prejudice them, are backed and strengthened by their honest zeal in their country's cause, but whose principles are never to be perverted. For my own part I do confess myself thoroughly satisfied, because I think that we have gained all we wished and all we asked, and that we hold our acquisitions by as good a tenure as the nature of the case will admit. To answer in detail the arguments which have been urged on the other side of the question would demand more labour and more paper than my present state of health or the limits of a letter will allow. This then I must reserve for conversation, and shall at present only say that I look upon an unconditional and unqualified repeal of the sixth of George the first, such as has now passed, to be as good a security as any renunciation, or as any act that could possibly be devised. There is no such thing as legal security, in the common acceptation of the words, between nations, because there is no tribunal under heaven before which such security can be pleaded; and the same perfidy which could be supposed capable of resuming a claim that has been thus solemnly relinquished, might also repeal an act of renunciation. All statutes are to be construed by the history of the times in which they were enacted, and, when we consider in this light the present repeal, its construction can be no other than a solemn renunciation. The only securities we can have, are the faith of nations, and our own comparative strength. The faith of nations is pledged to us as strongly as it can be; and our strength must at all events be kept up, or nothing can ever perfectly secure us. These arguments are hastily urged, and by no means enforced, as I am sure they might be; but your goodness will, I am confident, pardon the writer's inability, and make allowance for the hurry and the frequent interruptions of a letter. For my own particular I confess myself convinced, and the more so when I reflect that the contrary doctrine has generally been preached by those who wish to spread through the kingdom their own private discontents. I say generally; for as to Flood, he is my friend, and, though I can not approve his present conduct, I would not wish to insinuate anything to his prejudice. But this I know, that, under the sanction of his authority, numbers have enlisted themselves who wish to undermine the present administration, merely because it has set out on a system of governing without corruption; who declare such a plan imaginary and utopian, and who, having at all times uniformly withstood the just wishes of the people, and, as far as they were able, counteracted their virtuous efforts, are now desirous, for their own ends, to inspire them with causeless jealousies; who, having passed their whole parliamentary lives in the pay and service of the court, now take upon them the very new character of flaming patriots in order to force administration back into the old trade of corruption, by which alone they can be gainers. Favourers of the late ministry and of their principles, they wish to make the country so uneasy as that the present men may be compelled, either to have recourse to those measures under which this kingdom has so long groaned, or to retire, and to give place to such as may be more to

their purpose, enemies to retrenchment, which is now thought to be the favourite plan. They wish to render any such measure impossible, by showing government that they must purchase, and consequently must keep entire the fund of corruption. Some very few there may possibly be who act from mistaken principle, but of this I am sure that by far the greater number answer exactly to the description I have now given.

"'Such are my opinions on the present important crisis, yet am I not however arrogant enough to hope that they should have more weight than must naturally be allowed to the sentiments of a man who has ever been warm in his country's cause, and who is perfectly unprejudiced and uninfluenced,—so I trust I shall be considered. Office I have disclaimed, and as for honours, my kind and partial country has heaped upon me greater and more substantial than any monarch on earth could bestow. But it may be said that they are not hereditary. I answer, they are. My son and my son's son will enjoy their consequences, and I trust that as the corruption, by which other honours are usually obtained, descends too often from generation to generation, so may those principles, by which, through the goodness of my countrymen, mine have been gained, be entailed upon my family, the best and most precious of all inheritances.

"'But I have already detained you too long. Let me now hasten to conclude by begging you to consider well the situation in which we now stand. The precious plant, which was to be the panacea to all our ills, grew upon the perilous brink of a precipice. We have boldly sought it there, and unhurt have plucked it. Let us not, for heaven's sake, be mad enough to return, and to renew the same danger, in order to pull a handful of grass.

"'Farewell; my affectionate compliments to all friends, and particularly to Crawford, to whom you may communicate this letter, as I always wish that my sentiments should be known to him. Remember me most affectionately to your good colonel, which last excellent person you will, I am confident, find precisely of my way of thinking.—Charlemont.'

"During the agitation produced by the business of repeal and renunciation the propagators of discontent, fearing that the people might grow languid by continually dwelling upon the same subject, were careful from time to time to bring forward some new expedient, which by its novelty might keep their spirits alive. One of these was an Irish bill of rights to be passed by our own parliament. Upon this subject I had received a letter from the reverend Mr. Harvey of the county of Donegal, to which the following is my answer, which I am the rather induced to insert as it gives me an opportunity of adding the replication of that singular personage, who, though a clergyman of the established church, was also a captain of Volunteers, and was annually reviewed by me at Derry at the head of a very fine company, which he himself had raised and disciplined:

"'Every letter you write is a fresh instance of your goodness towards me, and tends still farther to increase my gratitude. The contents however of your last have given me some uneasiness, as I have reason to fear that upon part of the subject thereof our sentiments now, for the first time, do not exactly coincide. As an Irish bill of rights has of late been much talked of, I have given the matter all the consideration of which I am capable, and must confess that the measure appears to me unnecessary, and, as such, not to be insisted on, since, after what has passed, no new measure ought to be brought forward that is not absolutely necessary, essential to our liberties, and of a nature to justify our

repledging our lives and fortunes; and I am confident that you will believe that, if I could think the measure in question possessed of these qualities, I should myself be one of the foremost once more to hazard all in order to obtain it. But the discussion of this subject would be matter for a pamphlet, and far exceeds the compass of a letter. I shall therefore only add that there is reason to suppose the present popularity of this measure in a great degree proceeds from its truly respectable name, while the people do not consider the total difference which exists between what they desire and the ever venerable petition of rights. If a man should make a claim, which is legally yielded to him by his encroaching adversary, he certainly gains his point; but I cannot see what is gained by the claim being yielded to by a third person, who is not one of the parties concerned. The two parliaments I look upon in the present instance to be the parties, and the king, who is to pass the bill, is the third person. This I have stated shortly, and very inadequately; but your own reflection will supply my want of precision. Consider also whether any declaration on our part would be effectual, since the assertion of the party aggrieved must, in his own case, be nugatory; neither is such a bill wanting to our security, as the king, by passing the act which confirms the jurisdiction of the Irish lords in cases of writs of error, has, in effect, already given his assent to an Irish bill of rights. The settlement is, in my opinion, valid and secure. The people and parliament of England I am sure think so. Let us not, for heaven's sake, by our own doubts give them occasion to question its validity. Government will,[1] I believe, wish to resist this matter, not from any dislike to the thing itself, but from the fear of making the movers of it too popular, and consequently too powerful; and from a dread that their acquiescence might encourage restless and ambitious men to instil into the people perpetual doubts respecting the validity of the settlement, and by so doing, for their own private ends, keep the nation in a continual ferment by never ending repetitions of nugatory demands. Thus have I slightly pointed out a few out of many reasons which induce me to wish that the measure may not now be brought forward.

"'Respecting a more equal representation[2] I am perfectly of your mind, and there is every reason to believe that some measure tending to that excellent purpose will ere long take place. England will begin, and we shall infallibly follow; and perhaps it may be more prudent to wait awhile for this natural course of things, than to precipitate the business in the present disturbed state of men's minds. At all events

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[1] "I had sounded government upon this subject, and had found their disposition to be as I mention. Their principal objection to the measure seemed to be lest Flood, who had first started the idea, should gain too much credit and consequent power among the people by carrying it through. They wished to content the people, but not through him, as they feared that no content so acquired would be lasting, and they dreaded, with some reason, that demands would grow upon their concessions. As I thought the measure nugatory, and feared the consequence of opposition on the part of government, I wished to prevent its being brought forward, and succeeded in my endeavours." [C.]

[2] "This idea, which afterward created so much disturbance, was now beginning to be agitated; but the other objects, which the people had in view, prevented them at the time from taking it up with much ardour. My sentiments and conduct upon this important subject will hereafter be more fully declared, and my opinion, which was perfectly sincere, still remains the same. There was then every reason to suppose from the great strength of the reform party in England, that the measure would take place in that kingdom, which event it was certainly prudent to wait, as Ireland would naturally have followed without tumult or trouble. Matters have turned out far otherwise, and an account of this transaction will make a considerable part of the sequel of these memoirs." [C.]

requisitions of this nature ought in the first instance to proceed from the people, rather in their capacity of freeholders than in that of Volunteers, a truth which your own prudence has already suggested, and in which you are undoubtedly right.

"'From what I have said you will readily perceive that, in the present temper of the times, I would rather wish there should be no provincial meeting;[1] or, at the least, that it should for many reasons which I cannot now detail, be postponed for six weeks or two months. I have written in a great hurry, and have ill explained myself; but your judgment will supply my failure, and your goodness towards me will induce you to confide that, whatever my opinions may be, whether right or wrong, they flow from my heart, and from an ardent and disinterested love of my country, the welfare of which is far more precious to me than my own, and its liberties dearer to me than my life.—Charlemont.'

"To this letter I received the following answer, in which it will be seen that, though the writer gives up the bill of rights which was the immediate subject of my argument, he still insists upon the measure of renunciation. From this also will appear the perturbed state of men's minds at this juncture, the necessity of yielding to a torrent, which was now no longer to be stemmed, and the great influence which lord Beauchamp's publication[2] mentioned by me had had in confirming those opinions, or call them even prejudices, which had with so much industry been raised and kept alive. In a former letter I had expressed my idea of the inexpediency of insisting on a renunciation on the part of England; but it must not be forgotten that, while I was by this means endeavouring to keep the country quiet, I was, at the very same time constantly and strenuously insisting with government, and particularly with earl Temple, who was now viceroy, upon the absolute necessity of some efficacious measure of this nature, hazarding thus on the one hand, for what I thought the public good, my popularity by opposing the passions of the people, and, on the other, rendering myself obnoxious to government by advising a measure in the highest degree repugnant to their wishes and to their determinations. Such was the double part I now acted, a duplicity, perhaps, but certainly not an interested duplicity.

"'My duty to your lordship obliges me to give you the earliest intelligence of the sentiments of the Ulster Volunteers, that you may the easier take such steps as may benefit your country, and, as they have always rested their cause in your hands, so I believe they still consider you as their polar star. I often fear you find me troublesome or rather that you make me so; your great politeness and condescension forcing you to honour me with answers, to which in my humble station I have very small pretensions, but which at the same time I value most dearly, being evidences of the highest honour an Irishman can receive,—the confidence of lord Charlemont. I am quite happy to agree with your lordship on the subject of a more equal representation, relying that in this our parliament will follow the English. On the propriety or impropriety also of an Irish bill of rights I am perfectly indifferent. But that a simple repeal of the 6th of George I. for the better securing, etc., is sufficient, is what my senses plainly forbid me to confess. You would despise the mere asserter to the opinion of a great man; such a heart as yours will not only pardon but approve of the man who, with

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[1] "It will readily be conceived that, in the present temper of the times, a provincial meeting of the Volunteers might have been attended with consequences very dangerous to the public tranquillity. This measure was now however a declared object of the public wish, and was strenuously encouraged by the propagation of discontent. My endeavours, for the present, succeeded in preventing it." [C.]

[2] *See* p. 82.

the utmost affection for your person, admiration at your integrity, the highest respect for your rank, and the most unbounded confidence in your sincerity, dares lay before you his sentiments, though not exactly conformable to your lordship's. When I differ from lord Charlemont I have not the least fear of offending him; when the question between that repeal and a renunciation was first agitated, so was I between two opinions. I heartily wished to force myself into a belief that what was done was sufficient, and what I wished to believe Mr. Dobbs' address [1] did, I confess, induce me to be contented with. Had my content been better founded I should never have thought of the bright bayonet;[2] neither was I in the least influenced by what Mr. Flood afterwards asserted to the contrary, considering his motives to be of too private a nature. My own reflection and reason alone told me that we were far from secure, and in this belief lord Beauchamp's letter (every line bringing conviction) confirms me, and in which I have great reason to believe all Ulster and perhaps all Ireland concur, and will with their usual temper assert. I am happy that your lordship's objection does not militate against the propriety of a renunciation, but only lest the demand should be attended with commotion. The steady, guarded, resolute conduct of Ireland, and the generous wisdom of England, forbid us to harbour any idea of trouble, especially when there is no new demand; nothing but a requisition to have the concession confirmed which is already made; nothing but what England has promised to give if we ask; nothing but what is allowed on all hands sufficient to quiet the minds of the nation.[3] Where can be the objection to securing the happiness and quieting the minds of a whole nation at so cheap a rate?

"'I have raised and put under your lordship's command a corps of artillery, which I hope will please you. May I request your acceptance of my house either previous to or after the next review? Though I cannot promise lady Charlemont any elegancies, yet, should she accompany you, she will find a very comfortable and hospitable house. . . I have now,[4]

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[1] "This gentleman, who was major to a battalion of my regiment, had taken an active and able part at the late Dungannon meeting in favour of the validity of the present settlement, and had been one of the delegates appointed to carry the address to the king. The integrity of his principles, and his ability as a popular speaker, together with his friendship for me, had rendered him one of my principal supports in my endeavours to propagate among the people such sentiments as tended in my opinion to the public service; and the loss of his useful agency was not the least among those which I sustained by the 'Fencible' measure, in which service, having accepted a majority, he immediately became perfectly unpopular, and consequently useless. His acceptance however was founded upon excellent, though, in my opinion, mistaken principles. Harvey was one of those delegates, who, at the Dungannon meeting, had willingly acceded to the pacific measures, which were there carried, but who afterwards, giving way to the efforts of the discontented party, had recanted, and receded from his declared opinion." [C.]

[2] "This alludes to a favourite sentiment or toast of Harvey's: 'Moderation and bright bayonets.'" [C.]

[3] "Experience has since shown that a compliance with the wish of the people in this business of renunciation was by no means sufficient to quiet their minds. That this disappointment however proceeded much more from the interested motives of borough-mongers, from the fault of government, and from the insidious proceedings of English administration, than from any defect in the people, or even from the machinations of the discontented, will, I think, in the sequel, clearly appear." [C.]

[4] "This paragraph, which has never since been cleared up, probably alluded to Harvey himself, though he took much pains to disavow any such meaning. From the manner in which this letter is written, it will evidently appear that I have given a transcript of it rather to show the state of the times, than from the merit of its composition. I have indeed given it a preference to many others greatly superior to it, merely on account of the singularity of the writer's character, and because it contains a very exact statement of the opinions then prevalent among the Volunteers and people." [C.]

for the first time, and perhaps the last, to request your permission to mention to you the circumstances of a gentleman whose name and character you have heard and approve of. His story is extraordinary, nor will it disgrace your lordship to assist him. But until you know and are convinced that it deserves attention, the name of my friend, from his own independent spirit, and chiefly from his delicacy towards your lordship, must remain in that obscurity which modest merit often has for its reward.—John Harvey.—Mallin Hall, 2nd December 1782.'

[16.—Frederick Augustus Hervey, bishop of Derry.]

"As a justification of the character given in the text,[1] I will here mention a few facts out of many which I have had from undoubted authority. Induced by caprice rather than by sentiment, the bishop had happened to choose for his temporary favourite a very worthy man, Mr. Bristol, a clergyman resident at Belfast, and beneficed in his diocese. To this gentleman having intimated a pressing desire that a parsonage house should be built on his glebe, he was truly answered that, with every sincere wish to execute his lordship's commands, money alone was wanting. That difficulty, replied he, I can easily remove. I will lend you the money upon your bond, which shall never trouble you, but will be my security against your successor. Bristol with thanks consented, the bond was executed, and the money advanced. Sometime afterward, at his own table, in a numerous company, consisting principally of clergymen, the bishop, probably heated with wine, entered into a discourse upon religion, and chose to sustain the most impious tenets in the most profane language. The appalled assistants trembled, and were silent; when Bristol, rightly deeming acquiescence criminal, manfully rebuked his lordship with a becoming indignation, and easily refuted his flimsy arguments. A day or two passed, when the good clergyman received an intimation from the sheriff, who concurred with all that knew him in esteem and affection, that he should take care to keep out of the way, as a writ had been put into his hands by the bishop for a very large sum due from him to his lordship. The poor parson, alarmed beyond measure, communicated his distressful situation to his friends at Belfast, who, with a generosity by no means singular among the inhabitants of that city, immediately raised the money, not less than a thousand pounds, and the debt was instantly discharged. Bristol now wrote to the bishop a letter dictated by his just indignation at the treatment he had received, which he concluded by threatening to give to the public the whole transaction at large, the consequence of which was a most abject answer from his lordship, who in the most servile manner begged forgiveness, and as a pledge thereof besought him to take back the money. The poor man, in order to repay his generous friends, unwillingly consented, and the affair was hushed.

"Some years ago, Mr. O'Neill,[2] whose goodness of heart often operates against his excellent understanding in rendering him too easily led by designing men, brought a bill into parliament highly unjust, and of the most unpopular nature, enabling vestries consisting of Protestants alone, to raise taxes for the repair of churches upon the dissenting inhabitants of the parish. This measure had been strongly recommended to him by the bishop of Derry, who had even written to him several times in a high strain of ecclesiastical zeal. The bill was thrown out, but the

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[1] *See* p. 121.

[2] Right Hon. John O'Neill, M.P. for county of Antrim.

odium raised against its mover was so great and universal as to injure him essentially both in his interest and in his peace of mind. Happening one day to meet the bishop in a large company, he was not a little surprised to find himself severely rated by his lordship not only for the imprudence, but for the unconstitutional injustice of the measure he had brought forward. O'Neill was too much astonished to reply, and even began to think his memory deceived him, until, on his return home, he found the individual letters which the bishop had written, of which, with far too much lenity, he contented himself with sending his lordship copies. These two anecdotes I had from Mr. O'Neill.

"Returning from England through Scotland, the bishop was windbound at Portpatrick, and unwilling to sup by himself, sent for the exciseman of the place to bear him company. After supper he began to discuss political subjects, then his favourite topics, and, after the most severe abuse of government at large, he at length attacked the king in a manner so violent and indecent as to make the poor exciseman tremble. Sensible of the effect he had produced, and desirous to pursue his blow: 'Why friend,' added he, 'you do not seem to relish my discourse. Do you not think the king a tyrant?' The trembling officer replied that such matters were far too high for his contemplation. 'He is a tyrant,' pursued the bishop, 'and I would not scruple to plunge my dagger in his heart' The poor man instantly left the room in the highest degree of trepidation, and, after a sleepless night, waited early in the morning upon his patron and neighbour, the earl of Stair, to whom he communicated what had passed, and begged his advice, whether he should not, according to the tenor of his oath, give immediate information to the next justice. Lord Stair, who was well acquainted with the bishop's character, assured his poor friend that he might rest in peace; that from that quarter such language was of no consequence, and desired him to take no farther notice of it. His lordship's conduct with regard to his wife, the amiable sister of sir Charles Danvers, is too well known to be here insisted on. Happily for her they are now parted; neither are his gallantries worth instancing. Besides his low Italian amours, his ardent though certainly ineffectual solicitations of the lovely Mrs. M— are notorious; nay, public fame asserts that he manages with his curates in the same manner as captains are said not unusually to treat their convenient serjeants.

"Respecting his son, lord Hervey, the poor young man came over not long since in order to procure the payment of his annuity, which had for some time remained undischarged. He and a friend who accompanied him were at first politely received at Downhill, the bishop's whimsical mansion; but happening one night to drink more than his father wished, the opportunity was eagerly seized, and he, with his companion, were fairly turned out of doors, and were obliged to take refuge at the house of a gentleman, who was, I believe, totally unknown to them, and, who being absent from home, his daughter was compelled to receive them. Having mentioned in the text that the bishop had enriched himself and his family with the spoils of the church, it may be necessary to add that I know from good authority that these spoils do not amount to less than four thousand pounds a year.

"The foregoing facts, one would imagine, were fully sufficient to put the bishop's character beyond all possibility of doubt; yet, as he has sometimes deviated into actions of a nature perfectly contrary, which puzzle our judgment, and tend to show the astonishing contradictions that meet in the composition of this singular man, candour requires that they also should be related. Mr. Bruce, a young clergyman of an excellent character, brother to Mrs. Mussendine, and distantly related to the bishop,

was desperately in love with an amiable young woman, who ardently returned his affection. Mutually wishing to be indissolubly united, the lover asked his mistress in marriage, but met with a peremptory refusal from her father on account of his poverty, which was indeed such as to render matrimony to the last degree imprudent. Sensibility, without my aid, will readily conceive the situation to which this wretched couple was reduced. The paternal opposition was just; even the lover's sentiment was forced to concur with the father's reason, and love itself combated against the completion of its own wishes. The difficulties were insuperable, and two innocent bosoms were resigned to the horrid tyranny of despair; when at once the obstacle was generously removed by the bishop, who not only promised amply to provide for Bruce in the church, but nobly settled upon him out of his own pocket a yearly income of no less than 400 pounds. Mr. Burroughs, son to an archdeacon of Derry,[1] who had been an intimate friend of the bishop, being engaged in a lawsuit for his wife's estate, on the event of which his all depended, and being unfortunately deficient in those means, by which, to the disgrace of the law, even justice must be bought, was supplied by the bishop with 500*l.*, towards bringing his suit to an issue. The trial approached, and his lordship desired to be informed by express of the decision, which was unfavourable to Burroughs. The express, returned with a letter from the bishop, informing his protégé that, fearful of what had happened, he had kept in his hands a very considerable benefice which he had now given to Burroughs' brother, well knowing, from the fraternal affection existing between them, that it was in effect given to him, at the same time desiring him to send his wife and family to Downhill, where they might live as long as would be convenient to them. And here I cannot avoid mentioning a circumstance which tends to show that in this strange man generosity itself assumed the appearance of whim. The lady, with her family, settled at Downhill, but Mrs. Burroughs, unwilling to tease the bishop with a sucking child, had, unknown to his lordship, lodged her youngest infant at a neighbouring village, whither she sometimes privately went to see the child. Her visits were discovered by the bishop, who, after some kind reproaches, consented that the child should not now be removed; but to facilitate her intercourse, which was rendered somewhat inconvenient by the badness of the road, an hundred labourers, by his order, in the course of one day, converted a rough and narrow lane into a fine spacious road.

"What shall we then say of this incomprehensible character; of this eccentric and baleful comet, whose short perihelium of unnatural heat is contrasted by ages of torpid frigidity. Shall we resolve it into that inconsistency which usually attends insanity? or shall we not rather say that a character perfectly bad is as much out of nature as that which is perfectly good?

'Nil æquale homini fuit illi . .
. . . . . Nil fuit unquam
Sic impar sibi.[2]'"

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[1] Lewis Burroughs, archdeacon of Derry, 1785–6.

[2] Horace: satir. i. 3.

II.

CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES, FIRST EARL OF CHARLEMONT, 1745–1783.

CATALOGUE.

**** The numbers within brackets refer to the letters from which extracts are printed in the Appendix.

Date.			Place.		Writers.
1745	Dec.	11	—		Heron, William.
1746	Aug.	5	London	- -	Fitzgerald, George.
1747	April	4	Hague	- -	Murphy, Edward, Rev. [1].
„	May	30	Dublin	- -	Adderley, Thomas [2].
„	July	16	„	- -	Fade and Wilcocks, Bankers.
1748	Feb.	22	—		Adderley, Thomas [3].
1749	March	5	Turin	- -	Douglas, C.
„	„	12	„	- -	„
„	July	5	Constantinople	-	Porter, J. C.
1750	Feb.	9	Leghorn	- -	Sapte and Desmaretz.
„	March	12	Dublin	- -	Adderley, Thomas [4].
1751	Jan.	8	Leghorn	- -	Sapte and Desmaretz.
„	April	12	Rome	- -	Lethicullier, B.
„	July	25	London	- -	Bernard, Arthur.
„	Sept.	3	Rome	- -	Crigoline, Alessandro.
„	„	26	Lucca	- -	Charlemont and Lord Bruce [5].
„	Oct.	3	London	- -	Brocklesby, Richard.
„	Dec.	18	Rome	- -	Murphy, Edward, Rev.
1752	April	16	Dublin	- -	Marlay, Richard [6].
„	„	20	Rome	- -	Charlemont&SirT.Kennedy [7].
1753	June	10	Naples	- -	Howard, Edward, Lord [8].
„	Aug.	8	Siena	- -	Bruce, Lord [9].
„	„	12	Ischia	- -	Stephens, P. [10].
„	Dec.	17	Vienna	- -	Bruce, Lord [11].
„	„	29	Dublin	- -	Adderley, Thomas [12].
1754	March	2	Rome	- -	Potter, George.
„	—	—	„	- -	Piranesi, G. B.
„	March	15	Leghorn	- -	Sapte and Sons.
„	April	16	Parma	- -	Le Tourneur.
„	„	19	Dublin	- -	Adderley, Thomas [13].
„	„	20	Rome	- -	Grant, Peter.
„	„	21	Paris	- -	Devisne, S. [14].
„	May	2	Dublin	- -	Marlay, Richard [15].
„	„	11	„	- -	Caulfeild, Francis [16].
„	June	5	Ardress	- -	Adderley, Thomas [17].
„	Sept.	14	Bologna	- -	Malvezzi, Pietro.
„	Oct.	4	Lyon	- -	Tolozan, Claude.
„	„	11	Dublin	- -	Adderley, Thomas [18].

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1755	Jan.	7	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas [19].
„	„	9	„ - -	„ „
„	„	17	Rome - -	W[ood], [Robert] [20].
„	„	28	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas [21].
„	Feb.	7	„ - -	„ „ [22].
„	„	10	„ - -	„ „ [23].
„	„	„	„ - -	„ „ [24].
„	„	16	„ - -	„ „ [25].
„	„	20	„ - -	„ „ [26].
„	„	22	South Lambeth -	Cooke, T. [27].
„	„	25	Paris - -	Child, J.
„	March	4	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas [28].
„	„	18	„ - -	„ „ [29].
„	„	22	„ -	„ „ [30].
„	April	4	Naples - -	Vanvitelli, Luigi.
„	„	8	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas [31].
„	„	9	Clonfecle - -	Dobbins, James.
„	„	12	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas [32].
„	„	„	—	Stone, George, Primate [33].
„	„	15	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas [34].
„	„	19	„ - -	„ „ [35].
„	„	22	„ - -	„ „ [36].
„	May	17	London - -	Charlemont and Murphy [37].
„	„	25	Rome - -	Parker, John.
„	June	26	London - -	Murphy, Edward, Rev.
„	July	12	„ - -	Pilkington, John C. [38].
„	„	18	„ - -	Murphy, Edward, Rev.
„	„	26	Rome - -	Parker, John [39].
„	„	29	Lisbon - -	Bruce, Lord [40].
„	Aug.	6	„ - -	„ „
„	„	26	Dublin - -	Dawson, Thomas.
„	Oct.	19	Bath - -	Murphy, Edward, Rev. [41].
„	Nov.	19	„ - -	„ „ „
„	Dec.	24	Rome - -	Parker, John [42].
1756	Jan.	2	Florence - -	Patche, Thomas.
„	„	12	—	Murphy, Edward, Rev. [43].
„	Feb.	28	Rome - -	Parker, John [44].
„	March	18	„ - -	Palombara, Pozzia Gabrielli.
„	April	3	Tanderagee -	Blacker, Samuel [45].
„	May	8	Rome - -	D'Este, Anna Gabrielli.
„	„	22	„ - -	Parker, John [46].
„	Oct.	11	—	Tufneli, Geo. Forster.
„	„	21	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas [47].
„	„	23	„ - -	„ „
1757	Feb.	12	Dublin - -	„ „ [48].
„	May	19	„ - -	Bulger, Thomas.
„	June	11	„ - -	Adderley, Thomas [49].
„	Nov.	17	Bath - -	Murphy, Edward, Rev.
—	—	—	Rome - -	Piranesi, G. B. [50].
1758	April	1	„ - -	Grant, Peter [51].
„	„	5	„ - -	Parker, John [52].
„	June	10	Dublin - -	Peters, Matthew.
„	Aug.	22	Turin - -	Lysyeatt, T. [53].
„	Oct.	4	Rome - -	Parker, John [54 i].
„	Nov.	25	Harwich - -	Adderley, Thomas.

Date.			Place.		Writers.
1758	Dec.	7	Dublin -	-	Bulger, Thomas.
1759	Feb.	20	Rome -	-	Parker, John [54 ii].
,,	April	1	,, -	-	Grant, Peter [55].
,,	June	19	Whitehall -	-	Rigby, Richard [56].
,,	July	25	Turin -	-	Upton, C.
,,	Aug.	20	Rome -	-	Parker, John [57].
,,	Sept.	15	Genoa -	-	Upton, C.
,,	Nov.	27	London -	-	Lucas, Charles [58].
1760	May	26	,, -	-	Charlemont [59].
,,	July	29	Grebenstein	-	Pembroke, Earl of [60].
,,	Aug.	9	London -	-	Charlemont.[1]
,,	Oct.	30	Dublin -	-	,, [61].
,,	Nov.	1	London -	-	Bruce, Lord [62].
,,	,,	7	Bandon -	-	Adderley, Thomas [63].
,,	,,	10	Clogher -	-	Molyneux, Capel, Sir [64].
,,	,,	,,	Dublin -	-	Charlemont [65].
,,	,,	22	London -	-	Lucas, Charles [66].
,,	,,	25	,, -	-	Rockingham, Lord [67].
,,	Dec.	8	Wentworth	-	,, ,, [68].
,,	,,	9	London -	-	Bruce, Lord [69].
,,	,,	23	,, -	-	Lucas, Charles [70].
,,	—	—	—		Charlemont.[2]
1761	Feb.	10	London -	-	Lucas, Charles [71 i].
,,	,,	12	,, -	-	,, ,, [71 ii].
,,	June	29	Aughnacloy	-	Johnston, John.
,,	Sept.	6	—		Halifax, Earl [72].
,,	Oct.	24	London -	-	Anonymous.
1762	April	6	Wortley -	-	Ogle, Chaloner.
,,	June	12	London -	-	Anonymous.
,,	July	7	Camp at Wilhelmstadt.		Caulfeild, James.
,,	,,	12	Clonmel -	-	Caulfeild, Francis, Major.
,,	,,	17	,, -	-	,, ,, ,,
,,	,,	17	Rathfriland	-	Marlay, Richard [73 i].
,,	,,	30	Clonmel -	-	Caulfeild, Francis, Major.
,,	Aug.	3	Tullymore		Marlay, Richard.
,,	,,	18	Enniscorthy	-	Arran, Lord.
,,	Sept.	30	Tullymore	-	Marlay, Richard.
,,	,,	,,	Calverstown	-	,, ,, [73 ii].
,,	Oct.	17	—		Charlemont.[3]
1763	March	12	—		Chambers, William, Sir [74].
,,	,,	,,	Blackrock, Dublin		Murphy, Edward, Rev.
,,	April	2	Moy -	-	Dobbins, James.
,,	,,	25	,, -	-	,, ,,
,,	May	14	London -	-	Scanlan, John.
,,	June	30	Aughnacloy	-	Johnston, John.
,,	,,	,,	,, -	-	,, ,,
,,	July	21	Tullymore		Marlay, Richard.
,,	,,	—	Armagh -	-	Charlemont.[4]
,,	,,	28	Dublin Castle	-	Stone, George, Primate.[5]

[1] Not addressed.
[2] To "Lord ——."
[3] To Richard Marlay.
[4], [5] See pp. 141–2.

Date.			Place.		Writers.
1763	Aug.	3	Castle Dillon, Armagh.		Molyneux, Capel, Sir [75].
„	„	6	Dublin Castle	-	Waite, Thomas.
„	„	„	Church Hill	-	Verner, Thomas [76].
„	„	24	Castle Dillon, Armagh.		Molyneux, Capel, Sir [77].
„	„	—	Dublin	- -	Charlemont [78].
„	Sept.	8	Calverstown	-	Marlay, Richard [79].
„	Dec.	24	Dublin Castle	-	Villeneufve, G. [80].
1764	Oct.	17	London	- -	Charlemont [1] [81].
1765	June	1	Warsaw	- -	Lee, Charles.
„	Sept.	6	Cork	- -	Lucas, Charles [82].
1766	March	11	—		Leland, Thomas [83].
„	„	27	—		Flood, Henry [84].
„	Oct.	1	Boulogne	- -	Jephson, Robert [85].
1767	April	24	[Dublin]	- -	Murphy, Edward, Rev. [86].
„	„	25	—		Leland, Thomas.
„	July	17	—		Cipriani, G. B.
„	Aug.	25	London	- -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [87 i].
„	Sept.	7	Calverstown	-	Marlay, Richard.
„	„	12	London	- -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [87 ii].
„	„	15	„	- -	„ „ „ [87 iii].
„	Oct.	2	—		„ „ „ [87 iv].
„	„	4	[Dublin]	- -	Murphy, Edward, Rev.
„	„	6	Marino	- -	Charlemont.[2]
„	Dec.	19	—		Chambers, Wm., Sir [87 v].
1768	Feb.	9	—		„ „ „ [87 vi].
„	„	„	Florence	- -	Harwood, Francis.
„	March	12	—		Chambers, Wm., Sir [87 vii].
„	April	5	London	- -	Baretti, Joseph [88].
„	„	—	—		Cipriani, G. B. [89].
—	—	—	—		Chambers, Wm., Sir [90].
1768	May	14	Dublin	- -	Lumm, Francis.
„	„	30	—		Charlemont [91 i].
„	June	1	—		„ [91 ii].
„	„	25	—		„ [91 iii].
„	„	„	Ahenis, Tyrone	-	Corry, Armar Lowry.
„	„	„	Moy	- -	Dobbins, James.
„	July	1	—		Charlemont [92].
„	„	4	Loughlinstown	-	Leland, Thomas [93].
„	„	10	Fenloe	- -	Hickman, Thomas.
„	„	11	Loughgall	-	Caulfield, Francis.
„	Nov.	16	London	- -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [94].
„	Dec.	10	„	- -	Cipriani, G., B. [95].
1769	March	22	„	- -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [96 i].
„	„	—	„	- -	„ „ „ [96 ii].
„	March	26	—		Flood, Henry [97].
„	„	—	—		Charlemont [98].
„	May	8	—		Burke, Edmund [99].
„	„	11	London	- -	Mountmorres, Lord [100].
„	„	26	—		Bushe, Gervase P. [101].

[1] Not addressed.
[2] To Rev. Edward Murphy.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

Date.			Place.		Writers.
1769	Oct.	12	London - -		[Griffith, R.] [102 i].
,,	,,	20	,, - -		,, ,, [102 ii].
,,	,,	25	,,		Baretti, Joseph [103].
,,	Nov.	9	,, - -		Chambers, Wm., Sir [104].
1770	Jan.	8	,, - -		[Griffith R.] [105].
,,	Feb.	4	—		Chambers, Wm., Sir [106].
,,	Aug.	3	London - -		Baretti, Joseph [107].
,,	,,	8	Gorey - -		Marlay, Richard [108 i].
,,	,,	10	—		Charlemont [108 ii].
,,	,,	25	Calverstown -		Marlay, Richard [108 iii].
,,	—	—	—		Charlemont [108 iv].
,,	Oct.	20	London - -		Walpole, Horace [109].
,,	Dec.	31	Dublin - -		Charlemont [110].
1771	Jan.	30	London - -		Chambers, Wm., Sir [111].
,,	March	22	Athlone - -		O'Brien, Lucius, Sir [112].
,,	May	6	London - -		Hunter, Wm.
,,	Aug.	20–26	Marino - -		Charlemont [113].
,,	Sept.	22	—		,, [114].
,,	Oct.	5	—		Blacker, Samuel.
1772	Feb.	15	London - -		Baretti, Joseph [115].
,,	July	23	Killymoon -		Stewart, James [116].
,,	Sept.	4	—		Burke, Edmund [117].
,,	,,	28	London - -		Browne, Wm. [118].
,,	Oct.	7	Westport - -		Altamont, Lord.
,,	Dec.	24	Bath - -		Woodward, Francis.
,,	,,	30	London - -		Charlemont [119].
,,	,,	,,	,, - -		,,
1773	Feb.	5	—		Flood, Henry [120].
,,	,,	24	—		Caldwell, Andrew.
,,	March	4	—		Whittaker, J.
,,	,,	11	—		Charlemont.[1]
,,	May	17	London - -		Wilton, Joseph [121].
,,	Nov.	5	Bristol - -		Calcott, George, Rev. [122].
,,	Dec.	24	London - -		Beauclerk, T. [123].
,,	,,	29	—		"Philoleus."
1774	Jan.	31	Oxford - -		Chandler, R. [124].
,,	Feb.	12	London - -		Beauclerk, T. [125].
,,	April	4	—		Howard, Gorges.
,,	,,	8	Dublin - -		Dogherty, [John].
,,	July	2	Birchfield - -		Brodrick, Harry.
,,	,,	7	Calverstown -		Levinge, Richard [126].
,,	,,	14	Stourhead - -		Bruce, Lord [127].
,,		—	—		Charlemont [128].
,,	,,	18	—		Beauclerk, T. [129].
,,	,,	25	Blackrock, Dublin		Murphy, Edward, Rev. [130 i].
,,	Aug.	15	Dublin - -		Vierpyl, Simon [130 ii].
,,	,,	20	—		Bellamont, Lord.
,,	Aug.	—	—		Charlemont [131].
,,	Sept.	15	—		O'Brien, Lucius, Sir.
,,	Dec.	9	Calverstown -		Levinge, Richard.
1775	Feb.	—	Farmley - -		Flood, Henry.
,,	March	9	—		Leland, Thomas.

[1] To Sir Lucius O'Brien.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1775	April	1	Newry - -	Pollock, John.
„	„	19	London - -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [132].
„	June	2	„ - -	O'Brien, Lucius, Sir [133].
„	„	8	—	Flood, Henry [134].
„	„	26	Chester - -	Smith and Greer.
„	„	30	—	Pembroke, Lord.
„	July	22	—	Kennedy, Odoardo.
„	Aug.	2	London - -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [135].
„	„	16	—	Flood, Henry [136].
„	Sept.	5	—	Browne, J.
„	„	7	London - -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [137].
„	„	16	„ - -	Caulfeild, Francis.
„	Oct.	4	„ - -	„ „
1776	Jan.	22	Montpelier -	Brownlow, William.
„	March	8	„ - -	„ „ [138].
„	May	28	London - -	Bruce, Lord [139].
„	June	4	Westminster -	Burke, Edmund [140].
„	„	19	Dublin - -	Adderley, Thomas.
„	„	20	Eyre Court -	Eyre, Lord.
„	„	26	—	S., A.
„	Sept.	25	—	Charlemont.[1]
„	„	26	Dublin - -	„
„	Oct.	2	„ - -	Dutton, Edward.
„	„	5	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert.
„	„	30	Dublin - -	Stock, Samuel.
„	Dec.	4	North Minns -	Young, Arthur [141].
„	„	„	Dublin - -	Lumm, Francis.
„	„	—	—	Charlemont.[2]
„	„	10	Dublin - -	Lumm, Francis.
„	„	—	—	Charlemont.[3]
„	„	11	—	M^{c}Donogh, Ignatius.
„	„	19	The Neale -	Browne, John, Sir [142].
„	„	20	Dublin - -	Williams, James.
1777	Jan.	11	„ - -	Charlemont [143].
„	„	18	London - -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [144].
„	„	26	Donmore - -	Staples, Robert.
„	March	9	Ballinrobe -	Kelly, Daniel.
„	Aug.	18	—	Charlemont [145].
„	Dec.	15	New York -	Lee, C.
1778	May	19	London - -	Griffith, Richard [146].
„	July	21	Bristol - -	Woodward, Francis [147].
„	Oct.	23	Dungannon -	Evans, George.
„	Dec.	29	London - -	Lumm, Francis.
„	—	—	—	Charlemont [148].
1779	March	15	Dublin - -	Ryan, Edward, Rev.
„	„	22	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert.
„	„	„	Dublin - -	Ryan, Edward, Rev.
„	„	„	„ - -	Charlemont.[4]
„	„	27	„ - -	Dogherty, John.
„	April	5	London - -	Malone, Edmond [149].
„	„	8	Bath - -	Woodward, Francis [150].
„	„	29	London - -	Malone, Edmund [151].

[1] To Mrs. Ross. [2], [3] To Francis Lumm.
[4] To Rev. Edward Ryan.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1779	May	10–15	—	Charlemont [152].
,,	,,	20	London - -	Chambers, Wm., Sir [153].
,,	June	4	Dublin - -	Knox, Thomas.
,,	—	—	—	Charlemont.[1]
,,	,,	23	Armagh -	Dawson, Thomas [154].
,,	—	—	—	Charlemont [155].
,,	June	28	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert [156].
,,	July	22	,, - -	Bond, John [157 i].
,,	,,	31	—	,, ,, [157 ii].
,,	Aug.	14	Gosford Castle -	Gosford, Lord.
,,	,,	21	Dublin - -	Charlemont.[2]
,,	,,	23	Lurgan - -	Brownlow, Wm. [158].
,,	—	—	—	Charlemont [159].
,,	Aug.	24	Dublin - -	,, [160].
,,	,,	30	Lurgan - -	Brownlow, Wm. [161].
,,	Sept.	15	Armagh - -	Bell, David [162].
,,	,,	16	Acton - -	Dobbs, Francis [163].
,,	,,	21	Dublin Castle -	Heron, Richard, Sir [164].
,,	,,	25	Lurgan - -	Brownlow, Wm. [165].
,,	,,	,,	Armagh - -	Bell, Benjamin.
,,	,,	,,	Newry - -	Evans, Francis [166].
,,	,,	,,	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert [167].
,,	,,	27	,, - -	Bell, Benjamin [168].
,,	,,	28	Tanderagee -	Patton, Alexander; Livingston, Samuel [169].
,,	,,	29	—	Moore, John [170].
,,	Oct.	4	Lisburn - -	Dobbs, Francis [171].
,,	,,	9	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert [172].
,,	,,	,,	Tanderagee -	Johnston, Nicholas [173].
,,	,,	12	—	Charlemont [174].
,,	,,	14	Tanderagee -	Johnston, Nicholas [175].
,,	,,	18	Lurgan - -	Brownlow, Wm. [176].
,,	,,	,,	Dublin - -	Dobbs, Francis [177].
,,	,,	20	Armagh - -	Bell, Benjamin [178].
,,	,,	,,	Gilford - -	Johnston, Richard [179].
,,	,,	23	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert [180].
,,	,,	,,	Lurgan - -	Brownlow, Wm. [181].
,,	,,	25	Gilford - -	Johnston, Richard [182].
,,	,,	29	Newry - -	Evans, Francis [183].
,,	—	—	—	Charlemont [184].
,,	Oct.	30	Armagh - -	Maxwell, Samuel [185].
,,	,,	,,	Dublin - -	Charlemont [186].
,,	,,	,,	Hockly - -	Graham, Arthur [187].
,,	—	—	—	Charlemont [188].
,,	Nov.	5	Newry - -	Bell, David [189].
,,	,,	6	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert [190].
,,	Dec.	10	Newry - -	Bell, David [191].
,,	,,	20	,, - -	,, Benjamin.
,,	,,	27	The Hill - -	Blackhall, John [192].
,,	,,	31	London - -	Townshend, Thomas [193].
1780	Jan.	4	,, - -	Fox, Charles James [194].
,,	,,	11	Rich-hill - -	Richardson, Wm.
,,	,,	12	Armagh - -	Livingston, Robert.

[1] To Thomas Knox.

[2] To Sir Lucius O'Brien.

Date.			Place.		Writers.
1780	Jan.	12	Armagh	- -	Bell, Benjamin.
„	„	15	—		Charlemont [195 i., ii.].
„	Feb.	5	London	- -	Townshend, Thomas.
„	March	18	Belfast	- -	Dobbs, Francis [196].
„	„	20	„	- -	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
„	„	27	Armagh	- -	Dobbs, Francis [197].
„	April	19	Belfast	- -	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
„	„	23	Dublin	- -	Charlemont [198].
„	„	26	Armagh	- -	Fleming, Richard [199].
„	May	2	Drogheda	- -	M^{c}Gill, John.
„	„	13	Armagh	- -	Livingston, Robert.
„	„	14	Bellurgin	- -	Tipping, Edward.
„	„	29	Clady	- -	M^{c}Cullagh, A.
„	June	10	Newry	- -	Bell, David.
„	„	20	Lurgan	- -	Brownlow, Wm.
„	„	„	Londonderry	-	Bateson, Thomas.
„	„	23	Newry	- -	Pollock, John.
„	„	24	Loughbrickland	-	Dawson, James.
„	„	29	Belfast	- -	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
„	July	5	London	- -	Malone, Edmond [200].
„	„	10	Dublin	- -	Carysfort, Lord [201].
„	„	„	London	- -	Baretti, Joseph [202].
„	„	28	Armagh	- -	Livingston, Robert.
„	„	31	Fortstewart	-	Charlemont [203].
„	Aug.	3	—		Yelverton, Barry [204].
„	„	28	Armagh	- -	Livingston, Robert [205].
„	Sept.	18	„	- -	Roe, Thomas.
„	Oct.	4	London	- -	Walpole, Horace.
„	„	10	Tanderagee	-	Patton, Alexr.
„	„	20	Armagh	- -	Livingston, Robert.
„	Nov.	9	Glaslough	- -	Leslie, Charles P.
„	„	19	Kilbrew	- -	Gorges, Hamilton.
1781	Jan.	2	Dublin	- -	Charlemont [206].
„	Feb.	5	—		„ [1]
„	„	10	Armagh	- -	Volunteer company.
„	„	23	Londonderry	-	Patterson, Wm.
„	March	3	Dublin	- -	Charlemont [208 i].
„	„	30	London	- -	Rockingham, Lord [207].
„	April	21	„	- -	Aylesbury, Lord.
„	„	27	Newtownards	-	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
„	May	2	Dublin	- -	Charlemont [208 ii].
„	„	5	Armagh	- -	Livingston, [Robert].
„	„	12	—		Flood, Henry [209].
„	„	16	Clare Castle	-	Dawson, Thomas.
„	„	25	Strabane	- -	Crawford, William.
„	„	26	Antrim	- -	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
„	„	„	Drogheda	- -	Lyons, Hugh M.
„	„	27	Strabane	- -	Rowley, Hercules L.
„	June	13	Belfast	- -	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
„	„	18	London	- -	Malone, Edmond [210].
„	„	25	„	- -	Hogarth, Jane [211].
„	„	29	Dublin	- -	Charlemont [212].
„	„	30	Armagh	- -	Livingston, Robert [213].
„	July	2	Dublin	- -	Charlemont [214].

[1] Not addressed.

Date.			Place.			Writers.
1781	July	20	London	-	-	Malone, Edmond [215].
,,	,,	30	Chiswick	-	-	Hogarth, Jane [216].
,,	Aug.	7	Farmley	-	-	Flood, Henry [217].
,,	,,	20	Belfast	-	-	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
,,	Sept.	1	Newry	-	-	Ogle, William.
,,	,,	10	Lurgan	-	-	Brownlow, Wm.
,,	,,	25	Clare Castle		-	Dawson, Thomas.
,,	Oct.	5	Strabane	-	-	Crawford, Wm.
,,	,,	12	London	-	-	Malone, Edmond [218].
,,	Dec.	9	Strabane	-	-	Crawford, William [219].
,,	,,	17	Dublin	-	-	Charlemont [220].
,,	,,	21	Strabane	-	-	Crawford, Wm.
,,	,,	30	Belan	-	-	Aldborough, Lord.
1782	Jan.	3	Dublin	-	-	Charlemont [221].
,,	,,	7		—		Flood, Henry [222].
,,	,,	8	London	-	-	Malone, Edmond [223].
,,	,,	16	Dublin	-	-	Grattan, Henry [224].
,,	,,	25	,,		-	Charlemont [225].
,,	,,	27	,,		-	Marlay, Richard [226].
,,	,,	29	,,		-	Hardy, Jacob.
,,	Feb.	5	,,		-	Magennis, Daniel, M.D. [227].
,,	,,	10	,,		-	,, ,, ,, [228].
,,	March	9	,,		-	Charlemont [229].
,,	,,	,,	London	-	-	Livesay, Richard [230].
,,	,,	31	Belfast	-	-	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
,,	April	4	Dublin	-	-	Charlemont.[1]
,,	,,	,,	London	-	-	Fox, Charles James.[2]
,,	,,	9	,,		-	Malone, Edmond [231].
,,	,,	,,	,,		-	Rockingham, Lord.[3]
,,	,,	16	Belfast	-	-	Haliday, A. H., M.D.
,,	,,	19		—		Kenmare, Viscount [232].
,,	,,	20	London	-		Shee, Annesley [233].
,,	,,	26	Dublin	-	-	Charlemont [234].
,,	May	22		—		Ogilvie, William [235].
,,	,,	22	Dublin Castle		-	Portland, Duke of [236].
,,	,,	28	Dublin	-	-	Charlemont.[4]
,,	June	1	Kilmainham, Dublin.			Burgoyne, John, Sir [237].
,,	,,	2	Belfast	-	-	Haliday, A. H., M.D. [238].
,,	,,	,,	London	-	-	Clanricarde, Lord [239].
,,	,,	6	Dublin	-	-	Charlemont [240].
,,	,,	7	Belfast	-	-	Haliday, A. H., M.D. [241].
,,	,,	8	,,		-	,, ,, ,,
,,	,,	,,	London	-	-	Malone, Edmond [242].
,,	,,	12	,,		-	Burke, Edmund.[5]
,,	,,	14	Dublin	-	-	Charlemont [243].
,,	,,	17	London	-	-	Rockingham, Lord.[6]
,,	,,	23	Dublin Castle		-	Portland, Duke of [244].
,,	,,	25	Castle Bernard		-	Bernard, James.
,,	,,	27	Bandon	-	-	Stawell, Sampson [245].
,,	,,	28	Mallin Hall		-	Harvey, John [246].
,,	July	4		—		Portland, Duke of.
,,	,,	,,		—		,, ,, [247].

[1], [4] Addressed to A. H. Haliday, M.D.
[2] *See* p. 56. [3], [5], [6] *See* pp. 53, 60, 91.

Date.			Place.	Writers.
1782	July	4	—	Portland, Duke of.
,,	,,	6	—	Dobbs, Francis [248].
,,	,,	9	Castle Bernard -	Bernard, Francis [249].
,,	,,	10	Larchfield - -	Haliday, A. H., M.D. [250]
,,	,,	11	Dublin - -	Forbes, John [251].
,,	,,	22	—	Dunn, W. Bruce.
,,	,,	24	Fort Stewart -	Charlemont [252].
,,	,,	26	Pall Mall - -	Temple, Nugent, Earl.[1]
,,	—	—	—	Charlemont.[2]
,,	Aug.	7	Dengan Castle, Meath.	Mornington, Lord [253].
,,	,,	9	Belfast - -	Haliday, A. H., M.D. [254].
,,	,,	10	Dublin - -	Charlemont [255].
,,	,,	11	,, - -	,, [256].
,,	,,	17	Marino - -	,, [257].
,,	,,	23	,, - -	Forbes, John.
,,	,,	23	Marino, Dublin -	Charlemont [258].
,,	Sept.	27	Dublin - -	,, [259].
,,	Oct.	2	Bandon - -	Stawell, Sampson [260].
,,	,,	4	Marino - -	Charlemont [261].
,,	Nov.	4	Dublin - -	,, [262].
,,	,,	19	London - -	Malone, Edmond [263].
,,	Dec.	28	—	Charlemont [264].
1783	Jan.	6	Dublin Castle -	Temple, Earl.[3]
,,	,,	13	,, -	,, [4]
,,	,,	14	,, -	,, [5]
,,	,,	30	,, -	Charlemont.
,,	Feb.	1	[Belfast] - -	Haliday, A. H., M.D. [265].
,,	,,	4	Dublin Castle -	Hamilton, Sackville.
,,	March	22	London - -	Copley, J. S. [266].
,,	April	17	Larchfield - -	Haliday, A. H., M.D. [267 i].
,,	May	23	Belfast - -	,, ,, [267 ii].
,,	June	3	Dublin, Phœnix Lodge.	Temple, Earl.[6]
,,	[,,	9]	—	Northington, Earl.[7]
,,	,,	27	Lakelands, Cork	Bousfield, Benjamin.
,,	July	3	Kilbrittain, Cork	Stawell, Sampson.
,,	,,	5	Dublin Castle -	Windham, W.
,,	,,	,,	,, -	,,
,,	,,	8	Shane's Castle, Antrim.	Charlemont.
[1783]	July	18	—	Charlemont, Lady.
[,,]	,,	—	—	,, Lord.[8]
1783	Aug.	5	Beconsfield -	Burke, Edmund [268].
,,	,,	9	Dublin - -	Charlemont.
,,	,,	23	London - -	O'Rourke [269].
,,	,,	24	Limerick - -	Maunsell, Richard.
,,	,,	30	—	Bousfield, Benjamin.
,,	Sept.	23	Dublin, Phœnix Lodge.	Northington, Lord [270].
,,	Oct.	—	Dublin - -	Charlemont.[9]
,,	Nov.	3	,, - -	,, [271].
,,	Dec.	2	London - -	Rockingham, Lady.
[1783]	—	—	,, -	Dawson, T.

[1], [2] *See* pp. 97, 99. [3] *See* p. 154. [4] *See* p. 151. [5] *See* p. 154.
[6] *See* p. 159. [7] *See* p. 101. [8] *See* p. 103. [9] *See* p. 106.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

APPENDIX.

1.—Rev. Edward Murphy[1] to Charlemont.

1747, April 4th, O.S., The Hague.—"I will now endeavour to act the real friend toward you by discovering to you such things and circumstances as you cannot be ignorant of but with somewhat more than danger. Nay, I will open my whole mind to you, and that (to pay you no small compliment) without fear of offending you. Your lordship may remember that when you so long delayed coming abroad, I told you you had better resolve and come away, for that there were certain reasons that made it absolutely necessary for you to quit home, and which (I promised) I would acquaint you with another time. The case then was this: you had for two years so applied yourself to your studies that, considering the little or next to no knowledge with which you set out, you really did wonders, not only as to the quantity you read, but as to the manner in which you understood it, generally equalling and sometimes even surpassing men of celebrated learning and great penetration. Beside this, you had upon public and (what is often more) private occasions discovered very generous tendencies. Your abilities deserved admiration; your application and goodness, admiration and love. I, in the mean time, impatient to do your merits justice, and having an extensive acquaintance with whom I had some credit, ceased not to speak the truth of you till my own reports came about again to my ears, and that from different persons in distant places. And what I said so affected some of my friends of parts that they could not forbear doing you honour in print.[2] Beside, your nearest and best friends, who had a large share of credit with the public so co-operated in this affair, that you absolutely and in very fact, became, at the age of 17, the very first character of a peer in Ireland; so that no less than the eyes of a nation were turned upon you with pride and expectation. In this situation were you (as you still are) when—when—(come, my lord, if this honest truth will not come forth of its own accord, I'll drive it out, for I mean you well,) when your love of cards and sitting up to late hours was noticed and sorely regretted by every one that kept your constant company. Strong expressions of their fears and concern for you have I had from their mouths, and more than once. I softened the thing by urging that you were unwell and wanted amusement, and defied cards or dice ever to get the better of such sense and caution as you were master of (which prediction I am, this day, overjoyed to see so likely to be fulfilled). But cards and late hours were not all that gave us trouble at this time. For not only all thoughts of the university were laid aside but, what was worst of all, books began to be entirely neglected. I began to repent of my undertaking, but bethought myself that vexation was but an additional evil, and that I had better consider what was best to be

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[1] Lord Charlemont's preceptor and companion during his travels. Murphy published at London, in 1744, select dialogues of Lucian, with Latin translation and English notes. A reprint was issued at Dublin in 1771, with a dedication to Thomas Adderley, "concerning dedications."

[2] The Rev. Philip Skelton, an eminent preacher and writer, who was for a time tutor to lord Charlemont, dedicated to him in 1743, a publication entitled "Truth in a Mask." "An epistle to the right honourable James, lord viscount Charlemont, with a translation of the sixth satire of the second book of Horace, by the Rev. William Dunkin, B.D.," was published at Dublin in 1744.

done. Whereupon, revolving the matter in my mind, I quickly foresaw that, having quitted your studies, you must soon inevitably be snatched up by the young profligates of your country at their plays and assemblies, and so get a seasoning in taverns, stews, and gaming-sets; whereby all your modesty, fine parts, fine character, and worth of various kinds must soon end in the nauseous dregs of riots, revels, idleness, stupidity, and nonsense. This made me anxious in myself and importunate with you to come away: for nothing in truth was left for your safety, but flight. Had you remained at home but to this day, even in the innocent play and indolence with which you have spent your time here, your character were, even this day, gone.—For, my lord, you cannot abroad, much less at home, escape the busy, sharp looks of men. A little man may for a while, but you, not possibly. And the very companions of your idle sports (if in any you indulged yourself) would pride themselves in divulging your weaknesses, in order to make their own the less notorious. Even common observation will ever make free with men's failings; and while that openly remarks, and envy openly blasts, and friendship is seen to hang her head and weep, he who is the subject of all this must be ruined in the esteem of the world. Does your lordship think that your innocent indolence escapes all notice even here? I think it does not. Did you not observe what my lady Sandwich said to you one evening? 'My lord (said she,) I think I never see you ride out.' And then she began to rate my lord Sandwich [1] for not riding out that morning. Think you this was no observation upon your inactive way of life, nor a friendly, distant admonition? Have you not noticed what my lord Sandwich also said to you some time ago. 'Turin is the best place 'you can now go to. There you have a polite and friendly court, where 'both French and Italian are well spoken, and there you have good 'academies of all kinds. I have spent 12 months there and am well 'acquainted.'—Palpable and most friendly advice, in a most distant, yet home way, observing upon your indolence and deficiencies, and offering his most important assistance to serve you.

"My lord, mind such lecturers, or you are ruined. But mind not such a little sycophant as I, when I applaud you for a pun or a speech spoken out of Tom Thumb [2] the great. Observe you not lord Drumlandrick, how knowing? See you not Mr. Ward with his classics in his pocket, and quoting his authors? Ken you not my lord Sandwich playing tennis, playing his harpsichord, and steering the navies, the councils, and the senates of Great Britain at 29 years of age? Could he do this without great acquisitions of knowledge? Where is your natural emulation, and the soul that was born with you? Awake, my lord, or the lethargy will grow too strong for you, and you shall sleep for ever, or rather you may possibly start up mad, and make one of your hideous rackets in the world. Haste then away (as soon as you have seen this camp) thither where you must learn languages, and where you may read and attain proper and necessary accomplishments, such as dancing, musick, drawing, riding, and fencing, beside enjoying the diversions of those countries. I really wish you could fence; it would make you strong; and it is odds if a person in your way can pass through life without some quarrel. There was a young gentleman in the county of Tipperary, who took into his head to gallant it with the wife of an honest gentleman who had never done him the least injury; and

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[1] John Montagu, fourth earl of Sandwich. He negotiated the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and was appointed first lord of the Admiralty.

[2] "Life and death of Tom Thumb the great," by Henry Fielding. London, 1731.

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so brought distraction and separation into a worthy family. The husband thought it advisable to run this youth through the guts, and, meeting him with that intent, drew upon him. The lover also drew, but the very first pass (as they call it) pinked through the heart. 'G—d damn him (says his uncle, Tom Ballard,) I could never get him to learn to push.' 'No, by G—, nor to parry neither,' says John Hoops.

"'Have you done'? No, I have not.—Sometimes in a great passion for nothing at all.—Strong assertions like 'ipse dixits.'—Very unguarded addresses to ——. A scoundrel pimp is the first to betray one.—50 lines of Virgil a day (a poor thing) equal to 18,250 a year.—1, 2, and 3 o'clock in the morn.—Flag, flag—eyes—nervous disorders.—Doctor Kingsbury,[1] Doctor Mead.[2]—Death and the Cobler.—

"'Have you done'? Yes, I have. 'No thanks to you.' I thank you. 'For what.' You have ever treated me with a kind, generous, noble good-nature, and I will for ever in return retain a truly grateful sense, hide your failings, and do every thing in my little power to do justice and honour to your many excellent qualities.

"I had a letter the other day from Ireland that assures me that your health begins to be commonly drank there by way [of] a public toast."

2.—Thomas Adderley, M.P.[3] to Charlemont.

1747, 30th May, Dublin.—"Yesterday's packet favoured me with your lordship's of the 20th, and by this post I have forwarded Fade and Wilcockes' letter to Gurnell and co. in London, a copie of which I annex for your satisfaction. Though you gave no such directions I thought it would not be improper you should have an unlimited credit. I have also advised Gurnell and co. of this letter, and desired they would give immediate instructions to their correspondents, Messrs. Hopes, and acquaint you of such, so I am in hopes you will receive theirs with this. As to the box, I could wish it had been proper for your lordship to have presented it; for my lord Sandwich must have been pleased even with a faint resemblance of the original. I shall most gratefully receive it, but cannot on any account think of laying the least expence on your lordship."

[Enclosure.]

1747, 30th May, Dublin.—"Jonathan Gurnell and Co.—Loving friends,—We are acquainted that lord Charlemont, our esteemed friend, intends to set out speedily for Turin and requires a further credit on your friends the Hopes to that place. We therefore desire that you may direct them to accept of whatever bills his lordship may draw on them and your account shall have credit for the same on your remitting yours to us.—John Fade and John Wilcocks."

3.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1748, Feb. 22nd.—"The obligation to your lordship for the high honour you have conferred on me, by a performance so equal to your own great goodness, calls most deservedly for my most unfeigned thanks and

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[1] Thomas Kingsbury, M.D., president of the college of physicians in Ireland.
[2] Richard Mead, M.D., physician to George II.
[3] Lord Charlemont's step-father and guardian. *See* pp. 5, 158.

acknowledgments. To my unspeakable joy, my lord chancellor[1] a few days since mentioned your lordship with such esteem and regard, as that I am induced to think he has the noblest and most just sense of your worth. His lordship's words literally were these: 'All accounts agree that my lord Charlemont has been and is most deservedly esteemed, since his leaving this country. I sincerely wish him health and happiness, and a continuance of his goodness; and pray present him with my respects.' He then said the dean of Down[2] had put into his hands your poem, which he was much pleased with. Many things in it appeared to him new, and the image of the moon was worthy of any one. My lord, could I acquaint you in what esteem you are held in this country, not only by those whom you have honoured with your acquaintance, but also by others, you must be forced to own with me that people look on you with admiring eyes. Upon sir Arthur Acheson's[3] death, which was about a fortnight ago, I waited on the lords justices[4] at their houses, and applied in favour of your lordship to succeed sir Arthur in the government of the county of Armagh. The only objection which did or could occur was your minority. However, that in effect was obviated by keeping it open till August, when it will be conferred on your lordship. Sir Archibald Acheson and, I hear, Mr. Richardson were competitors for it, but when they found it was not possible for either to succeed, they were willing it should be held by whichever of the two the government thought proper till you came to age, and then to compliment you with it, and perhaps thereby to lay you on that score under an obligation. Old Mr. Cope interposed here and said that as he was an older man, and had a better fortune in the country than either of these gentlemen, and also he had been a deputy governor for many years, he thought he should not be overlooked; but as he saw no necessity for having a deputy for so short a time as six months, he imagined it may, as the lords justices had agreed, lie open. The government on this occasion behaved well, but the speaker remarkably so. Sir Arthur's death has also made a vacancy in the borough of Charlemont. As there is no apparent necessity of filling up this vacancy immediately, your lordship will have time sufficient to think of a proper person to be made a burgess. I am advised to try the hot bath at Aix-la-Chapelle for the recovery of my arm, which for some time has been very uneasy and troublesome to me. Mr. Townley, a gentleman of this county, tells me he made use of it, for the same cause I complain of, with great success, after trying Bath and several other waters. By the accounts I hear of it, it is a very polite, agreeable place. I will prepare matters in such a manner, as to give your lordship a perfect view of your affairs, which I will transmit to you from that place to any part you may be at, and with vastly more ease than I could from this place. Your lordship will have a great quantity of land out of lease at the time of your coming to age: so that it will be necessary for you either to come over and transact that matter yourself, or entrust another to do it for you; for your guardians can neither let or receive after the 22nd August. And I hope your lordship will determine what to do, that you may not in any respect be a sufferer; for tenants are apt to take all advantages when they know there is not any one to bring them to an account. I think in a few days to see my little concerns in the county of Cork, where I shall make but a very short stay."

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[1] Robert Jocelyn, baron Newport.

[2] Patrick Delany, D.D.

[3] Fifth baronet, died 19 February 1748.

[4] George Stone, archbishop of Armagh, Robert Jocelyn, chancellor, and Henry Boyle, speaker.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

4.—ADDERLEY to CHARLEMONT.

1750, 12th March, Dublin.—"Having had occasion to attend some business here relating to your lordship, I was thereby laid under the necessity of leaving the north before it was in my power to finish all matters there to my mind. But I have the pleasure to inform you that, what remains to be done being drawn to a head and within a narrow compass, the whole work will be completed within a fortnight after I get down. Poor Mr. Clarke since my return to town has been much indisposed with gout, which, happily, from his stomach has removed into the extreme parts. Yesterday I received a letter from him wherein he says, from what judgment he is able to form of his disorder, he thinks he must be a prisoner a fortnight longer, and will acquaint me the instant he is able to make use of his limbs. This notice I shall wait for with some impatience; for till I can lay before your lordship the whole transaction of this new work, with some little observations thereon, I shall not be very easy. I cannot say with how much ambition I engaged in it, and with what delight I shall ever enter into everything that can tend to promote my dear lord's interest. 'O et præsidium et dulce decus meum!' I have the honour to present to your lordship two pacquets, which go in company with this, containing an account of the land lately set. The method in which it is drawn out, so as to endeavour to make it plain to your lordship, is what I am solicitous about; if I have succeeded 'twill give me pleasure. With all my heart, I wish the whole estate was now to be let; with chearfulness I would set down to the work, and I think I would return your lordship a rent-roll of 8,000*l.* per annum. 'Tis very likely you will in seven years time see such a rent from it; for 49 or 50 very beneficial leases now hang, some upon one, others upon two old lives, who can scarcely hope to remain here even so long. At the late election for burgesses in the corporation of Charlemont, we had the honour to elect your lordship into that body, in the room of sir Arthur Acheson; the other burgess who was chosen is Mr. Daniel Jackson, a tenant to your lordship, in the place of Mr. Thorne. If your lordship will give me leave, I would beg leave to recommend it to you that you will not allow (your brother excepted) on any account any person to be elected one of your burgesses except a dependant tenant; by this means you probably will secure it against every attempt which can be made to turn you out of it. Attacks have been offered, and the danger was great. It is now secured and you will do well if you prevent it from coming into the hands of gentlemen. A tenant may be bound by oath, before he is elected, to give his vote agreeable to your interests or inclination; nay, his being obliged at a certain day to pay his rent will, if no other consideration moved him, oblige him to your service in hopes of being indulged, which he cannot reasonably expect should he fly in your face. The last elected burgess (Daniel Jackson) had an oath administered to him to the following purpose: that at all times he would vote in the corporation agreeable to your orders or to the commands of whatever person you should commit the care of your burough. Can your lordship have a stronger security of a man's doing what he ought than this? Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Enraght lie very remote to do you service, and upon any emergent occasion, though both one and the other would, I am well convinced, travel much farther to serve you, yet it may so fall out that an attention to your lordship's summons may be inconvenient to them. At least, if one should attend, I am certain it cannot be done without expense to your lordship; for he is not able to bear any; and therefore I humbly think, if your lordship would allow me, I would

attempt to induce them to resign and have such people as I have mentioned elected in their steads. I believe the captain, at your lordship's instance, would resign willingly when he must know 'twill be for your service. If it be agreed on between your lordship and him, his resignation must be by letter addressed to the portrive and burgesses, which may be enclosed to me, and I will take the first favourable opportunity of presenting it. I fear I have tired you with this corporation affair; but it could not well be avoided; for many unquiet moments have I entertained on account of it.

"I have had the favour of seeing Messrs. Burton and Scott; the former I had the pleasure to know a little before he left this, and indeed I think he has benefitted very greatly by going abroad. Mr. Scott I much admire; he is a very sensible, genteel man, and if I do not much mistake, well tempered; they both are generously loud in their applauses of your lordship. Mr. Burton is soon to be married to Miss Clements, daughter to Mr. Clements of the Treasury; the young lady will have 5,000*l.* and Mrs. Connolly makes Mr. Burton a compliment of 2,000*l.* more. Soon after the marriage, Mr. Burton and his lady leave this for England and intend for Germany. He took an occasion about ten days ago to mention the great obligations he was under to your lordship for advancing him a considerable sum of money, which enabled him to proceed, and without which it had not been in his power to go on, but must have returned. He asked me whether your lordship had sent me an acknowledgment for the money he had received. I said no. He then said he would write to you on that account. In a day or two after I returned the visit, and not finding Mr. Burton at home, I sat with Mr. Scott for some time, and in the way of chat he enquired whether Mr. Burton had said anything of money which you lent him. I then told him what had passed between us. What then, says he, is to be done, for he is soon to be married, and would certainly choose that this matter was settled before the changing his condition? I answered that if he (Mr. Burton) thought proper to deposit the money in my hands for your lordship's use, I would give him any receipt he may be advised to accept, and which may be returned to me whenever his acknowledgment, which you have, was presented to him. This, Mr. Scott said, will do; but since that time I have heard nothing more; this I impute in a great measure to my being for these seven days past confined to my chamber with a boil, which has so greatly afflicted me with pain, that I have not had any rest either night or day till this morning, and could see no one except the family and Mr. Tuckey who attends me. They both called on me, and 'twas very mortifying that I had it not in my power to attend them. Likely, the first time I have the pleasure to see Mr. Scott, which I hope for in a day or two, I shall hear more of this matter. Mr. Scott says your lordship will be pleased to hear a generous piece of behaviour from Mr. Burton to him. He has, in a most genteel manner, given him a lease worth about 120*l.* a year for three lives, and is to add a fourth life for the consideration of 20 shillings a year. I am almost as much pleased on Mr. Burton's as on Mr. Scott's account, for it has reflected very great honour on Mr. Burton.

5.—Charlemont and Lord Bruce.

"This indenture, made at Lucca the 26th day of September in the year of our Lord 1751, between the right honourable lord viscount Charlemont, on the one part, and the right honourable lord baron Bruce of Tottenham, on the other part, witnesseth that if sir William

Lowther, of Hooker in the county of Lancaster, dies before John Martin, jun., esquire, of Overbury, in the county of Worcester, the said viscount Charlemont is bound to pay to the said baron Bruce the sum of fifty pounds of good and lawful coin of Great Britain; or in case the said John Martin dies before the said sir Wm. Lowther, bart. the said baron Bruce is bound to pay to the said viscount Charlemont the like sum of fifty pounds.

"And the parties aforesaid are likewise bound that in case general d'Olloune, minister from his Polish majesty to his Sicilian majesty, dies before Lascelles Raymond Iremonger, late of Rome, the aforesaid viscount Charlemont shall forthwith pay to the said baron Bruce the sum of ten pounds sterling, or the said baron Bruce shall be bound to pay to the said viscount Charlemont the like sum of ten pounds in case the said L. R. Iremonger dies before the aforesaid general d'Olloune. As witness their hands.—CHARLEMONT.—BRUCE.

"Mem: This indenture affects the parties concerned during their natural lives only and not their heirs and successors.—CHARLEMONT.—BRUCE.

"Lord Bruce and lord Charlemont do hereby declare that they are bound to pay ten pounds to each other in the following manner: Lord Bruce to pay if general Sallia, now of Florence, dies before duc d'Invernois, minister for the French king to the pope; and lord Charlemont to pay if the said minister dies before the said general. As witness their hands."

6.—Richard MARLAY[1] to CHARLEMONT, at Rome.

1752, April 16, Dublin.—"I have a great while tried if long letters would provoke you to write to me, but I find they will not; I think short ones have better success: if you tell a sinner you will preach to him for ten short minutes, and keep your word, perhaps he may attend to you; but if you give him a sermon two hours long, you may swear he will not listen to it.

"There is little news in town, except the open war that is declared between the speaker and the primate. The speaker has a great majority in the house of commons; the primate has my lord lieutenant's interest, and the ministry in England. But what have you to say to Irish affairs now? I am afraid you have forgot there is such an island in the world, but call to mind some of your past life, and you will remember there is certainly such a place, and a certain inconsiderable fellow in it, who has the highest love and esteem for you. . .

"The 'Fair Penitent' is to be acted in town by some ladies and gentlemen. Leeson is to play Lothario. They say he will do it very ill.

7.—CHARLEMONT and KENNEDY.

1752, April 20, Rome.—"Mem.:—Lord Charlemont and sir Thomas Kennedy are to produce each of them horse, mare or gelding, to be bought after the day of the date hereof at any price not exceeding forty pounds; to run a match in the Isle of Man for one hundred pounds, the first Tuesday in July, 1755, one heat, four miles; weight: ten stone; play or pay.—Charlemont.—Thomas Kennedy.

"Witnesses: Bruce.—Thomas Scrope."

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[1] *See* p. 14.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

8.—Letter[1] to Charlemont.

1753, June 10, Naples.—"My first reason for writing to you is that I'm ordered by lord Bruce, who thinks no man is well employed unless he is writing; the second is that I imagine you'll be glad to be informed a little what we are doing here; and the third that I shall in some measure oblige you to a correspondence which I am very ambitious of.

"If I thought any exaggerations would induce you to come to this place, I should not be so nice an adherer to truth, in the character I should give of the opera. The dance is very indifferent, the Sabbatina and Nina de Sale are the chief performers. Visconti first woman—ugly, old and lame, but an admirable actress, and in my humble opinion the best woman singer I have heard upon any stage. Caffariello either can't or won't sing well. However, we are the sufferers let it be how it will. Ottani, the tenor, has a very fine voice, accompanying his ignorance of music with a matchless impudence. The second soprano eletto, Cornachini, has a very agreable voice and sings well. The fickle countess Shenfield, unmindful of her Caffariello, has already broke three fans in his praise. Though it is not much the fashion to like the opera, I must own that upon the whole it pleases me. The Carboniera, that you must have seen and heard at Mr. Wiseman's concert, does the best part in men's clothes. So much for the opera. There are likewise two little theatres, one of which is not bad.

"We were very much surprised a few days since by the return of Cook from Caprea, after he had sojourned there nine weeks, he has forgot his own language, and French; so that, finding it very disagreeable living among a people whom he could neither understand nor be understood by, he has by signs persuaded sir Thomas Kennedy to return to Caprea with him. As sir Thomas loves the sea and shooting, I fear he'll stay there so long that he'll forget his English likewise. In that case the abbé du Bois must look out for another corrector of the press for the English part of his works. .

"I'm ashamed to own it, but I have not been at Herculaneum yet. All I know of it is that it was debated if they should not divide a poor Janus found there, two heads being better than one.

"It was whispered this morning that his majesty had caught two very large fish yesterday, but the report is not confirmed. What is certain is that his majesty did not come to Naples Sunday fortnight, hearing there was a great flight of quails on the other side of Portici. .

"If you should chance to be at Frascati, give my respects to the princesse, and say a great many fine things for me. I believe I need not tell you that lord Bruce is impatient to hear from you. Direct to me at the Dutch consul's. Voilà une lettre à la glace!"

9.—Lord Bruce to Charlemont.

1753, Aug. 8, Siena.—"I was agreably surprised by your favor of the seventh of June, which, pursuing me from Bologna to Padua, from Padua to Bologna and afterwards to Florence, reached me last post at Siena. It would have been a great mortification to me to have lost a letter in which there are so many things to admire, and one thing which charms me, that is, the entire confidence you repose in me. Certainly I should not have

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[1] Apparently from Edward, lord Howard.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

asked your opinion in so nice a matter, if I had not thought you secure in giving it, and you would not have given it so freely if you had not thought so too. I thank you, my dear lord, though you do me but justice. I hope you think I should have done the same thing, though I know I should not have done it in the same manner; that would have been my only difficulty. Never were portraits better drawn, higher coloured or more like. You observe justly that in drawing characters one is not to fall into satire: you have done so in a particular instance, being remarkably severe upon one whom for my sake you should have treated more kindly; you ought to have known that he is my best friend. Indeed you are the most improper person in the world to draw his character, for you are the only one in it who is a stranger to his merit. I am sorry to find that the corruption of England has infested a neighbouring island. Four thousand pounds for a seat in the house of commons of Ireland when his majesty is seventy years old! This is a strong proof of a depraved or of a virtuous age; that we spare no expence to corrupt virtue or that we set a high value upon it, since we purchase it so dearly.

"During your absence at Naples count d'Adda fell into bad hands; for I find him altered; he is more formal and conceited than usual: but I shall readily excuse this, provided he will make one alteration more, and that is in his resolution of going to England. But, after all, the man has virtues; at least he has one, he always mentions lord Charlemont with gratitude.

"The Sienese have rebuilt their theatre in a most elegant manner, upon a plan of Billiena's: the scenes are handsome: the opera all together very tolerable and the company of dancers good. Here have been many strangers; Mr. Mann, lord Pembroke and lord Tilney returned to Florence this morning: all will be over about the middle of this month. When I left Bologna, M. Gabrielli continued much out of order, but you have since, I hope, had news of her entire recovery. . .

"Don't you pity a man, who is not to pass the next winter in Italy and is to pass it in Germany? I much fear it will lessen me in your lordship's esteem, which would be a very strong argument for me to change my intentions, but alas! 'tis not in the fates. The better part of me, my cloaths, are by this time at Vienna. Can I be of any use to you in that part of the world, or Mr. Lisyeatt, when he returns to England, which he is obliged to do this autumn? A younger brother of his will be in Italy soon to accompany me in my tour through Germany. Ward, who is gone from Dresden to Berlin, is perfectly well. Iremonger and Lethicullier are at Vienna; they all I believe intend being at home by the winter."

10.—P. Stephens to Signora Anna, Naples.

1753, August 12th, Ischia.—"I received the butter you were so oblidgeing to dispatch very safe, and find it of some service in this isle, where the people are so ignorant and lazy that we, you know, must send to Naples for many things that might be found in this charming isle, where nature has been to the highest perfection munificent, if her sons and daughters would but use that spirit and art you or any of our country friends would, to make it a compleat paradise and render the inhabitants more polite; not that I think them more boorish than a gent of Napoli and their country the finest in Italy, for the picturesque; the hottest medicinal waters excellent, and their cold very good; the wine inferior to none about Naples, as it is not sweet; and their air and climate serene as any under the sun, whose most glowing ray is ever moderated by the sea

breezes, which revive and delight the smell, being perfumed with myrtle and variety of aromatic herbage. The sojournment is delicious and to me a superior Elysium than that near Baia, their plantations of vineyards being all arbours whose tops are enclustered with ripening muscat, muscatello and other grapes—the juice of which, together with the waters I drink and bathe in, have re-given a good appetite and strength to climb the declivities and enjoy the umbrage of the chestnut, oak and pomgranate groves, being a perfect Ischian and nimbler than any of their gallopers having walked over great part of the isle and taken views of my favourite spots, inferior for beauty to none on the continent near Napoli.

"To farther convince you what an Eden this place is, is the going without cloaths, which are quite useless, either night or day. Yet I think it no bad scheme to wear a white waistcoat, ditto trowsers and straw hat, with a long cane, the produce of the isle, for bags, toupees and silk coats are even too heavy for one of my activity and moist constitution, being obliged to change linen every time I return from walking. From experiencing these baths, condemn our friend Freeman's neglecting this expedition—which, with respects, you may communicate."

11.—Lord Bruce to Charlemont, at Rome.

1753, Dec. 17, Vienna.—"I have not words to express the joy that was occasioned me by your favour of the 28th of last month, which gave me such an assurance of your perfect recovery from a disorder that by its long continuance could not but a good deal alarm your friends in general, and particularly those that are so much interested about your happiness as I am. I shall make no apology for neglecting to write to you ever since my leaving Siena, as nothing is sufficient to excuse me. I stand corrected by your kind and polite reprimand, and must depend upon your goodness to forgive me; but you must allow some weight to the hurry I have been in by the frequent change of places and countries. You flatter me with the hopes of meeting you again, whilst we are abroad, but I will not set my heart too much upon it, as I did at Lucca, when you talked of coming from Naples by sea to Leghorn, lest I should have the same disappointment. I will let you know as much of my intended scheme as I know myself, which is this: I propose to set out from hence the twenty-first instant at furthest, and stay a few days at Prague in my way to Dresden, where I shall pass the whole carnival, excepting about a fortnight that I allow for an excursion to Berlin. In lent I shall be at Brunswick and regulate my stay there, and my return from Hamburgh, as I receive news of the king's arrival at Hanover. I shall scarce be tempted to continue long at that place, as the king, I am told, does not chuse one should, and as, besides paying him the compliment, there are scarce any amusements to induce one to it; but if I have the pleasure of meeting my dear lord there it will make me see it in a very different light, and I shall ask no other entertainment. I don't say this to lead him into any promise, that may afterwards lay him under difficulties. If it suits his convenience and coincides with his other views, I flatter myself the pleasure he knows it would give me would be a motive: if it does not, it would be selfish to expect it. When I leave Hanover, I shall ramble about till towards the autumn when I think of passing through Flanders and Holland in my way to England. Hitherto I have not found the country or climate of Germany so detestable as I had imagined them. You judge very rightly of the effect the dissonant rough German sounds would have upon an ear harmonized to the Italian; nor is

the conversation here more instructive than the language harmonious. As to the people (I mean the generality) I don't find there is much to be learnt from them; there are some exceptions amongst the men, but more amongst the women, and nobody that knows them will suppose me prejudiced by their beauty. I am obliged to you for your cautions about them, but I believe it is needless, since I find no inclination to hazard my tongue. The great people here are remarkable for their manner of living, which they carry to a greater pitch of magnificence than ever I saw in any country. The English are well looked upon at this court; they seem to think it their duty to do something for a man that belongs to a nation that has done so much for them. The wheel of government at present rolls towards making a king of the Romans. France underhand continues to put a spoke in it; the king of Prussia insists upon a valuable consideration for his allies. The elector palatine must have a large sum of money, and a fief of the empire, at least a reversion. The elector of Cologne thinks he has a right to get something by the job. Let who will receive, you may easily guess who is to be paymaster."

12.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1753, December 29th, Dublin.—"The unexpected and unmerited fate which befell the Armagh election [1] has given me so much uneasiness that it scarcely has been in my power to give your lordship an earlier account of the proceedings of the house, either with respect to that affair, or to the money bill,—the two great points which, since the expulsion of Nevil Jones,[2] have engrossed the attention of the public. The merits of Mr. Caulfeild's petition came before a committee of the whole house the 6th inst. and the hearing ended the 8th, and though it evidently appeared, from the construction of the act of Parliament relating to the registering of freeholds, that Mr. Caulfeild had an undoubted fair majority of 352 uninfluenced voices, yet, the Castle party turned it into a minority, and upon a division we lost the question by four voices; the numbers being 122 to an 118; wherefore the sheriff's return, in the committee, was declared legal. This though it was a point gained by the primate's friends, yet, as it was not a final determination, our hopes were kept still awake, and your lordship's and the country's friends did with some assiduity endeavour to overmatch their opponents on the 10th, when the report was to be made to the house, and when a battle was to be the consequence of the last defeat, and they so far prevailed, that had it not been for the behaviour of Jack Preston,[3] who married Mr. Ludlow's daughter, a victory had certainly been obtained. This gentleman notwithstanding the hopes he had given of befriending Mr. Caulfeild yet voted against him in the committee: but expressing great concern for the part he had acted, Mr. Caulfeild thought it adviseable to call upon him the 10th and request, on account of the alliance and friendship between their families, and the justice of his cause, that he would absent himself from the house that day, if he did not intend to vote for him; for, upon his compliance the scale would turn in his favour; this visit he received with seeming chearfulness and with repeated oaths promised to comply with this request, and said he would not stir out of his house that day on any account, and carried the farce on so far as to keep Mrs. Caulfeild to

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[1] For account of these affairs by lord Charlemont, *see* p. 5.
[2] Arthur Jones Nevill, M.P. for Wexford county, engineer and surveyor-general.
[3] John Preston, M.P. for Navan.

dinner, and direct his servants to deny him to every person who should call on him; but the scene was soon changed, for at 8 o'clock that evening and when Mrs. Caulfeild was sitting with this strange man, lord Forbes[1] found admittance and carried him to the house, at the instance, it is and I believe with truth, said, of lord George Sackville,[2] who likely paid him well for his breach of honour; the power of gold this sorry wretch could not withstand and therefore voted against the poor government; by whose single voice the day was lost, for otherwise the numbers on each side were equal viz.: 119, and had that happened the speaker would have had the casting vote, and how well pleased he would have been to compliment your brother with it cannot be doubted. Places and pensions have been bestowed on the tools of power, and every art practised to make them instruments fitting to enslave this country; the very representatives have been bribed with the public money to betray the rights and liberties of the subject, and to reduce this kingdom to the most abject state, perhaps not superior to a French province. A certain ecclesiastic[3] seems so intoxicated with the unnatural interest he has by every kind of corruption obtained in the house of commons, that they who do not bend the knee to Baal must remain objects of his wrath; all favours are dispensed through his benign influence, and without this Wolsey's interposition it is in vain to look after honours or any kind of preferment. It is as remarkable as it is true, that nothing has been given to any one during this administration but to a temporiser, and it is likely so to continue. What in the end will be the consequence is much to be dreaded. I believe your lordship will readily agree it was extremely unfortunate that the success of this affair should depend on a single voice and that to be Preston's. Other matters there were which proved unlucky: Stephen Bernard, though applied to, could or would not attend; councillor Cowley, our friend, fell ill of a pleurisy a few days before the hearing; Acheson Moore was ill in the country and could not be stirred; Mr. Lowry, representative for the county of Tyrone, was confined in England by the gout, but certainly had he been able would have attended for Mr. Caulfeild; Tom Butler[4] fell ill of a fever on the 9th, yet was obliged by his brother, lord Lanesborough, to obey the primate's summons, and voted against us, and having increased his illness died in a few days after; Mr. Hamilton arrived here the 7th from London, on purpose to serve his nephew, Mr. Brownlow.[5] This gentleman has been a member since 1727, but did not take his seat before this session. Had his arrival at Parkgate been but a few hours later it would not have been in his power to come in time to disserve us; for just as he came to the waterside a vessel was ready to sail, and a second was not in the harbour that could stir for some days, and both tide and wind favoured his passage. Such were the causes which served to disappoint our expectations; yet the main matter is, I believe, well secured,—your lordship's interest in the county of Armagh; and had there been any doubt of it, the flagrant injustice done to Mr. Caulfeild's cause by the court party here, the behaviour of Mr. Richardson and Mr. Brownlow who chimed in every question this whole session with the Castle party against the country must on any future occasion infallibly serve to

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[1] Sir George Forbes, member for the borough of Mullingar, appointed in 1754 quarter-master and barrack-master-general for Ireland. He was colonel of the twenty-ninth regiment of foot, and succeeded his father as earl of Granard in 1765.

[2] Son and principal secretary to the duke of Dorset, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

[3] Primate Stone.

[4] Thomas Butler, M.P. for Belturbet.

[5] William Brownlow of Lurgan, elected member for county of Armagh, in October 1753.

strengthen your lordship's power there. The people who appeared most zealous for Mr. Brownlow in the north are now outragious at his conduct: they say his promises and actions have not squared with each other. The Governor has published a letter which I send your lordship with this, the reception it has met in the country will appear in the 'Universal Advertiser'[1] of this day, which I also beg to lay before you, and which I hope will not be unacceptable to your lordship; it is a voucher in some measure for the conduct of your friends towards your lordship's interest in the country and their zealous attachments to support it. I have the pleasure to say this disappointment has not dispirited Mr. Caulfeild so much as it has others: he has borne it surprisingly well, and taking in all circumstances, it was sufficient to try the patience of a Socrates. He is preparing to answer for his degree this next examination, and will I believe take it with credit. With your lordship's approbation he would willingly be entered in the Temple and apply himself to the study of the law. If his application should be equal to his parts I think he cannot fail of making a good figure in that profession; but his temper is extremely flexible, insomuch that I fear he will be drawn away by pleasure from his business, unless the utmost care be taken of him in that place of amusement; his attention is easily diverted, but yet I think it is better fixed than formerly it was; the only stumbling-block in his way is pleasure, and if he can be contented to take a moderate share of it, he may make himself very useful to society. I believe your Lordship will think somewhat should be done for him and that soon; whatever you judge most proper for him I am certain with great chearfulness he will assent to, and will with impatience wait for your lordship's determination. Sir Marmaduke Wyvill[2] died last night; our friend Jack Preston died suddenly the 27th, which I did not know till after I took notice of his treatment. Mr. Keatinge, member for Athy, and one who voted on the opposite side, died suddenly this morning. The 26th Mr. Jack St. Leger whom you met abroad, and Jack Hill who married Miss Forster fought a duel in which Mr. Hill was desperately wounded; I don't hear Mr. St. Leger received any hurt. The occasion of the quarrel was on account of an old play debt which Mr. Hill owed to Mr. St. Leger and which he put him (Mr. Hill) in mind of; and this offended him so much that he spoke so very sharply as obliged Mr. St. Leger to draw his hand across the other's face. Sir James Caldwell was last week married to Miss Hort, daughter to the late archbishop of Tuam.

"Monday the 17th the money-bill was the subject matter of debate; whether it should pass the house, having received an alteration in England. I am to acquaint you that there are two money-bills. One is an additional duty on wine, tobacco, strong-waters, etc. and is the hereditary revenue of the crown, and is granted for two years, that is from the Christmas of one session to the Christmas of the following session. The other is the loan debt, i.e. the debt of the nation, to pay which several duties have been appropriated, such as an additional duty on wine, hops, china, etc. and as the money arising from these duties was vastly more than was sufficient to discharge this debt which is reduced to 75,000*l.* and the surplus in the treasury near 400,000*l.* over and above this debt, a bill this session was brought in that part of the large sum which has been raised by the luxury of the people should be applied towards the discharge of the national debt; this bill was sent from hence, but received an alteration, which had it been allowed to pass here, might in time prove

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[1] A journal published at Dublin in opposition to the Government.
[2] Postmaster-general, Ireland.

fatal to this country. The preamble, as it left this, stood in the following manner, which your lordship will please to read without the interlineations, which make the alterations: 'Whereas your majesty was 'graciously' pleased to signify that you would consent and recommend it to us that your majesty's treasury so much of the money remaining in ( ) the treasury as should be thought necessary be applied towards the discharge of the national debt, or of such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament.' Now, my lord, the country party, as they call themselves, did contend that these amendments vested a power in his majesty without controul to draw at all times the money out of the treasury and without making himself accountable for it or appropriating it to the uses for which it was raised ; and urged, when the designs were answered for which it was levied on the subject, the surplus ought to be applied to the interest of the nation and should by no means be considered as the property of the crown ; the debate lasted from two in the evening till past 12 that night when the court lost the question by 4 ; the numbers on the country-side being 122 to 118. Councillor Harward[1] in the warmth of his heart, said should these alterations be allowed to stand as part of the bill, the money might be carried to Hanover. Lord George Sackville answered him and with a good deal of emotion echoed back his words. The populace upon this defeat were quite mad with joy, the town was illuminated everywhere, and nothing but rejoicings for two days after were to be heard in the streets. Lord George went that night after the affair was over out of the house by the back way. I suppose he apprehended some insult from the mob, for many of that party received great affronts. Mr. Maxwell, the under-secretary, left this a few days after to carry the account to England and perhaps to make some favourable reports of his master to the prejudice of others. Lord Kildare leaves this to-morrow to make counter-reports. In a few days I intend going to the north ; my errand is to set some land which is now out of lease and which I hope will make some amends for the election-expence which grieves me to think of, as the success did not answer my expectations. . .

"Mr. Tuckey, who is one of the surgeons attending Mr. Hill, relates the manner of the quarrel thus, and which he had from sir Ralph Gore and others who were present. St. Leger asked Hill why he would not lay a wager upon some horse-race with him ; because, said he, I would not take you in. Upon which St. Leger said, that you would not regard if you thought you would be a gainer, and in such manner as implied he did not intend to offend ; and upon parting, St. Leger, as Hill was somewhat in liquor, desired leave to see him to his lodgings, which the other agreed to, and when he got St. Leger within doors, he abused him grossly for the treatment he gave him at the tavern, and gave him a slap on the face."

13.—ADDERLEY to CHARLEMONT, at Turin.

1754, April 19th, Dublin.—"Yesterday captain Mayne from Leghorn landed your lordship's boxes etc. in good condition, and agreeable to Mr. Murphy's written orders, they are lodged in the custom-house stores. The place in which they lie, being very moist and likely much frequented by vermin, viz, custom-house officers and rats, and many goods belonging to several people scattered amongst them, which when they are removed, the boxes necessarily must be disturbed, led me to apply to Mr. Caven-

[1] William Harward, barrister, M.P. for Doneraile.

dish,[1] the only commissioner now in town, that he would make one of my rooms his store, which should be locked up and so secured as that no other person, except the proper officer, should be admitted into it, till your lordship came over to have them viewed, and that I would enter into any obligation for the payment of the duty; but though I urged his compliance all in my power, yet I have the mortification to be refused this mere compliment, by a person I very lately laboured to serve. When the other commissioners come to town which will be the 23rd, I will make an application to them, and in the mean time will do the best to secure the boxes from wet. If I obtain my suit, they shall be laid in the large parlour, where there will be frequent fires to air them; for I much fear, by the nails in some of the boxes being almost eaten through with rust, they have lain long in some damp place. The Captain says Mr. Sapte took a board from off a box and that he (Mayne) refused to take it, but Sapte informed him it was a mummy and no injury had been offered to it, wherefore he was prevailed on to take it into his care. I have secured this box from any damage. Taking for granted that I shall not be able to prevail on the commissioners, I shall beg to know whether your lordship will choose to run all risques, rather than have them opened before your arrival. The two bales of coffee I had entered, I have taken them home, where they shall lie untouched untill your lordship sees them; though they staid but one night in the stores, yet they suffered a little; the officer did not open them, but took my word it was coffee; the two bales weighed 216 pound and the duty came to £7 14*s*. I have paid to the order of widow Sapte and sons on account of freight £15, which I shall be obliged to Mr. Murphy if he will please to acquaint them of. I wrote to your lordship some months ago about Mr. Caulfeild, and signified he was inclined to study law, and at the same time took the liberty of giving my sentiments about him, and which I now beg leave to remind your lordship of, and request you will please to honour me with your directions; for really I know not what to do. This town swarms more than ever with profligate vicious young men. . . . This town the whole winter and to this day has been in a violent ferment, the government have been without mercy pelted with libels, and there is little likelihood of the storm being soon at an end; for it is not unlikely that the removals from employments will rather tend to encrease than lessen the animosities of people here. The express which arrived here yesterday brought an account that the primate, chancellor and lord Bessborough were appointed lords justices; lord chief justice Singleton is appointed master of the rolls in the place of Mr. Carter; Arthur Hill, chancellor of the exchequer in the room of the speaker; and lord Forbes quarter-master-general in the room of colonel Dilkes; and it is said colonel O'Brien is to succeed sir Richard Cox in the collection[2] of Cork; except this last, which cannot be much depended on, the rest be assured is true. How many years since I have been honoured with a line from your lordship? Mr. Murphy cannot be so thoroughly employed, but he may now and then think of his friend: it is very long since I heard from him. In my next I shall give your lordship great variety of news and chit-chat. Lest this should not meet your lordship at Turin I have directed another of this date and purport to Rome. We are in high spirits at the thoughts of seeing you here this winter, where you are wished for by thousands."

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[1] Henry Cavendish, commissioner of the revenue and excise.

[2] Of the customs.

14.—S. DEVISNE to CHARLEMONT.

1754, April 21, Paris.—"Our company has been near a fortnight at Paris. After the first hurry was over, I saw Mr. Selwyn, who told me he was never concerned in sending your lordship any other than a marten box, but he believed the other had passed through Mr. Woolf's hands. I therefore went to Mr. Woolf, whom I was sure to find at home because he had stopt payment and kept his house. He neither recollected the workman's name or his dwelling, but said he would send him to me the next day. As he did not come, and the name was on the box, I found him out, and I have all the reason to think him a very honest man. He assured me with a great flow of words that he had judged the orders given him so absurd that he had been at the pains to make several tours to Passy in order to engage Mr. Dunne to write to Rome, but that both he and Mr. Woolf insisted upon his working upon the model they had given him, and that prints of scenes from Don Quixote were brought to him for a subject, which he thought not more reasonable. Though I have suspected something before, I grew suspicious as I was talking with him, and begged he would tell me the value of the box. He was surprised at my question; but, after having recollected himself, and muttered with some indignation that he was a man of honour, he shewed me the article in his books which stands thus:

"'Or 1553, émail 1000, façon bijouée et polie 807: 3360. Compris le contrôle de 6 francs par once; la boîte pese deux marcs, 7 gros.'

"Your lordship, by comparing this account with the enclosed paper I return you, will find how much more the box cost you at Rome. It must be your business to detect the honest people who have made so reasonable a profit. Perhaps it would have been a proper precaution in me to have taken a certificate from Mr. Tiron, who might be tampered with and engaged to conceal his books if you should ask to examine them; but as lord Rochford was with me in his shop, and he maintained the same thing before another person in my room, I believe he will not deny it to your lordship. As to the chief part of my orders, I employed all the French eloquence I was master of, to engage him to exchange the large box for another of a smaller size, but all I could prevail upon him was to give 25 louis for it above the weight; for he swears it is a miracle if he is not obliged to melt it down. We thought once of a method of cutting it to pieces and making several parts of the painting serve again, but this for many reasons would not succeed. His last proposals were these, that he would make a box entirely new, painted in the utmost perfection, the subject either at your lordship's option, or of his choosing (in which he promises a great deal of taste) and corresponding with the miniature, for 3000 livres. The figure of it is here inclosed; it is somewhat larger (though but a little) than his common size. If the former box is returned him, he demands forty louis more. Or if an oval figure was pitched upon, as it would make a very handsome one, by lengthening the box somewhat more than the miniature, he asks only 34 louis. I found in many of the best shops many new oval boxes. They told me the public was now divided between them and the square ones, which are certainly more troublesome in the pocket. But, whatever form is pitched upon, he insists upon a circumstance which may seem to you of little use, that is, having the miniature in his hands before he begins to work, that he may take exactly the size, the thickness etc. He assures me it runs no manner of risk, and that he is continually trusted with very valuable paintings by the court; he says that if you have no other opportunity it may very safely be sent by the couriers, and that he will set about the work immediately. I am sorry

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

that there should be a necessity for your lordship to disburse either 40 or 34 louis more, but it is inevitable: the workman swears that he almost lost by the last one, but that he was assured it would be the means of procuring him more work if he did it cheap. I have put the box in Mr. Selwyn's hands, who will wait for your orders. The workman's name is M. Tiron, rue St. Louis, prés le palais à la pomme d'or. If you have any further orders for me at London, my direction is in Throgmorton-street.

"I think I have almost exhausted this agreable subject. I shall only observe to your lordship, that, by what I have seen, their best enamel painters succeed infinitely well in flowers, and therefore as of course some figures must have some place on the top and bottom, so festoons of flowers, with some cupids between them, would be proper ornaments for the sides: at the same time I own I am of M. Tiron's opinion who inclines to an oval, by which he says 'la boîte deviendra d'une grandeur plus gracieuse.' I complained of the colours being too pale, which he says was owing to the largeness of the figures, and will be rectified in another box."

15.—MARLAY to CHARLEMONT, at Rome.

1754, May the 2, Dublin.—"I always thought you had an excellent taste for poetry, that you had a good judgment and brave notions, (as Ben Jonson said of Shakespeare) but to tell the truth, you surprised me in many parts of your Pindaric epistle, as you call it. There you did not show yourself a dabbler in poetry, but a real poet. Don't think this is flattery; that is a vice I despise above all others; and you are the last person in the world I would flatter, and that for two reasons; one is, because I love you with the utmost sincerity; the other is, because I know your sense would discover, and your virtue despise a flatterer. You have frightened me from sending you my epistle, which was wrote above two years ago, by showing me you have outdone me as much in poetry as you have in every thing else. Yet I am resolved to commit this and some other poor productions of mine to your censure; for, spite of your partiality to the father of them, I fear censure them you must. You tell me you have left Rome, but you don't say where you are gone to, or how I shall direct. Till I know that, I can't think of writing out fair the verses I intend sending to you. It is said the king does not intend going to Hanover any more; if so, I suppose you will not go there. Now I hear you are upon your return home, I long with more impatience than ever to see you. If I knew what time you would be in London, I should meet you there. I have some thoughts of writing an essay on eloquence in verse in two cantos. The books it would be necessary for me to read, to fit me for this work, would be very useful to me in my profession. Is not this a most bold and impudent undertaking in me? I believe I shall defer it till we meet. I want your advice about it."

16.—FRANCIS CAULFEILD to CHARLEMONT.

1754, May 11th, Dublin.—"It is with the greatest concern I hear of any return of an indisposition, which may possibly retard your coming to Ireland, where your presence is expected impatiently by more than our own family. All our late affairs I purposedly left to Mr. Adderley to relate to you, as I could not possibly add anything to the full accounts which

he must have given. And as to the present state of our parties, I hope you will soon be here, to enquire particularly into every thing, and to get such information as it is scarcely possible to receive from letters. But one thing there is, which gives me great uneasiness; I understand that the party, which opposed my election [1] with so much virulence, is now endeavouring to effect a reconciliation with you, and that application either has been, or will be made to you for that purpose. Mr. Adderley, who has my interest tenderly at heart, seems to me inclinable to listen to such a proposal, as it seems to promise some advantage to me; but I should be very sorry that any regard to me should be the occasion of prompting you to any engagements when there is an hazard of their being disapproved of, hereafter, either by others, or by yourself, when you come home and hear all that is said on both sides. It would be presumption in me to attempt to give my judgment, which of our parties is right. Persons of much more experience and knowledge than I can pretend to, are divided on this point. But one thing is certain, that the speaker has taken infinite pains to bring me into the house of commons, and that that dispute blew up the flame between him and the primate to such a degree as has ended in his ruin; and therefore I cannot help thinking myself obliged to request you (which I do in the most earnest manner) that you will not enter into any connections or engagements, while you are at such a distance from us. Perhaps I take too great a liberty in supposing that there is the least occasion for such a request, or the least probability of your determining to either side, until you have seen and heard every thing necessary to form a proper judgment. Whatever you may then think most for your honour I shall consider as most agreeable to my interest; for your advice shall ever be the invariable rule of my conduct. At present I am endeavouring to apply to a little reading with Mr. Leland,[2] and also to gain some knowledge of French, but I am unavoidably interrupted by many engagements which I know it is my interest to fly from. How happy it would make me if you would send directions that I should meet you when you come into France."

17.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1754, June 5th, Ardress [Armagh].—"Before I left Dublin, Mr. Cassidy of Leghorn gave me the pleasure to know he had shipped on board the 'Success,' snow, captain Thomas Murphy, master, ten cases of statues and busts on account of your lordship, and consigned to me, which your lordship has directed to lie in the stores. As it does not, from Mr. Cassidy's letter, appear when the ship was to sail, it was not absolutely necessary, under such uncertainty, for me to wait till it arrived. But, lest it may in my absence arrive, I have given proper directions about the cases, and your lordship may be assured your commands will be punctually observed. If they do not suffer from the impertinent curiosity of the officers, they cannot otherwise be injured from lying in the stores, though at times they are extremely moist and wet. In my last to your lordship, of the 6th of last month, addressed to you at Florence, and in two former letters to your lordship at Turin and Rome, I acquainted you of the arrival of captain Mayne, and the pressing necessity I apprehended there was to

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[1] *See* p. 203.

[2] Thomas Leland, fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, author of "Life of Philip of Macedon," 1758, translation of orations of Demosthenes, 1771, "History of Ireland," 1773, sermons, 1788.

remove the cases from the stores to Jervis-street,[1] and herein I hope, though I have transgressed your lordship's commands, to stand excused. I have troubled your lordship with aeeounts of our feuds here, which have raged with uneommon, and searcely to be imagined, violenee. I wish, for the public good, I could say they now were at an end; but it fatally happens to be otherwise; they are in no degree abated. A pamphlet intitled 'The State of the Nation,'[2] published a few days ago, and with some industry dispersed through the kingdom, has done mueh mischief; it contains no less than seventy two pages (priee one shilling) and from beginning to end is a virulent invective against the primate and lord George Sackville. Perhaps your lordship never read any performanee more severe, and lest this may not be sufficient to work upon the minds of the public, it is said a second and a third part will be published. I have been enquiring in what manner the pamphlets, wrote for and against the money-bill, and such others as have been oceasionally written in consequenee of it, might be conveyed to your lordship, and I am not out of hope but it will be in my power to forward them to Florenee to the care of Mr. Mann;[3] if such should come to his hands in your lordship's absence you will be pleased to give direetions about them. It would give me much satisfaction to have your lordship perfeetly aequainted with every thing which has been said for and against a question, which has been so long the subjeet of our disputes, which if not soon ended will probably end in our ruin; your lordship by taking pains will eertainly make yourself master of the subject matter, and thereby be able to do great service, inasmuch as, having no bias on your judgment, and nothing in view but the good of the eommunity, what proceeds from your lordship's cool dispassionate thoughts must have their due weight; I am eertain it ever will with me. The speaker set out for Castlemartyr[4] the 30th of last month (the day I left Dublin for this place) and intends returning, the beginning of next winter, to reconnoitre his forees. Party-rage, it is with very great confidence said, will then be more violent and furious than before, if sueh can be. I am indeed firmly of opinion the seeds of diseontent are so thiekly sown both in town and country, and so well cherished by the partisans on both sides, that the whole nation, but particularly Dublin, will be a scene of riot and disorder. I dread the thoughts of the approaehing evil, which was it not for domestic eoneerns I would avoid being an eye-witness to; for eertainly I would leave the kingdom, and be absent 'till next spring, when probably these outrages must have an end; the fever before that time will spend itself I think; next winter brings it to a crisis, and afterwards peace and harmony I hope will be established. In truth, my lord, the whole eontention is for power, and when those who have been dismissed from employments find they cannot avail themselves of their violence and that government eertainly will not put power into their hands, the curtain must drop. In my last of the 21 May to Mr. Murphy, which was recommended to the eare of Mr. Mann at Florenee, I desired him to acquaint your lordship I had two requests to make, one I then made, and the other I am now humbly to offer: which is, that, having built a house at Donnycarney,[5] in the opinion of all who have seen it not inferiour to any near Dublin either with respeet to situation, taste, or convenience, your lordship will in a

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[1] Charlemont House, at this period, was in Jervis-street, Dublin.

[2] "The State of Ireland, laid open to the view of his majesty's subjects." London, 1754.

[3] Horace Mann, English minister at Florence.

[4] Seat of the Boyle family in county of Cork.

[5] A village near Dublin.

most particular manner honour and oblige me by your acceptance of it. The land is in extreme good heart and will be able to supply your house with butter, and will yield hay sufficient for your horses; this year I expect to mow 350 load of hay off 17 acres. I wish I could say the land is rent-free, but it is not so; the reserved rent is an hundred pounds a year, which to a common farmer it is worth. I must once more request and entreat your lordship will be pleased to make me very happy in complying with the favour I ask; it will add greatly to the many unmerited obligations your lordship has already conferred on me. There is one room in the house which is seventy two feet in length and twenty four in breadth, which will I believe be sufficiently large for your whole collection of curiosities; it is finely situated, the prospect from which can scarce be equalled any where, a large and I believe a very fine telescope and a large concave mirror are the only pieces of furniture I shall pretend to offer to your lordship, and these I beg your lordship will honour me by your acceptance, and I think better cannot be had. I shall be extremely glad to know when your lordship intends for home, that I may prepare in the best manner in my power for your reception. Should your lordship make us happy before our heats and animosities subside, you will have occasion for all your prudence and good sense not only for your own but also for the conduct of your friends. Many there are who will attempt to grasp at your lordship, well knowing the consequence you must be of to that side to which you incline."

18.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1754, October 11th, Dublin.—"Mr. Murphy's favours of August and September have been infinitely obliging; they bring glad tidings of your lordship's turning your face towards home, where the chiefs of both parties will rejoice to kiss your hands. Animosities still are kept alive amongst us; no person, that I can hear, of any consequence has attempted to mediate between the two powers; that work perhaps heaven has designed for your lordship. I wish it, for how great a blessing peace would be to this country, and what honour must redound to the restorer of it! In what terms shall I mention my acknowledgments for the honour your lordship has been so good to confer on me by your accepting of Donnycarney? My mind is overcharged. Conceive then, my lord, my gratitude, for I cannot speak it. In August last I had the honour of writing a very long letter to your lordship, wherein your lordship had enclosed an account of setting some of your land in the county of Armagh, which I hope has received your approbation. My letter to your lordship was directed in the following manner, according to the instructions I received from Mr. Murphy: 'Alla locanda di signor Carlo Hattfield in fundaccio di Santo Spirito, Florence.' Though I shall write to Mr. Hattfield to forward the letter to Paris, yet if it does not arrive before this comes to your hands, it will not be amiss in Mr. Murphy to write to Mr. Hattfield about it. Yesterday I attended at the landing of your Venus, and a box of books on the custom-house quay, and saw both put very carefully into the stores; if it is in my power I will have them lodged in Jervis-street, for there I shall think myself accountable for any accident that may happen, and I think none can, as they will be under lock and key to remain unopened, 'till your lordship's arrival; whereas in the store-room, even, the keepers cannot secure them from being tossed about. It is about three months since I sent to your lordship, by a vessel bound from this to Leghorn, three parcels containing

all the court and country pamphlets published here, and which were directed to the care of Mr. Peter Cassidy; likely, as your lordship has been journeying from place to place, they have not come to your hands. After a very wet summer we have had the finest harvest weather for these two months past that can be remembered; there is scarcely any corn even in the north now standing. I think of going there in less than a fortnight, and setting the remainder of the land out of lease. . . . It is reported here, but on what foundation I know not, that the duke of Marlborough will be declared our lord lieutenant before April next, when it is also said his majesty intends making a visit to Hanover. Sir Charles Moore, a gentleman I believe Mr. Murphy knew in the college, shot himself last Sunday at the Black-rock; a cause, other than lunacy, is not assigned for this rash action."

19.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, January 7th, Dublin.—"Mr. Murphy's account of your arrival in the neighbourhood of home, gives us all very great satisfaction, and we beg to congratulate your lordship on it, as also on the score of the goodness of your health, which my correspondent says your lordship has for some time past enjoyed. As I have several things to mention respecting public and private matters, which this paper cannot contain, I hope for the liberty to trouble your lordship for some posts 'till they are laid before you, requesting your lordship will make allowances for many crude and indigested notions which will appear through the whole. Party runs yet very high, and when this madness will cease there is not the least appearance. The partisans of either side have abundantly lavished their abuses on their opponents; but it must be confessed that one side has evidently shewn a superiority. Were these disputes confined to the chiefs of the parties it would be of little or none avail; but unfortunately the poor country is involved in them; it is so split into divisions that the artificers have neglected their trades; luxury and wantonness have crept into the most frugal families; by our idleness and riot the balance of trade has been for this considerable time against us: so that never was there such a scarcity of cash for any time these ten years in this kingdom as from the last session to this period; the union of families has been dissolved, and perhaps may never be cemented again; brother against brother, uncle against nephew, have entered the lists; people who have for a long course of years lived happily together fly from each other as from a plague. The k[in]g, the only friend perhaps Ireland had in England, likes not our commotions: they have been monstrously magnified to little less than rebellion and disaffection; the Scotch, who are always watchful for their own interest, have laid hold of our troubles and turned them to their own advantage; the very papers which have been published (I know from very good authority) in heat and intemperance, have been laid before the k[in]g. In this situation are we at present, and though things wear but an ill aspect, yet could a proper person be found to mediate between the contending powers something may be produced for the good of the country. In a former letter I hinted at this to your lordship, and I am clearly of opinion there is no one better qualified for so good a work than your lordship, upon many accounts, which I could mention to any other. There is not a man of figure and station in this kingdom qualified to undertake a task of this nature, nor do I suppose both parties would attend to anything which could be offered by any person of the greatest consequence in other matters;

because all, from the lord to the peasant, are in party and are in some degree enlisted. The case is otherwise with your lordship. You are quite free and cannot be suspected to have any embarrassment on your mind; you will calmly hear the grievances complained of on either side, and judge dispassionately; perhaps in some time it will not be very difficult to prepare both sides to listen to reason, if they have an opinion of the moderator; for I believe both would willingly be at rest if they knew how. I shall lay some complaints before your lordship in my next and refer my conduct to your judgment which I desire it may be tried by."

20.—[Robert Wood] to Charlemont.

1755, January 17, Rome.—"I'm ashamed, my dear lord, to begin my letter with the same apology for haste, which I believe was the preamble to my last; but, though some company who have dined with his grace have so trespassed upon the time I had otherwise dedicated to this letter that I have not even time for a proper excuse, I am determined not to neglect answering yours by the first post; for the French post was gone before I received it, though another of your friends had theirs I believe sooner. This was the fault of my own not of Bellveri's servant. Whatever I took the liberty of saying in my last (though I think that language was then my duty) I am now of your opinion, and, without taking your time (and mine which is so short) up with reasons, I beg, my dear lord, you may be assured I shall never say more against a journey so necessary to your health, your quiet and your happiness. I am so sure that you took well the liberty I made use of that I shan't again beg you to forgive it. Indeed, I have some right to desire your indulgence on that head, when I have forgiveness from the lady to whom I had told the honest truth, though I think I never told truth with more pain. You must imagine that I trusted much to her good sense, when, after the compliment of confidence she paid me, I told her I advised you against the thing with which her happiness was connected. I have often considered since what a meddling, impertinent and indeed disinterestedly malevolent puppy she must have thought me. But she talks so much good sense and so much forgiveness upon that head that I am convinced she believes I acted as a friend. I waited upon her and translated yours to her. I hope you'll not think it necessary to make me an apology for your weakness, when I confess to you I could not read it for tears. I am not at all ashamed of being a man, and hope I shall never be able to see with indifference the natural overflowings of a tender, generous heart. Such were her's, I do really believe, And now, my dear lord, as I see your resolutions and the reasons for them, let me tell you (what I told her) that I am in truth a friend to both, and beg that both may use me as such. As our interview consisted much more of feelings than words, I shan't trouble you with our conversation. What I am going to say may be more necessary. First, I think it quite right that her real character should be known to the English, both because I think it good and perhaps equal to her person, and because, if you return and it should be known that she was the object, the reasons for such a démarche may appear stronger. I shall take care of that without the least difficulty or suspicion, as there is no disingenuity necessary to doing her justice. Next, I think it right never to appear particular with her, and therefore shall only see her promiscuously. That I have opportunities of doing often, as the duke is a great admirer; and, indeed, her behaviour with regard to him alone (were you out of the question) has made me entirely her's. You know

the poor d[uke]'s turn is not quite what I would have it. He saw and admired her, began to dance and learn Italian, and think real improvement worth his care. I saw she must soon tire, notwithstanding her general disposition to be civil, and spoke to her. She, with the greatest good nature, offered to dance with him once or twice next carnival, the hopes of which will perhaps keep him busy a month longer; a colloredo from Germany is another humble attendant, and a monsignor Cenci, a family friend; all indeed treated in that way that a friend of her's must like and desire. Far from being rude and full as far from being in the least particular with any body, I thought her noble and at the same time open yet civil behaviour to the d[uke] made it necessary that I should tell the English here, who are I think good sort of people, her condescension in dancing with him at my request. I think this a justice done her, and at the same time puts her out of the power of English impertinence which our travelling young ignorant fools are often subject to fall into. In short, you understand me, she has a right to truth and justice, and her character is in some measure connected with yours; if we stay till St. Peter's day I shall see her often at Fraseati, where I shall go to see the prineess Borghese. D'Endrade is much yours, Stephens likewise, and I believe every soul in Rome; but I shall write you news next week, or rather the state of the colony, for news there are none. I thought she was rather too particular with me at Bollognotti's; at least more in the tête à tête way than our short acquaintanee could account for; and as the English might suspect the subjeet of our conversation I told her so and broke off the visiting at the operas, and our longer acquaintance now gives unsuspected opportunities. However, I ean't answer many questions as to your stay at Paris, at London in Dublin, etc., which she says you are silent about in your last; she fears she has lost a letter. I forgot to offer her my direction, but use it if you want it; remember I talk to you as to her, and to her as to you, and bid you both be happy, and tell me if I can serve you, for believe me I am as really her's as I am unfeignedly your friend and obedient servant."

21.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, January 28th, Dublin.—"Within these few days two limestone quarries have been diseovered at Moy, which will be of vast service to that part of your lordship's estate, and should you think of giving encouragement to build a town there, it will be a treasure; fuel will be had by the canal laid down almost upon the spot to burn the lime, at a very moderate rate. There is very near this land a large tract of bog which does not bring one single farthing to your lordship, a great part of which I am certain may, by means of lime being laid on it, after it is pretty well drained, make good meadow and likely will set from 15 to 20 shillings an acre. This ground lies close to the town of Charlemont, but will serve to accommodate your tenants of the Moy, as the one is divided from the other only by the Black-water and the communication at all times preserved by a bridge; so that if this bog be reclaimed, it will make parks for this new town. There is somewhat more to be observed, which is, that should the tenants of the one become tenants to the other, your lordship then may expect an additional number of freeholders in the county of Armagh, as well as in the county of Tyrone; whereas should this ground when brought in be set to the people of Charlemont deriving under the governor, an interest thereby may be ereated which may be turned against your lordship. When I mentioned the house, etc. though it was often in my thoughts,

yet I forgot to request your lordship's acceptance of a coach and chariot with seven coach-cattle; the coach has run but a short time and is well fashioned and good; the chariot is handsome and which Mr. Bernard made a present of; since it came to my hands it was out but once, the time I had the honour to wait on your lordship in it to the park; the horses, except one, are young, sound and good and in very good order; your lordship's compliance can in no sort incommode me, as I intend to keep no carriage other than a four-wheel post-chaise to carry me down sometimes to the north and to the south. . . . I must now make mention of Mr. Dalton (the painter) in order to obviate any thing which he may advance against paying every honour and regard to your lordship's recommendation of him. As soon as I received your lordship's letter about him, not knowing where he may be directed to, I requested Mr. Burton[1] to subscribe for ten sets of the Grecian antiquities[2] for me, which he did; but Mr. Burton I never since met, except once I made him a visit when he was ill; for when he was here I was almost the whole time in England, so that we could not see each other; however Mr. Dalton has been paid for them. When I was at Bath I had the favour of a visit from Mr. Dalton, who came there in order to solicit subscriptions; when I told him, I was, from the recommendation I received, willing and ready to do him every service in my power, and accordingly desired him to put me down for five sets, I believe, of the cartoons; indeed I paid him no money at that time for them, as I intended to have paid him the whole subscription when I got to London. Soon after my arrival there, he favoured me with a card to call on him at his house or lodging, which I said I would do, but was absolutely obliged to disappoint him, and in like manner a second time, and left London without seeing him; however I wrote to him from this apologizing for it, when I desired the sets to be made up and that I would direct the subscriptions to be paid; in some time he answered my letter in a manner I little expected, and tells me, for I have now his letter before me, that the sets are ready to be delivered to any person in London that is empowered to pay him; this behaviour of his caused me to make mention of him to Mr. Scott, who assured me that he has not only treated me, but him (Mr. Scott) and even your lordship ill; but could not then, it being at the play-house, give me the particulars. Resting upon this, I never once more took notice of Mr. Dalton. I have lately heard that he intends to publish something against the authenticity of Palmyra, and purposes to call on your lordship to support him in his charge. Should he do this without your lordship's knowledge, he must be strongly fortified with impudence."

22.—Addderley to Charlemont.

1755, February 7th, Dublin.—"In a preceding letter I promised to give your lordship such account of the contests in this kingdom as I could gather from observation, and of the part which I have acted throughout; your lordship will judge from the facts, whether it was reasonable and disinterested, or violent and selfish. That you may see the reason of every

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[1] Francis Pierpoint Burton, a fellow traveller with lord Charlemont. He was member for Killybegs, Donegal, in 1755, for the county of Clare in 1761, and in 1781, became baron Conyngham of Mount Charles in Donegal.

[2] "Antiquities and views in Greece and Egypt, with the manners and customs of the inhabitants;" by Richard Dalton. Dalton had, as draughtsman, accompanied lord Charlemont in some of his travels.

measure, I must begin with some things that happened very early, which however produced very late consequences, and consequences which may appear strange to those who don't know the causes.

"During the administration of lord Chesterfield,[1] the governor of Charlemont, major [John] Johnson, who wants neither the ambition nor the ingenuity of his countrymen, the Scotch, had formed a scheme of increasing his power, and consequently his fortune, by obtaining from his majesty a lease for a very long tenure of the houses and lands annexed to the government of Charlemont; by which he, who can make a lease only from year to year, and has therefore no authority in the borough or county, would be empowered, by making leases for lives, to make freeholders, who, being dependent on him, and some few of those being also burgesses, and living in the precincts of the corporation, might throw the borough into confusion, and perhaps in time into his hands, and give him besides a considerable weight in the county. It was clear that whatever weight he acquired by this step, was so much taken from your lordship, and therefore it was that a memorial was presented to my lord Chesterfield, and his attempt was frustrated. But still his desire gave him hopes of succeeding at another time, and he was not, as I have been informed, without very able supporters in England, lord Ancrum, the late lord Albemarle and Mr. Murray, the attorney-general. In the year 1751, the duke of Dorset was at the head of affairs here, during which time I was in England, having left Ireland easy and quiet, neither torn by divisions nor suspecting any disturbance. I had no private connections, was under no obligations to any man in the kingdom, either on my own or your lordship's account. The proceedings of the house of commons with regard to the Dublin election in 1749 were not such as had produced a more favourable opinion of the Speaker and his abettors then; it had all the marks of an arbitrary violent measure; to turn out of the house a man[2] who had been fairly elected by the capital of the kingdom to represent it. Other acts, such as giving an unlimited vote of credit to the lord lieutenant (lord Harrington)[3] had more the air of court servility than of patriot spirit; and I am sure no man in the kingdom dreamed then of seeing the men who made such votes opposing all court measures a few years after.

"While I was in England, Mr. Molloy, an attorney, had intelligence that major Johnson was pursuing, afresh, his old design of making himself considerable in Charlemont; therefore he drew up a memorial setting forth the disadvantage and injury it would be to your lordship if major Johnson succeeded, and together with Mr. Caulfeild presented it to the bishop of Elphin,[4] my very particular friend, to be by him given to the primate, to be laid before the lord lieutenant. In point of abilities no person was fitter to present it and argue the case with the primate; on account of bickerings and perhaps animosities between them, no man was more unfit. The bishop so little relished the primate that he would not make him an enemy, yet certainly he would by no means add one to the number of his friends; yet it appeared to him of such consequence to your lordship, that the design should be defeated, that disliking the memorial he drew it anew and strong as possible, and gave it to the primate, who received it with marks of approbation, and, I believe obtained a promise from the duke of Dorset that no step should be taken to injure the interest of your lordship. From Bath I wrote to lord

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[1] 1745–1747.
[2] Charles Lucas. *See* p. 9.
[3] William Stanhope, earl of Harrington, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1746–1750.
[4] Edward Synge.

George Sackville, who had some knowledge of me in the college, much to the purpose of the memorial, and he immediately returned a very polite and satisfactory answer, that he would take care to advertise the duke of Dorset that no advantage should be taken of your lordship's absence. From that instant, it is not to be wondered at, I considered myself obliged to those persons, yet I hope it cannot be said, that in one single instance I lost sight of my duty to my country. On my return to Ireland the death of Mr. Clarke made it necessary for me to hurry to the north and prevented me from expressing my gratitude to the duke and lord George and which I omitted doing till after the parliament was prorogued. Thus I have brought your lordship to the busy scene; the business of which I must reserve for the subject of another letter, which you will be troubled with next post."

23.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, February 10th, Dublin.—"In mine of the 7th I brought your lordship down to the memorable year 1753, in which I had first, owing to your lordship's great generosity and goodness, a seat[1] amongst the commoners and a share in their transactions. When I entered the house, I was as I had been before, on my own account obliged neither to this person nor to that, neither to the primate nor to the speaker; on your lordship's account, I was to the former; but it was not an obligation of such a nature as should cancel the debt to my country. The session opened with heat and animosity; the apparent favour of the court to the Bessborough family had raised a jealousy and distrust in the speaker, so that he cast about to maintain his power in despight of the court. The defence of Nevil Jones[2] by whose misconduct the public money had been shamefully wasted, created a dislike of the lord lieutenant and his party. To improve this, the speaker and his friends began and vigorously carried on a prosecution of Jones, which gave satisfaction to the public and did honour to Mr. Boyle; his former unpopular acts were all forgot, and men approved his conduct, without enquiring into the reasons; I joyned him, because the action seemed right, whatever the motive might be. I had also upon his own direct application promised to second him in refusing to send an address of thanks to his majesty for giving us the duke of Dorset for a governor; and I would have kept my word, though some, who owed much to him, retracted the like promise, and he was thereby too weak to succeed in that point, and though this passed between him and me, without the privity of a third person, yet to my surprise I heard it by many hands a few days after. The next affair of moment was the Armagh election; and though much was done to bring Mr. Caulfeild into the house, yet more might have been done. Eyre and Trench, friends to the speaker, had petitioned[3] against the return of Daly and French for Galway; it was proposed that they should withdraw their petition, and the returned members would in consequence thereof vote for Mr. Caulfeild. Sir Richard Cox, uncle to Eyre, it is said opposed this scheme; possibly from hopes of succeeding in both petitions; whereas neither had had success, for after Mr. Caulfeild's was decided, the Galway petition was withdrawn, and very unseasonably for us. Another proposal was

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[1] For the borough of Charlemont.

[2] *See* p. 188.

[3] The petition was presented on 20 November, 1753, by Frederick Trench and Richard Eyre.

made by French to sir Archibald Acheson,[1] his brother by marriage. and to which I was a witness ; they espoused different interests, French the court, sir Archibald the speaker; whilst the petition lay against French, he proposed to sir Archibald, 'If you will absent yourself when the question is put concerning the petition against me, I will absent myself when it is put on Mr. Caulfeild's petition.' Yet this was also peremptorily refused: though I am inclined to think that the speaker's influence on both those knights was sufficient to obtain either point: but perhaps they were deceived in their numbers, if so the speaker had but sorry ministers and his forces were not with any exactness known. The next great question was concerning the disposal of the public-money; the bill was altered by the council in England, and words inserted in the preamble that seemed to intend a stretch of the prerogative ; for which reason I gave my voice for rejecting the bill, as I would on all occasions use my endeavours to support the privileges of the people, whom I was chosen to represent. Yet the same words had been inserted in a like bill the preceding session, and no objections started ; I mention this that your lordship may see that patriotism will nod, and let slip occasions which self-interest and love of power are vigilant to take hold of. These, my lord, were the principal transactions of the session, in all which, the part which I acted, whether right or wrong, proceeded from a conviction of its being right, without attachment to this or that great man. Indeed, my obligation of gratitude to the lord lieutenant, the primate and lord George Sackville I can't but own, for their readiness to serve in the case of Charlemont; and though their kindness could not induce me to follow them in public measures which I disapproved, yet, when the public business was done, such thanks as were due for private good offices I gave to them and think it would have been ungrateful if I had not. How I acted towards them, and still purpose to behave both to them and my country, I shall humbly submit to your lordship, and will furnish matter for my next letter."

24.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, February 10th.—"Mr. Murphy in his letter of the 22nd January says your lordship desires to know whether you have any coach or saddle horses. I hope your lordship will think that you have seven of the former, which in one prior to Mr. Murphy's I begged leave to present you with. If you have occasion for more they may be had, I think, good here, but at a higher price than they can be purchased in England ; but as there is great danger in shipping and unshipping, I believe it would be more adviseable to buy them here, and, if that should be your lordship's opinion, I shall look out for as many more as you direct. It is very difficult to meet with good saddle horses for sale here, the scarcity is so great that very indifferent cattle bear an exorbitant price. I have a great many which I fear are scarcely worth your acceptance, but such as they are, they are much at your lordship's service. . . Mr. Stannard[2] died this morning."

25.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, February 16th, Dublin.—"This being designed a continuation of my last, it will, I hope, need no further introduction, and so I am

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[1] Member of Parliament for Trinity College, Dublin; created viscount Gosford of Market Hill, Armagh, in 1785.

[2] Eaton Stannard, recorder of Dublin, 1732–1749.

content it should have the honour to be presented to your lordship. When all proceedings of Parliament were over, and the commons met no longer as the representatives of the people to debate of public affairs, it was suggested to me, that though I had justly opposed the public measures of the court, yet certainly a compliment of thanks was due to their private behaviour in the business of Charlemont. I had always intended it, but declined a visit during the session, as the minds of most men seemed at that time too much heated to receive their opponents with coolness. Now that we met no more in a public capacity, I thought it a proper time to discharge a debt to individuals. Accordingly I waited on the primate, from whom I received that civility which he shews to all gentlemen, with some expressions of particular regard. He touched with delicacy upon the Armagh election, approved the measures taken to support Mr. Caulfeild, and urged the disagreeable necessity he was under of acting his part in it, assured me over and over that it did not in any sort proceed from the least disrespect to your lordship or your family; for that he would be always ready and willing to co-operate with you in public matters, and upon all occasions shew his regard for your lordship's interest; hoped no animosity or jealously would subsist between us, adding that I had sometimes applied in behalf of others to the court, but never on my own account, and that he would upon the slightest application be ever ready to serve me. I thanked his grace, told him I had nothing to request for myself, but would take the liberty of applying to him, when I discovered anything wherein the public might be served. I waited on lord George Sackville, who received me with like politeness. The duke of Dorset I attended at his levée, lest a private visit should be construed closeting; and as I sought nothing, had no other business than discharging a debt of gratitude, the more publicly it was done, the more to my satisfaction. The duke expressed some pleasure on seeing me and enquired after Mr. Caulfeild in a manner that shewed a desire of seeing him. The next levée-day we both paid our compliments at the castle, and his grace signified his regard for your lordship and the pleasure he had enjoyed in the acquaintance of your father, and that he would when he heard of your lordship's arrival in London pay his respects to you. Upon his leaving the kingdom I joined my coach to the number that attended on him to the water side, and had no farther correspondence, before or since those times I have now mentioned, with his grace. From my visit to the primate I had this satisfaction. Upon the failure of Dillon's bank [1] which followed soon after, the run on the other banks was so great that public credit was at a low ebb, and I saw no scheme to support it but the assistance of the treasury, in which there lay upwards of £500,000. Accordingly I applied to the primate late at night on the 6th of March, relying on the promise he had before made me; shewed him the necessity of his laying this matter immediately before the lord lieutenant, that an expedient might be thought of to prevent the progress of this calamity, which would not be confined to this country but extend itself to England and many other places. The following day a letter wrote by lord George was sent to the several bankers, an exact copy of which is as follows—I thought I could lay my finger upon the letter, but though I have looked carefully for it, I have not found it; but it was to this purpose, viz. that he had the lord lieutenant's orders to acquaint them that by his grace's directions Mr. Gardiner [2] and Mr. Clements [3]

[1] Thomas Dillon, Richard Ferrall and company, bankers, Dublin.
[2] Luke Gardiner, deputy vice-treasurer, Ireland.
[3] Nathaniel Clements, teller of the exchequer, Ireland.

would assist them with what sums they had occasion for at this critical time. Thus, my lord, an opportunity offered of serving my country, by doing merely what decency and gratitude required to be done, and by avoiding what good breeding would avoid; for though I had followed the speaker in all matters of public concern, yet those invectives and calumnies which party rage hurries men to, I endeavoured to keep free from, and therefore declined such toasts as savoured of rancor and cruelty; such were, 'The fate of lord Strafford to all bad governors, the duke of Dorset not excepted,' 'Confusion to the . . . primate'; These and many such like toasts were given on the 15th of last February at a very public assembly, where persons were not wanting, who made those irregularities known to the whole town and even to the lord lieutenant; for he charged the speaker with being present when the toast wherein he was mentioned was drank. I avoided their meetings also, which were in a public shop open to every news-boy and without order or decency: yet because I declined complying in matters which my soul abhorred, I have little doubt but the speaker entertained groundless apprehensions, and took steps unworthy of a man who relied only on the goodness of his cause, and sought merely the public welfare; for he had no reason to think that when that was concerned, he would want my voice. An attempt to create a coolness between Mr. Caulfeild and me (though it be impossible to effect it) was extremely ungenerous. It was unkind to besiege the passions of a young mind with flattery, fine women, and the gaiety of feasts and balls, thereby to induce him to write anything to your lordship, that he would wish concealed. It had still been concealed from me, had not Mr. Leland's uneasiness revealed it; for Mr. Caulfeild had his assistance in writing the letter; the conscience of assisting in an underhand unkind act so troubled Mr. Leland, that he could not hide it from me, and the poor 'governor' suffered upon reflecting what he was drove to, as much as I did when I heard of it. I never once even in my mind blamed him for it, or was surprised that he should be overpowered; I blame those who incited him, as they had no other cause than this, that I would not plunge into all the violence and malignity of party into which many had been hurried, and once endangered even the life of Mr. Caulfeild, by advising him to resent words spoken to lord Kildare and others, only because he sat near lord Belfield[1] at the play-house, who spoke those words; though that lord at the same time behaved with great civility to Mr. Caulfeild. Fortunately lord Belfield was abroad when Mr. Caulfeild called at his house, and, upon his return, taking the visit to be friendly, called immediately to see Mr. Caulfeild. I happened to be in the way, which, I think, prevented some mischief; the 'governor' was soon convinced he had been too hasty, and that words said to or of others not allied to him were not subjects of his resentment; in short, my lord, the uneasiness and anxieties I have endured are beyond my description; I had a most powerful party to combat with, and such as only perseverance could conquer; all matters are tolerably well at present, and I believe our friend the 'governor' sees he was made a dupe of. What I have related to your lordship I desire no farther credit for, than as it can be confirmed by many of your friends here, particularly those of your own family. Thus I have given a detail of my conduct and will conclude by assuring your lordship that I am enlisted in no party, and that those who consult the public safety will have me. With bitterness I will not oppose any one, nor can I engage to go through business before I know what that

[1] Robert Rochfort, viscount Bellfield, Westmeath.

business is for anyone except your lordship, who has an absolute right to command me in every thing you please, and you will find me ever obedient to your directions.

"I have never taken the least notice to the speaker or to any other but the 'governor' in what manner I look upon the treatment he has given me; therefore least the 'governor' should be brought into a scrape by making mention of it, 'twill be the most prudent way to suffer it to pass over unnoticed."

26.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, February 20th, Dublin.—"I have this instant received the happy account of your lordship's arrival, and though late as it is I beg leave to congratulate you on it, and to wish you every satisfaction you desire. I have wrote three letters to your lordship about Irish affairs within this fortnight or ten days, and addressed them to you at Mr. Selvin's in Paris; I hope they have come to your hands; they were put under cover to Mr. Gurnell. . . . Your lordship well knows, if you have occasion for my service, one hour's notice will be sufficient to call me where you please, and really it is out of respect that I do not now wait on you; for I conceive how much your time must be taken up with visiting and being visited, that perhaps any interruption at this time would not be proper. But I shall request to have the honour of attending you on your side the water when you intend for Ireland. Next post I shall beg leave to lay before your lordship an affair relating to myself which if you will think fit to give it your countenance, it will I think effectually serve me, and can by no means disserve your lordship, or any other person. I have had from tradesmen several applications to use my interest with your lordship; I have declined giving any countenance to them. I have only one person to mention to your lordship, his name is Braddell, a woollen draper, and a very honest man; should you think proper to make use of him, he certainly will act fairly, and I shall be obliged by it. He was very active and assiduous for us at the Armagh election, and was of great service. . .

"I have this instant received a letter from Mr. Arthur Bernard, which I shall acknowledge next post, and send the pamphlets he desires."

27.—Thomas Cooke[1] to Charlemont.

1755, February 22, South Lambeth.—"After returning you thanks for the honour of your subscription to my Plautus, I beg leave to trouble you with a request which nothing but a more than ordinary respect for your character should induce me to make. Having compleated the ten volumes of my Plautus, I have resolved to pay a public mark of my regard to ten deserving persons, by addressing a volume to each of them, and without the usual views of addresses of this sort, being resolved to admit of no return in whatever manner offered. All that I intreat is, that those persons will be so kind, as promoters of the work towards embellishing it, as to favour me with their contributions for a set of copper-plates for each respective volume; for which I have agreed with an eminent engraver for five guineas a set. What I propose by this method is, to defray the expenses of my copper-plates, and at the same time to indulge the satis-

[1] See Boswell's life of Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill, Oxford, 1887, vol. v. p. 37. Correspondence of Thomas Cooke is included in the collection of letters printed, for private circulation, by L. Howard, D.D., London, 1753.

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faction, which will be a great one to me, of paying a tribute of earnest esteem to ten greatly deserving persons; and I assure your lordship that it will give me a singular pleasure to raise the enclosed monument of respect to your character; which I shall soon send you, printed before the volume which I propose addressing to you. I make this request with the less reserve, as I scorn the expectation of any future advantage from it, and therewith intreat your lordship's acceptance of a philosophical treatise of mine, the result of many years' contemplation, and on subjects of great importance to human happiness; and I likewise beg your reception of a small piece, which I had not by me when I sent to your lordship before, which is [dedicated] to my friend the attorney-general. I wish you a long continuance of health and uninterrupted felicity; and your kind indulgence of this request, by the bearer, my servant, shall meet with such returns as, I believe, will not be displeasing to you."

28.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, March 4, Dublin.—"One ruin draws another; on Saturday last Willcocks and Dawson[1] stopped payment, yesterday Lennox and French[2] did the same, and where the calamity will end heaven only knows. Never did this city appear in such dejection; but the most moving scene is yet to come; the poor wretched peasants whose all consisted in a five, ten, or twenty pound note of these banks, have not yet heard the fate of them. What will become of these miserable creatures? or what will become of the kingdom? for it is expected that next Friday every poor country-man, who has a demand on any bank, will claim his money. The merchants and others have associated to support the bankers; but, without other assistance, I fear all they can do will avail but little. The circulation of no less than £300,000 was stopped last Saturday by the failure of Willcocks etc., of how much more yesterday I cannot say. There never was occasion that demanded more regard and pity of government: never can your lordship apply to persons at the helm with more honour than now, to save a poor unhappy country from extremity of want. What measures to mention I know not. But if the sluices of the treasury be opened to supply the calls of the bankers, and the deficiency arising to the public from the failure of these two houses be made up, by sacrificing perhaps an £100,000 out of above £600,000, which now lie in the Treasury, then the calamity would cease. I by no means think the company of these houses should avail themselves of this charitable bounty, other than, after all their effects were vested in the hands of proper trustees, they might be restored to their liberty. I am really sorry there is a necessity of giving your lordship such a picture of a country that so honours and desires you. I wish, my lord, much to see you; but wish we had better times to invite you here. Distracted and rent asunder as we are by party, and now severely oppressed by want, I shall not wonder if your lordship waits a while in England for a happier season, till Ireland can wear a more pleasing countenance. But, my lord, if you have spirits to endure the vexatious solicitations, and overlook the haughty impertinence of party, if, without such anxiety as may be destructive to your lordship's health, you can bear the change from a country so happy as England to one so lamentably wretched as this now is, to see you will give me more pleasure than I have enjoyed these many years; but to see you here uneasy would make me wretched;

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[1] John Willcocks and John Dawson, bankers, Dublin.
[2] William Lennox and George French, Dublin, bankers.

and therefore I have an interest in requesting your lordship would consult your own happiness and peace of mind; if you choose to stay some time in England, your lordship may lay the foundation of future services to your country, by cultivating a friendship with worthy ingenuous men there. If your lordship would increase your consequence there by having some property, which Mr. Murphy says is your inclination, I then shall lay myself out to render your lordship all the service in my power, and whatever may be deficient of your own to compleat the purchase shall be raised out of my fortune; but until there is a change here for the better, and that both public and private credit are established, and people's apprehensions are quieted, your lordship I believe will be of opinion that nothing in this way can be done. I most heartily wish I had known your mind some time ago upon this matter. If I had, I think, matters at this day would have been in great forwardness. Your lordship may recollect that I had some years since mentioned a scheme of this kind and had (with your lordship's approbation) fixed upon the estate[1] which belonged to sir John Freke, but you declined engaging. Whatever can conduce to your lordship's happiness and fame, it will give me unspeakable pleasure to promote.

"The credit which I mentioned to your lordship last Saturday in case you could not be supplied by Gurnell, perhaps may by the failure of Lenox and French be rendered useless; wherefore I have enclosed your lordship Robert Birch's letter to Messrs. Colly and Nixon; I beg your lordship will not draw at less sight than 31 days that I may in this calamitous time be prepared."

29.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, March 18th, Dublin.—"I received lately Mr. Murphy's favour of the 6th instant, and am much obliged for your lordship's kind concern of me, had this unfortunate house[2] been as well conditioned as might reasonably be expected, your lordship would soon have felt good effects from it; the partnership I coveted more for the sake of the dearest of all friends, than on my own account; gratitude besides affection would have caused me to exert my utmost power for his interest. The cashier (Brewer) is now in confinement upon a writ marked for £60,000 at the suit of Willcocks and Dawson; his papers are in the sheriff's hands; a bill in chancery is now preparing to oblige the sheriff to sett forth those papers in his answer; it is supposed when the answer is filed, it will open a very iniquitous scene. It appears that he advanced to one man in trade here in the year 1751 not less than £20,000. A house which about that time he built and furnished could not cost him less than £5000; the annual income from purchases of various kinds, as found in his pocket book, amounts to above £800; the judgments entered in his name against people here, and now unsatisfied, do not fall short of forty thousand pounds, so that the half of that sum must be presumed the money lent, the double being the penalty upon the bonds. The public, from the discoveries made of the knavery of Brewer, acquit his employers of any design to impose on the world, but are loud in exclaiming against their very great imprudence in allowing their servant to have such a command over the cash. Upon the state which those

[1] In Dorsetshire.

[2] An account of transactions of these bankers, with analysis of statements was printed in folio at Dublin in 1755, under the title of "Remarks on Willcocks and Dawson's estimates laid before their auditors."

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unfortunate men shewed me of their affairs, it appeared they would be able to pay 17*s.* 6*d.* in the pound; since when those matters relative to their cash-keeper have come to light; therefore I should conclude, if anything can be recovered from him, the deduction to the public cannot be very considerable; however there are some who say they will never be able to pay more than 15*s.* in the pound, but that I cannot credit. They have requested I would consent to be a trustee. Though I would serve the public to my power, I dread engaging in a matter which must take up so much of my time; and therefore, unless I see the difficulty will not be very great, and that I can be of service to the public without giving up my whole time, I shall beg to be excused. As to the application for the public money, your lordship has thought very wisely of it, and you will be well advised before any step is taken. In a former letter I gave your lordship to imagine your loss in the bank would be considerable, let me now assure your lordship that you shall not suffer one single farthing; indeed it will be some time before payments will be made; but to remedy that all in my power, I will stake the last acre of ground I am possessed of, before you shall be disappointed in any thing you desire; perhaps by this means I may, when this vast hurry and concern is over, be able to raise £10 or 12,000. My fortune is unsettled by your lordship's generosity, and therefore no person can run the least risque in dealing with me. As soon as I have settled the account with Willcocks and Dawson, which I shall do when I receive Gurnell's account of the money your lordship drew on Ireland for, I shall then transmit my account to you, when your lordship will be able to form a better judgment of your affairs here than you possibly can do at this time. This day I accepted your draft on Willcocks and Dawson for two hundred pounds in favour of Gurnell and Hoare. The reason of this was, that as they are supposed to give up their whole substance into the hands of trustees at the time they stopped payment, they therefore would be liable to censure should they continue to do business. I shall take care to discharge it as soon as it falls due."

30.—ADDERLEY to CHARLEMONT.

1755, March 22nd, Dublin.—"This covers a credit for your lordship on Messrs. Knox and Craghead from Alderman Dawson [1] and his son, whose bank I shall until I receive your orders to the contrary make your lodgments in, as I believe it is full as secure as any other house here. Since my last of Tuesday I have received from the county of Armagh about a thousand pounds, which I shall deposit with the above gentleman, and shall, as I receive money on your lordship's account, inform you, that you may be at no loss what to draw for. I have under acceptance, which I believe my former mentioned, a draft of your lordship's on Willcocks and Dawson in favour of Gurnell and co. for £200, which will be due the 11th of next month and which shall be punctually discharged. Yesterday I honoured your lordship's bill of the 27th of last January from Paris on Willcocks and Dawson, at sight, in favour of Charles Selvin, esqre., for one hundred and fifty pounds. I cannot avoid mentioning a circumstance relating to this bill which Mr. Selvin ought immediately to be made acquainted with. The draft was endorsed by Mr. Selvin, on the very day it bears date, to one Patrick Masterson of London, therefore it is to be supposed it came soon into his hands, in which he kept it till about the 15th instant and then sent it to one Magran, a

[1] Richard and Thomas Dawson, bankers, Dublin.

post officer, directing him (without making first any enquiry whether there was any person here who in your absence negotiated your business) to protest the bill, and had I happened to have been out upon a visit last Thursday night, your lordship would have, before this perhaps had come to your hands, found how very ill this scoundrel acted, without being able to account for it; and had it not been for Mr. Martin, a gentleman of my acquaintance, I had not known any thing of the matter. When I saw Magran yesterday I was scarcely able to refrain from treating him as he, I thought, deserved; but in excuse for himself he assured me his orders from Masterson were peremptory, and what he did was without considering he was guilty of an action which he was then much ashamed of, and for which he begged a million of pardons. Magran's letters your lordship has with this. Should there be any more of your lordship's drafts in Mr. Selvin's correspondents' hands, they ought immediately to be ordered hither and I shall take care to see them discharged. In my next which will be the 25th I shall give your lordship an account of an affair relating to the contest of the Armagh election in the house, which will I think greatly surprise you; and which you may make what use of you think proper; for I shall relate the facts as I had them last Wednesday from the Speaker. I own to you, my lord, I should be better pleased that any other nobleman in England succeeded to the [lord] lieutenancy than the marquis of Hartington, on account of his close connections with a certain family, who I fear will endeavour to attach him more to their private interests, than to the true interest of the kingdom. People here do not relish this change; though it is considered as a great point gained to get the duke of Dorset out of the government. Some there are who think, from the honesty of the marquis, that he will not be biassed; indeed, if he makes himself well acquainted with the true state of the country and the constitution, it may be of service; otherwise he will run great risques of being imposed on. It is said that the lords Massereene [1] and Tullamore [2] will be created earls; several members are made privy councillors, amongst whom is Mr. Bristow [3] (the commissioner) who has not an acre of ground in this or perhaps in any other country; but whose merit lies in voting against Mr. Caulfeild in the house when the election was contested, contrary to his word and honour which he pledged to the Speaker. Pensions to the amount of £1100 a year are laid on this kingdom; we are to be bribed with our own money. Mr. Harry Southwell [4] one of the foremost in the red list,[5] has got a pension of two hundred pounds a year. Your lordship's chest etc. from France are safely arrived. . .

"The credit your lordship will be pleased to take the trouble to deliver with your own hands."

31.—Adderley to Charlemont, in London.

1755, April 8th, Dublin. — "Your lordship's draft on me for £541 : 13*s.* : 4*d.* has been accepted, and shall be punctually honoured when it becomes due. If the sum which Mr. Caulfeild advanced was £500 English, then the exchange charged is at par, and in

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[1] Clotworthy Skeffington, created earl of Massereene, by privy seal, 28 June, 1756.
[2] Charles Moore, created Earl of Charleville, by privy seal, 26 July, 1758.
[3] William Bristow, a commissioner of revenue and excise, Ireland, M.P. for borough of Lismore.
[4] Hon. Henry Southwell, M.P. for Limerick.
[5] Of those who voted with the Boyle party.

that case if I recollect, Mr. Murphy desires if the exchange should be higher than the difference between English and Irish money, it must be paid along with the bill, which shall accordingly be done. My last covered alderman Dawson's credit on Knox and Craghead in your lordship's favour, which I hope has come to your hands; this is a credit which can, I believe, in no sort fail you. But it would, my lord, oblige me if you would please, a post or two before you think you may have occasion to make use of it, to desire Mr. Murphy to signify the sum you intend to draw on the alderman for, that I may take care to provide accordingly; I have his receipt by me for £827:14*s.*:5*d.* out of which I am to pay your lordship's two drafts of £200 and £541 : 13*s.* : 4*d.* Mr. Bartholomew Burton, the correspondent of Lenox and French, has made enquiries after your lordship, in order to obey any commands you may have for him, but I believe there can be no occasion to make use of his house at this time. Masterson to whom Mr. Selvin sent your draft on Willcocks and Dawson for £150, likely kept it in his hands to make advantage by the exchange, as it was drawn at sight: and had it not been for the failure of their bank, the bill perhaps may have continued in Masterson's hands to this instant—at least till he could huckster it to advantage. It was fortunate I happened to be at home when Mr. Magran wrote to me, otherwise the bill and protest would have to your great surprise been presented to your lordship, and perhaps you may have thought there had been some neglect in me. Mr. Murphy has enclosed to me Mr. Gurnell's account which I have not yet compared with Willcocks', not being able, though I have importuned very much, to get it from him; I think some time next week it will be prepared. Upon a settlement of accounts with this bank I believe and am certain I shall be indebted to it, and this proves very fortunate; for, as I have a good deal of money out on securities, had this continued in those people's hands it would all have been swallowed up and they would have been indebted to me; whereas after paying their demand there will be a considerable residue, which shall be at your lordship's command for any use you please. I am now preparing to call it in, and expect next term to receive a great part of it. In regard to the affair about the Armagh election, I cannot venture to speak of it till my next, because as his ma[jes]ty, the duke of New-C[ast]le, and the duke of Dorset are to be mentioned, I would choose to have it in the very words which Mr. Bristow (the commissioner) uttered to the speaker, who is my authority for what I shall write on that head to your lordship; and when that short history comes to be laid before you, your lordship will not be surprised that matters were not more successful on our side. Some of my friends are very desirous I should apply next session to Parliament; they think I deserve some favour from the public on account of a linen manufacture I established with a good deal of success, and much pains and industry, in the county of Cork, and also for encouragement given to about 100 French Protestants, who are settled under me at Innishannon;[1] it has been hinted to the speaker, and I think not only he and his party, but many of the opposite side would do me any reasonable service; but, my lord, without your approbation I shall not solicit this matter. The facts I shall draw up, and will beg leave to lay them before your lordship, for your opinion, and if you think I may trouble my friends, then I hope for the honour of such assistance as you will please to afford me. Indeed, the circumstance of so

[1] In the county of Cork. A linen factory and arrangements for bleaching were established here by Adderley. Linens, diapers, and canvas were manufactured at Innishannon.

great a redundancy in the treasury is what encourages me, with your consent, to hope for success ; because it is likely the parliament will be pleased to give as much of that money for public uses as they can with any colour of justice ; and I am vain enough to think that what I have done, has had its use. The change of our governor is not relished by all even of those who were in the opposition to his grace ; the speaker talks of it as very pleasing to him, and prefers the choice to any other that could have happened ; but some of his friends, from the nearness of alliance and close connections with the Bessborough family, think there may be a strong inclination in our new lord lieutenant[1] to favour the interest of that family in perference to any other. Dr. Burscough,[2] bishop of Limerick, is dead."

32.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, April 12th, Dublin.—" Before my last to your lordship of the 8th instant I received one from Mr. Murphy covering an anonymous letter to your lordship, highly censuring the conduct of those to whom the management of your affairs has been committed. As this charge is brought against Mr. Verner and Mr. Dobbins, the former being agent to your estate in the county of Armagh, and the latter to your estates in the counties of Tyrone and Monaghan, I could do no less than make them acquainted with it, and therefore sent the original to one and a copy to the other, and yesterday I received the enclosed letters. But with regard to myself, who I conceive is answerable for every mismanagement in the transaction of such things as have been committed by your lordship to my care, you will, I hope, my lord, excuse my saying anything about these matters till next post, for at this very instant I am extremely ill of a cholic which has returned with so much violence (for yesterday I had a fit which lasted four or five hours) that I wrote in much pain. After all I shall say to your lordship, I must earnestly entreat to be tried by facts which will certainly condemn or acquit me; and the same favour I would entreat for these two gentlemen.

" My lord, I requested of these gentlemen that they would exculpate themselves to your lordship ; that I would forward their letters, but requested they would make no unnecessary mention of me, and therefore I would choose to receive their letters sealed, which Mr. Dobbins has not complied with perhaps out of regard to me. I expect to hear from Mr. Verner by next post and shall forward his letters to your lordship."

33.—George[3] Stone, Primate of Ireland, to Bishop of Cork.[4]

1755, April 12th.—" Your lordship desires to know from me whether you ever delivered a message from the speaker to me tending to an accommodation between us, to which I say in answer, that your lordship has, in the course of civility which has always subsisted between us, frequently expressed your wishes that the unhappy divisions in this kingdom could be composed, in which wish I have joyned with you ; but you never did deliver to me any message from the speaker directly nor indirectly, nor did you ever give me reason to say (nor have I ever said) that you was

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[1] William Cavendish, marquis of Hartington. *See* p. 5.

[2] William Burscough, of Wadham College, Oxford, bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, 1725–1755.

[3] *See* p. 5.

[4] Jemmet Browne, bishop of Cork, 1745–1772.

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instructed or employed by the speaker to hold any conversation with me upon any subject whatsoever, nor that the speaker was privy, or would ever be made privy to what passed between us, which has been always accidental and never in the way of doing business nor tending to it.—I am, my lord, your lordship's affectionate brother and servant,—GEO: ARMAGH.

"To the lord bishop of Cork.

"This is a true copie of the primate's letter to the bishop of Cork. As witness my hand this 12th April, 1755.—HEN: BOYLE.[1]—The original letter was delivered to me by the bishop of Cork.—H. B."

34.—ADDERLEY to CHARLEMONT.

1755, April 15th, Dublin.—"Mine of the 12th to your lordship, which carried Mr. Dobbins' defence confronting the charge brought against him in the letter which Mr. Murphy's enclosed, and which I am very thankful for, was wrote when I was much afflicted with a cholic, which continued with violence for some hours. Your lordship is now presented with one from Mr. Verner, the contents of which are utterly unknown to me, occasioned perhaps by my requesting that if he gave any answer to the accusation, and should think proper to have it forwarded through me to your lordship, it may come to my hands sealed up. As I mean on the score of my own conduct, and in regard to the justice due to the characters of these two gentlemen to be particular in recounting matters, I shall therefore beg your lordship's indulgence for a post or two longer, that I may be the better enabled from the materials I have by me, imperfect as they are, to collect such circumstances as may serve to evince that the letter-writer has handled us too roughly; and also that from this account your lordship may upon your arrival take occasion to examine into facts with the exactest scrutiny; for by facts I would be acquitted or condemned. I have not had an opportunity of talking to the speaker on the affair of the Armagh election, which I hinted to your lordship formerly, since that time; therefore shall now give the matter as it stands on my memory. About a month since, the speaker, in a company of eight, of which I made one, told the following remarkable piece of history; that Mr. Bristow (the commissioner) some time before the merits of the Armagh election came to be heard[2] before the house, upon the speaker's asking him how he intended to conduct himself in that question, declared upon his word and honour that he would not vote either in that or any disputed election, and gave for a reason that it was not a matter relating to government. However the day that this matter was to be heard, the speaker to his surprise saw Mr. Bristow in the house, and said to him: 'I hope you do not forget the engagement you are under to me of not voting: but if you mean to serve our friend (meaning Mr. Caulfeild) I will readily disengage you.' To which the other replied, 'I am come to vote;' and signified it was against him, and added he hoped he would forgive him; whereupon the speaker put his hand to his breast and said: 'by G—d I never will, for you, sir, have broke your word and honour to me, and I shall mention your behaviour to every body that comes near me.' This your lordship may be assured occasioned great coolness from the speaker to this gentleman; who, I

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[1] *See* p. 203.

[2] The petition of the hon. Francis Caulfeild against the election for the county of Armagh was presented on 17th November, 1753. The meetings of the committee to which it was referred were held in the following month.

believe, finding his treatment much talked of, upon the day the Speaker told this affair to the company, made him a visit and acquainted him that the duke of Dorset had attacked him to vote for Mr. Brownlow, and finding he could not prevail, then said: 'I must now tell you, sir, it is his majesty's pleasure and the duke of Newcastle's that you do vote;' upon which he submitted to forfeit his honour. This relation, my lord, is no less true than it is strange that the k[in]g's name was prostituted and scandalously so in a contest between two gentlemen in which government ought by no means to intermeddle. Is it strange, my lord, after such violent attacks as these, that matters did not succeed? Is it not surprising that we came so very near, that had but one man staid away our hopes would have succeeded. There is a rumour here which makes great noise: it is said the primate has wrote to the duke of Newcastle signifying that Dr. Brown, bishop of Cork, called on him some time ago and acquainted him that he was commissioned by the speaker to offer his grace terms of accommodation, and that if he (the primate) would disengage himself from the Bessborough interest, he (the speaker) would act under his grace, which he (the primate) absolutely refused to comply with. The speaker, having received from his friends in London this account, wrote to the bishop, who denies the whole matter, and followed close upon the heels of his letter, and arrived here the 11th; the following day he waited on the primate and received a letter from him denying the charge, a copy of which your lordship has enclosed.[1] It is said the marquis of Hartington mentioned the primate's affair to lord Kildare and Mr. Boyle, the speaker's son."

35.—ADDERLEY to CHARLEMONT.

1755, April 19th, Dublin.—"Mine of the 15th enclosed one from Mr. Verner which I hope will come safe to your lordship's hands; from many concurring circumstances the writer of the letter signed 'T. Telltruth' is more than guessed at. It is more than probable that he derives under your lordship, and has considerable advantages from two leases; but as they are old and tottering, he might imagine by this piece of wicked artifice to be able to overturn the scheme of setting the land to the occupiers only, and then may have a hazard of becoming tenant to a tract of country, which he would see when he was to collect the profit-rents from his poor underlings, and at no other time. This was the usage which those kind of gentry formerly practised, and such as have long beneficial leases make use of it to this day, and I think I can with truth say it is more difficult to collect the rents from those petty tyrants than from the hireling who works for his daily bread. I shall submit it to your lordship when you come to enquire into the circumstances of your estate, whether you will not find those who have taken lands from your first tenants to be the distressed people and not those who derive immediately under your lordship; and sure, my lord, if that should happen to be the case, can it be said that any one charged with the management of your affairs is unaccountable for a distress of this kind? However great my regard may be for your lordship, I could not venture at doing or concurring at another's acting a cruel part by one of your tenants. I am sure when I say this I do not mean to gloss over my conduct; it is to be enquired into and I hope will by your lordship; but there is one fact which is very notorious, *i.e.*, that upon letting the lands I have frequently told

[1] *See* p. 213.

the lessees, when they have said the land was too dear (and indeed I scarce ever knew a tenant but made the same complaint) that if upon a year's trial they should find it so, that I would not only recommend it to your lordship to take the lands off their hands, but also to pay for such improvements as they should make, provided they appeared to be of real use to their farms: and yet though this is known to every tenant, there has not been the least application from any one to be disengaged; and I think after this treatment it is somewhat severe to be so treated as this letter-writer has taken upon him to act by those who have the honour to be employed by your lordship. I believe the leases I have perfected for your lordship are in number more than three hundred and fifty, and I would beg leave for your satisfaction that every individual lessee may be applied to, to know whether he is not fully acquainted with the above matter either by me or by his neighbours. I can vouch that, when out of pique two have proposed for land more than I judged to be the real value, I have had no regard to their offers, but have set it considerably less, but for what I really thought it was worth. I never, my lord, ventured to let an acre of your lordship's land, until I first viewed it and in company with those whose honesty and skill I could depend on. Some I viewed twice and some three times, and if I found any reason before I leased it to alter my opinion upon the view, I have gone a fourth time; so that, without vaunting, if my life depended on it, I could not take more care, and I believe at this day in the whole kingdom there cannot be found a better regulated estate, for what has been set of it since your lordship came to age. Indeed, my lord, I had many difficulties to encounter in this work, but were they more and greater I would not have been dismayed, and by perseverance I hope it is well executed. Your lordship will be so good as to excuse me from speaking so much of myself; but I think I am warranted to do it when such a scheme has been laid to hurt me in your opinion, which I regard more than perhaps any other consideration whatever; but this subject I shall now take leave of, with requesting for every one's sake concerned that your lordship will try this matter by facts. I intended to have made your lordship a visit next week for a few days and accordingly settled matters with the family here for that purpose; but this day an alarming account from England was published, which has, till I hear from your lordship or Mr. Murphy, deferred it. An express arrived giving an account of the Brest squadron having sailed and that the Lord Lieutenant had or was to set out for his government last Wednesday, and would be at the Head the 21st. This intelligence we look upon as authentic and therefore expect him here the 23rd. Mercer, with about an hundred soldiers, leaves this to-night for Holyhead to attend his excellency."

36.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1755, April 22nd, Dublin.—"This evening I received two letters of advice from Montpelier, one dated the 4th inst. signed Tho. Burnet, and enclosing John Dempsey's receipt for three cases belonging to your lordship, with a letter which is herein enclosed. The other is from Tho. Fitzmaurice dated the 2nd inst. covering John Dempsey's bill of lading for two chests on account of your lordship; to-morrow I shall enquire whether the vessel is arrived and will take care to see those goods safely landed. The report, of the intention of the French to land in the west of Ireland, surprisingly affected great numbers of people here; but it seems this rumor was ill grounded, for the master of a vessel which arrived here yesterday, says he saw in his passage the Brest fleet and not one ship

had sailed; that an English 20 gun ship was hovering about to watch their motions, and bore down upon him, but upon hoisting English colours when the 20 gun ship put up French, he was allowed to sail without being visited. It is now said the lord lieutenant will not be here this week, but intends it very soon. On the contrary it is said that he is now at the Head, and only comes to stay a few weeks. What use this can be of does not appear; for the town is thin and will be much thinner, and people will not choose to leave the country in summer; so that if his excellency is not already set out, likely it may be August before he will. I only wait for your lordship's liberty to leave your family for to have the honour to wait on you; a very few days, if your lordship thinks proper, I shall only ask to be absent."

37.—Charlemont and Murphy.

"In consideration of the great obligations I am under to him, I promise to pay to Mr. Edward Murphy annually the sum of one hundred pounds, till such time as, by preferment or otherwise, he shall be in possession of five hundred pounds a year.—Witness my hand,—Charlemont.

"I'll settle this affair in a more proper manner as soon as I can inform myself of the legal method.

"Received this high compliment and great mark of tender friendship and goodness from my dearest friend, lord Charlemont, this 17th of May, 1755, in London, soon after our return from our tour of nine years travels."

38.—John Carteret Pilkington to Charlemont.

1755, July 12th, London.—"Amongst the numbers, who take the happy opportunity, of your lordship's return to your native country to express their congratulations and joy, permit the humblest of her sons, to contribute his mite, which, imperfect and simple as it is, he hopes will meet acceptance as an instance of his duty. Though I am unhappily a stranger to that native affability, and beatitude of disposition, that have endeared your lordship to all who have a personal knowledge of it in your most agreeable conversation, yet 'tis impossible to be unacquainted with the fame of your virtues, especially, sir, as my late mother, Mrs. Lætitia Pilkington, made those of your lordship, and your illustrious family, her constant and delighted theme. The nobility and gentry of this kingdom, my lord, are kind enough, as I have no fortune, to assist me by subscribing to any little thing I produce in the literary way, more in compassion to my having a family dependant on me than any degree of merit which I have not the smallest claim to. They have requested, a particular account of my life; I am now about publishing it,[1] and herein take the liberty to enclose a proposal, with an abstract of the subscribers names, to which I hope I shall have the honour to add your lordship's. As many of that noble list have condescended to honour me with a line, and sometimes with their converse, I hope your lordship will grant a like favour in answer to this. If, after erasing the numberless incorrections, in the little essay, I may have liberty to place it in the front of my first volume, I shall think it the greatest happiness I am capable of receiving."

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[1] The work was published in one volume, quarto, in London in 1760, as "The real history of John Carteret Pilkington, written by himself." The name of viscount Charlemont appears in the subscription list prefixed to it.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

39.—JOHN PARKER,[1] Rome, to CHARLEMONT.

1755, July 26, Rome.—"By a letter from Mr. Murphy, dated July 11th 1755, I have account of your lordship having been frightened about the case of medals, but that they were found, I hope in good condition, as I had taken particular care in packing them up. With them is the French box which your lordship left and writ for from Florence. He sent me also list of things wanting, viz, all bronzetti, Gladiator, two Centaurs, Silenus, Antinöus, basso-relief Venus by Guglielmo della Porta. These I did not send, some not being in order, as the Venus that Virepoyl was to bed in a frame (if your lordship remembers) and is not yet done, no more than the basso relief Antinöus (to bed also) nor the busts of Brutus, Pompey, and Cæsar in bronze, that he was to do, the busts too in red marble; I have often recomended them to him, nor can I give them to others, he having your lordship's order to doe them; if yet not done [it is] no fault of mine. I suppose he will doe them when the Gladiator is finished, which, he says, is very forward. I have not seen it, as I am still unfortunately kept in bed with my wounds. The pictures I have bought for your lordship I had intended to have sent with Patche's and Pompeo's (to have had one expence only in the licence for them and bronzes), when done. The first never let me know that he had finished, nor should I have known they were sent, but by the account of Belloni's of the mony paid etc., nor do I know his reason for sending them away unknown to me. Pompeo has not finished nor can I get the portraits out of his hands; he is paid the half of the great one. Mr. Murphy desires a particular account of all those things sent as yet or to send. The first is impossible for me to do, as I had no inventory than of the books, the which I was obliged to leave for the license to send them away. I don't doubt but your lordship will find them all. They were packt up by me and Virepoyl in two large cases, one full of books only, the other, besides books, contained in a case at bottom your marble mosaick table the case of medals and the walnut-tree case with drawers for the medals. In other case the Farnese globe and under it the basso relief, Minerva teaching the use of olives, bedded in a frame, and other géssi of fasces, etc. belonging to Mr. Murphy; other case, all the books of loose prints, views; and both your lordship's and Mr. Murphy's other cases in one large one, the Etruscan vases, boxes of lava, etc. etc.; other cases containing Mr. Murphy's clay heads and two bronze heads, Cæsar and Brutus. All your lordship's marble busts—viz, Swift, Homer, Brutus the elder and younger, antique faun, modern faun; girl's head from Alessandria, and Agrippina, each separate cases. These were all I sent and I have Peter Cassidy's letter of their safe arrival, not only at Livorno but at Dublin, for my satisfaction. Who or what ship or ships carried them, or to whom directed there, he never informed me, having, as he writ me word, Mr. Murphy's orders, how to dispose of them, when he was there. I have since my return from Naples, sent him the two granite tables and have his letter of their arrival, and, being sent, I hope they are safe in your lordship's hands by this. I have nevertheless writ to Cassidy to send me a particular account of the number of cases he for-

[1] English historical painter. He resided during several years at Rome, and painted the altar-piece for the church of S. Gregorio on Monte Celio. Parker returned to England about 1762, and exhibited at London in 1763, a portrait of himself, and a painting of the assassination of Rizzio. Parker died at Paddington towards 1765.

warded to Dublin, to whom directed and by what ships, the which I shall send Mr. Murphy on receipt, for your lordship's and his satisfaction; and also another copy of the account he desires again, having already sent him once, since he informed that I had forgot to inclose it, directed for him at Gurnell and company. Since then he has writ that I direct to him at Knox and Cragheads. Perhaps Gurnell, not serving your lordship, has never sent him the letter, or by this he may have received it. In it I gave him a particular account of the draught of Belloni's for £162 : 9*s* : 5*d*.; your lordship's account and his own £98 : 4*s* : 3*d*. This is the whole—in all £260 : 13*s* : 8*d*., and in his to me by your lordship's order, date July 11th, he demands of me account of a draught of £300 sterling; (a mistake) of all this sum I have never touched but 300 crowns of the credit of 400 your lordship signed and left with me for your lordship's service the day you left Rome; one 100 of which also I paid to Virepoyl on account of Gladiator; the rest Patche and Virepoyl are to account for. Your lordship may remember to have signed Patche's credit separate from mine at his desire, so that I have no account to render of what they have received from Belloni, by virtue of your lordship's and Mr. Murphy's separate orders which Belloni has and was paid unknown to me. This account Belloni consigned me at my desire and is as below. The particulars of the 300 crowns I have received. I shall to-morrow transmit again to Mr. Murphy, to not trouble your lordship. Mr. Murphy's letter threatened me with loss of your lordship's protection (to me the greatest misfortune that could happen) on this account if not cleared up. This I confess has disturbed me not a little, on the account that Mr. Murphy had communicated your lordship's letter to my poor old father who will be inconsolable as he writes me till he hears I have cleared up this account. Your lordship's goodness and generosity will not condemn me, I know, till heard, so that on this head I shall make myself easy, and, waiting your lordship's future commands."

40.—Lord Bruce to Charlemont.

1755, July 29th, Lisbon.—"There has been so long a silence between us that I have almost forgot whose turn it is to write. But long ago, by chance, I heard that you were still in England, which gives me some hopes of finding you there at my return, which will probably be much sooner than I once intended, perhaps by the beginning of September, as the likelihood of an immediate declaration of war, besides other circumstances, will make me prefer a voyage in the Falmouth packet from hence, to a journey through France. In my Spanish expedition, some things have answered, others exceeded my expectation. The inconveniences of travelling equalled every thing I had been made to expect, and the collections of virtù at Madrid, the Escurial, and a royal villa called St. Ildefonso, were far beyond what I had imagined of them. Portugal has entertained me with customs different from those of all other European countries. The Portuguese women are not allowed to speak to any man, except their husbands and very nearest relations; all cousins are excluded . . . The nuns here have much more liberty than the married women; Mafra, a convent built by the late king for Franciscan friars (about 30 miles from hence), and for a royal retreat, is very well worth seeing: the church, particularly the dome part of it, is one of the most elegant pieces of architecture that I ever saw. I have seen only one opera . . . The famous theatre is tawdry and too crowded with ornaments."

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

41.—Rev. E. Murphy to Charlemont.

1755, October 19, Bath.—"'Seriously, I am tired of this cursed how-ish life :—But this I tell you in confidence'—Considering this, not as coming from my lord, but from my best and dearest friend, I answer in confidence and with confidence, that I am heart-sick to think those words may at certain times be true.—And yet I think there is a remedy which taken would greatly relieve you.—I think I know more of you than you do of yourself, and shall freely open my mind to you. For to whom, my dear lord, can I, if not to you? My most sincere and tender concern for you gives me a good share of right, and your sense and regard for well-intended candour compleat my privilege. During twelve years that I had the honour of attending your lordship, I observed two appetites constantly predominant in you—the love of pleasure, and the love of well-founded praise. As to the first, one thing is certain, and that is, that even the most robust human constitution is greatly limited in its enjoyment of what the world calls pleasure. The strongest man breathing is no more capable of constant enjoyment that way than he is of eating and drinking from dinner-time to dinner-time throughout his life: and imagination can no way fill up the wide gaps in pleasure, till the appetites are restored to their proper tone; always the work of time. This is absolutely the case with man in this respect (let him boast what he will) and the time requisite to repair his appetite is to that of actual pleasure, as a few minutes to some hours, or as a few hours to some days.—If the most robust be so greatly limited in pleasure, how must it fare with inferior degrees of constitution? But as the means of such happiness as man is formed to enjoy are (bateing a few exceptions) equally distributed to all; if the strongest mere sensualist has one advantage over you, you have (as one of those exceptions) many over him: which did you but use, the balance of happiness would remain greatly in your favour. Is there a useful art that employs the hand or head of man, for which you have not a most sensible taste? Is there a science carried ever so high, that you do not accompany with equal delight and admiration? Dare not to deny (antilavist as you pretend to be) that the lava of Mount Vesuvius and the green glass of the Campagna of Rome have caught your strongest attention. —Confess that the disposition of the lava of the whole visible creation doth equally astonish and ravish you.—Confess that a mere glimpse of it makes you fall prostrate to the Author and Disposer of it, and makes you adore Him not only for His power and wisdom, but also for His all bounteous repair of that part of it into which the supreme gift of free-will hath naturally introduced defects. To all these high advantages in taste, there is added, in you, one more, scarce inferiour in value to all the rest. I mean your taste for beautiful actions; and by these I mean, such as create happiness to others. Do not imagine that you have concealed from me your private gormandizing upon such actions, and upon the just applause of mankind.—Nor think yourself vain in so doing. Vanity is the fantastic, precarious enjoyment of imaginary perfections and false praise. The delight arising from the creation of happiness and from the just applause of those rendered happy, and of others, is so far from fantastic, that it is reasonable. It is solid, it is a strong argument for the prerogative, for the divinity of man. In this he shews himself the true image of supreme perfection. In this he shews himself of an eternal nature. For shall positive goodness be annihilated? No, not while God exists. Therefore, my lord, if you would be relieved, give your taste and worth full play and exercise. Shake off that abominable listlessness, or fly from it to the coal mines of the north, or the cataract of the Shannon, or to

both. Or take a plough and plough up all Ireland, and build granaries. Or come hither and arraign this senate of high treason against the king and constitution for encouraging the French, not the Irish, trade of cloth in the Levant. Don't you remember how many anxious minutes Borrioni and medals have served you? Do, be a good boy and busy yourself, and I'll give my head off my shoulders if you be not soon a much more joyous youth. Nay, I will give my heads [1] off my shelves if you be not. Do not here play me off with a 'bellua multorum es capitum.'—To Mr. Adderley and all yours such wishes as I wish myself. How can you keep company with that Dick Marlay? He is an arrant lavist. My most affectionate compliments to him. I quit this place to-morrow and take your lord Bruce in my way to London. You have the pedestals but I have not as yet an answer from Stewart; I shall soon squeeze one out of him. In answer to Brown's letter, in which he promises to send off the pedestals by the first good ship, I have sent him an order upon Messrs. Knox and Craghead for £90. He demanded guineas, 15 for each pedestal, but I would not comply. I wish you would get the cool £150,000; otherwise nor I, nor any one else will be able to get a penny of rent out of your hands. Pray look out for a blade for me to travel with upon good conditions. So I shall give you time for the rent. Addio."

42.—Parker, Rome, to Charlemont.

1755, December 24th, Rome.—"According to my promise, I herein enclose my thoughts of the temple your lordship ordered by Vanvitelli, whose original letter, with extravagant demand, I forwarded your lordship as soon as I received it from Naples, and wait your lordship's orders about it, whether to make him doe it, employ another architect here, or to know if my design answers your lordship's purpose and gusto. I chose this plain dorick, as it gives room enough for height, and the whole may be easily executed in brick-work, should your lordship not care to go to the expense of stone. In raising the frontispiece, I have opened in the frezze window lights (to a sort of mezzanni, that may serve either for servants' room or lumber, etc.) or they may be left only two windows in the ends of the building to light these lofts, and those in the front shut to not spoil or break the course of the frezze. In case your lordship does not approve of these mezzanni, the roof of the house behind the frontispiece need not goe higher than the parallel line of the cornice to the front, and the frontispiece may be carried up equally without it. I have kept the whole of the building as plain as possible, to give it more grandeur at a distance; the number of ornaments and little parts destroy the effect, in a small building like this. To gain something in height I have raised the ground floor upon a zoccolo or plinth to go up with five steps, and this rise makes way for a kitchen or cellars underneath, and receives light from openings, either in front or side or both. This raising, if your lordship does not approve of, may be let alone. The ground plan is markt with letters and explanation. As to the section at letter B, the parlour, and C, the hall, there are two windows only, one in the front and one at each end, or may be one in front and two in back front, and the chimney in the side fronting the door as at L.B., in the first floor which may be the bed-chamber or dressing-room, as judged most proper, and the like below stairs, should the rooms be thought

[1] *See* p. 322.

darksome; but in the front more windows are not practicable as being too narrow and would take off from the grandeur. The staircase I have chose to detach out of the body of the building, as it would have reduced the rooms otherwise to mere closets, and in case your lordship should approve of the mezzanini the small closet at E in the section must be continued the staircase to the above mezzanni. As I have the rough draught of the Scala Santa, should it be wanted to send Vanvitelli, I send your lordship the clean drawings, by which your lordship may judge of the size and proportion of the building you design, etc. etc. It is several days since I have shipped the Gladiator, the basso rilievo Antinöus, the busts of Cæsar, Pompey, Brutus, and Diogenes, the little Venus by Della Porta, the bronze statues of the two Centaurs, Faunus with Bacchus, Gladiator, Antinöus, and the two models of the window curtains, all Mr. Murphy's heads and statues, the studio of marbles. in short everything but the pictures. These last I had the cases made for, and thought to have sent them with the rest of the things, but have been disappointed by that bevone, etc. of Pompeo, who had promised me to get done by such a day and failed me, so that the tartana sailed without them. I have so tormented him since, as there is little to doe to them, so hope in a few days to send them, together with the rest of your lordship's pictures, except the Miltons, and I hope they may get to Leghorn in time to goe away with the statues, as we have here another tartana that parts in a few days. I have writ and sent to Peter Cassidy the letter or bill of lading, with orders to forward them to your lordship's direction or Mr. Adderley's as before, and to put them on board a stout ship. When he lets me know of their being shipt, name of vessel and captain and how directed, I shall forward the whole to your lordship. There are several posts due to us here from England, so I suppose some one letter of your lordship's is not come to hand, so I cannot act, as to the things I advised your lordship of etc. I am uneasy to know if the drawings of gates, etc. came to hand, as it is some time they are forwarded, I directed them to the care of Knox and Craghead, London, with orders to forward them directly. By a letter from my father, I hear he has consigned to Mr. Murphy the cameo of Perseus, which a young Scotch gentleman was so good as to carry to London for me. I hope by this it has arrived to your lordship's hands. Virepoyle presents his best respects to your lordship, and is hastening his departure, which will be before March. I have not yet been able to get the permission to mould the Mercury. Albani has failed in his promise, but now that sir Wm. Stanhope is returned from the north, I shall desire his interest with cardinal Valenti to get the leave from the German envoy as for myself. Mr. Freeman desires his compliments. He left this for Turin about a week past, came in company of a son of sir Richard Lloyd's the solicitor-general. I must inform your lordship that this day we lost Patche, who was obliged to leave Rome in twenty-four hours under pain etc. (the second part of Tivoli) by an order from the holy office directed to the cardinal secretary of state, who signed it, and sent it to the governor of Rome with orders to see it put into execution. He sent for Patche, who was ready to s—— etc. He went to abbé Grant (supposing it to be about the academy affair) first and got him to go with him there. The order was absolute and the matter must be so bad, as he could not get a respite of a day or two to settle his things, though Mr. Stevens did all he could with his friend monsignor Piccolomini, and he with cardinals Corsini and Valenti, for this respite. I heard of this order from the office, and went to Patche to see if true. He took no notice to me at all of it, and left Rome without so much as letting me know either by word of mouth or line; nor has he

left his things in Virepoyle's care, but to almost a stranger. It is judged by us the reason to be, from the confession of something his girl of Tivoli or his boy, who died lately at the hospital of St. John Lateran must have confessed that had passed between them, and when dieing they would not give the boy absolution till he discovered the actors etc. to the holy office; and Patche said to Virepoyle he could not imagine what it was, if not a thing he did which only he and his boy knew, nor should any one else ever know. His behaviour of late has been so extraordinary that the most favourable construction is to say he is mad. Crazy he always was. Sir William bought two landscapes of him to assist him in his journey. Mr. Stevens, I am told, offered him money, but he had lately received £100 from sir William Lowther. He is gone to Florence. He confesed to several he was afraid to be shot or poisoned every day. I shall endeavour to learn the true reason of this affair if possible I can and let your lordship know. Your lordship will please to let me know if the two volumes of the Museo Capitolino, which your lordship bought when in Rome are in Latin or Italian, as a third volume is now published, and I would not buy it as yet for fear of a mistake; as also the last volume of the Saggi di Cortona, if 5th or 6th that your lordship has already, to make complete. I don't know if your lordship has heard of Madame Gabriellio, who died lately after a lingering illness, caused by her over dancing at Madame Borghese's comedies, this last villegiatura at Frascati. Sir Charles Bingham may have given your lordship some account of it. . . Mr. Tierny has forwarded me the two boxes in which are a book for the marquis etc. but they are not yet come to Rome. I have Mr. Murphy's direction as to the contents. Here are many English and more daily expected, the lords Nuneham, etc., sir William Stanhope and other private gentlemen. Lord Brudnell is daily expected from Florence and lord Huntingdon from Naples. Virepoyle has a bust to doe for him of a Pythagoras. I am daily in hopes of a letter from your lordship. I hope it may be amongst these posts due to us here from England. By a letter from my father which tells me Mr. Murphy has told him to order me, if I have not sent away his things, to keep them till fresh orders. This is the third change of his mind about them. However, this order arrived too late, as they are gone with those of your lordship's."

43.—Rev. E. Murphy to Charlemont.

1756, January 12.—"Affairs here remain balanced in such suspense, and I mind so little of human affairs except the one thing necessary, lava, that I have no earthly matter to write to you about. Besides, I am in an ill humour and have been for many weeks; for Mr. Adderley will not tell me how you are, and from yourself I am not so unreasonable as to expect any account. I flatter myself that your health is better; otherwise you would ere now have given me notice and ordered me to take a house for you here, another at Bath etc., and issued out multifarious instructions. You will not get money, and so I shall go to wreck in my old age.—Self-defence therefore has set me to work to get you about £12,000 a year additional real estate. Come now, jokes aside, hear me. I will not be laughed at when I talk in earnest, so keep your temper. Last summer, when I was at lord Kingston's,[1] lord Charlemont was

[1] James, fourth lord Kingston, died 28 December 1761, without male issue, and the title became extinct. His estates and fortune devolved on his only surviving child, Margaret. She married Richard Fitzgerald, of Kildare. Their daughter, Caroline, became the wife of Robert King, viscount Kingsborough, eldest son of Edward, earl of Kingsborough, by which marriage the family estates were united.

naturally pretty often the subject of conversation. I said and said. In the meantime came a letter from Bristol with an account of the desperate way his son was there in. This letter filled him with affliction, and as he and I walked abroad and discoursed, he turned short and said to me: 'Now I know not what to do with my fortune.' To which I answered: 'My lord, if you look out among your relations it is impossible but you must find some young man of great worth, and by your choice you can do yourself great honour?' I know not whether he took the hint; but the other day I had the honour of dining with him, and one of his first questions was 'how his flesh and blood was?' I told him that you were very well, except that you still had some little rheumatic complaints. Hereupon ensued a conversation in course of which (pardon my partiality) I made it appear that no young man living could do more honour to wealth than yourself, for I quoted facts and facts and facts, and he listened with great attention. At length he broke out and said, 'Well, O'Murragh,[1] I promise you I will cure my flesh and blood of that rheumatism, for I have a receipt with which I have cured the most obstinate that ever was.' And then he applied himself to my lady for a confirmation of his receipt. She confirmed it. I begged the receipt. 'No,' says he, 'you talk of his coming over here soon. I will not send him my receipt. Let him come and put himself under my hands. I will not give you the receipt.'

"You are, my lord, nearly related to lord Kingston, as appears by his pedigree traced down here in a paragraph in one of the public papers, upon the death of his only son, which happened about six weeks ago. I imagine some friend of yours inserted that paragraph exprès. I was not the author, for I know nothing of pedigrees. Whether anything was intended for you or not, it was most à propos, and this was the very paper he had down to the country. Upon mentioning the confluence of the Caulfeild family with that of the Kingston, you was named as the present representative of the former, with this encomium or to the purpose: 'a young nobleman of most distinguished accomplishments and singular worth.' Now put all this, the loss the man is at, and what he must think and what he has said, together, and judge. Your lordship, no doubt, would not step across the street for pelf, nor take the trouble of a little (very little) attention for the chance of £12,000. That I cannot help. But you (I know) ought to do it. For my own part I verily believe that a little of your attendance would gain the Galties[2] and a principality in Munster, for I know he has left his fortune by his last will to folks he little cares for, and that but out of bare ostentation. Were you here and followed strictly my advice (which should cost you little trouble) I, without any joke, think you would stand the fairest for the Kingston estate."

44.—Parker, Rome, to Charlemont.

1756, February 28, Rome.—"I should have writ sooner to your lordship, but waited to have given you an account of the Gladiator and companions being sent off for Dublin, as Cassidy promised to let me know, but, not

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[1] O'Murphy, in Irish Ua Murchadha, the chief ruling family of Leinster in ancient times. In an undated letter to lord Charlemont, R. Phelps wrote, in relation to Edward Murphy: "He surprised lord Bruce at Tottenham, by bringing a letter from himself. It was signed 'Edwardus Rex,' and came to lord Bruce's hands whilst he was at dinner with count Brühl, and a large company, and presently after in marched his majesty of Leinster. The whole assembly did not fail to pay their homage to him, and would have kissed his royal hand, but he very graciously dispensed with it."

[2] Galtees, mountains in Tipperary and Limerick.

hearing from him, other than of their safe arrival, I judge he has not met with a fit ship tc receive the case of Gladiator, as he tells me they are all small vessels that use that trade and was afraid it must stay on deck the whole voyage. According to your orders, I have made an exact model in wood with scale prefixed, and of both sides that separate and join as one pleases. Vierpyl is now modelling the ornaments on it in wax, and when finished I shall forward it to Leghorn, with orders to send it by first opportunity. I hope your lordship has received the drawings of the Scala Santa and Vanvitelli's demand, and my invention, which if not approved of, your lordship will by it be able to let me know better what would please, or if I am to order another as in your last, which I have not as yet done, waiting to hear if mine would doe. Vierpyl desires his best respects to your lordship ; is preparing to depart, having sent the two géssi (of the little Apollo and the Mercury in the Farnese Gallery which I judged the best companion and which your lordship will find the print of in the 'Raccolte di statue di Roma,') and his best hand is to boast them at Carrara. He proposes setting out in about 15 days. I have paid him two hundred crowns which he desired, and here forward his bill by which your lordship will see what he has received and what due to him, which he has desired me to let him have on his going from Rome. In another letter I also enclose my whole account from my last forwarded to this present, and Belloni will this post draw for the half and in a few more the residue. As to the two cameos, before your letter came to hand, it has been found out that they were stole from prince Borghese's collection by his favorite footman, who had sold a large parcel of antiques about Rome as things brought him by the prince's sudetti and by them found in digging. One of these intaglios, very remarkable, was brought to the prince to sell, who remembering he had something like it, went to compare them and so found out the theft. The cameriére has been obliged to return the two above, Borrioni about a dozen, and several others also, and lost their money. Borrioni died about a month past ; his things are all to be sold by a sort of auction. I have purchased the Seven Liberal Arts ; they are now putting in order ; and as I have just got your lordship's two portraits from Pompeo, I shall forward them with the rest of the pictures and the model of gate. As to the copies in the Farnese gallery, I have not been able to begin them, as Mr. Stevens has trifled with me about getting me the licence and kept me with to-day and to-morrow etc. Finding this, I applyed to Naples and have got the leave from marquis Gregori, the present minister, and have said no more to Mr. Stevens, and hope soon to begin them. I shall expect your lordship's further orders, as you hint, and have taken a resolution, that as soon as I have finished my obligations to your lordship's orders to undertake no more work here, but move off to Bologna and Venice, where if your lordship may have any further commands they will be obeyed. Mr. Patche's disgrazia hindred me from his further friendship ; he is now in Florence. Various are the stories told of the reason of his banishment. Some say . . .; others, giving a potion to a nun. . . It must be something confessed by his boy (who died a few days before the order for his banishment in the hospital of St. John Lateran). He has told strange storys to Mr. Stevens and sir Horace Mann, that they have tried several times to poison him, that his dog eat of a menestra set before him by some particular people and died immediately, this happened at Terni, and that his boy who also had eat of it never recovered,—both false, his dog died in Rome several months after he returned to Rome, and his boy of ——. Other story, that he has had several guns fired at him. . . What he told Virepoyle, as your lordship will hear from him, is, that he knew for what he was banished,

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but that as no one knew it but himself and his boy, the truth the world should never know. I enclosed in a packet I forwarded your lordship other designs of gates. Vierpyl will be able to assist your builders as to the execution without other models in wood. We have thought it the quickest way to forward the géssi to Carrara with a man to boast them than to expect the arrival of marble from thence, which would have kept him better than two months longer in Rome and would have been double expence, first of the blocks from Carrara to Rome and duty there, then the same to Leghorn etc. We could get no proper gésso of a woman statue in Rome but the Venus, which your lordship has already, so chose the Mercury. I have made the purchase of more than two of the pictures I writ to your lordship, as I got them I think very cheap., viz. the two figures singing and one playing on a guitar by Michel Angelo Carravagio :—two, a man singing and woman playing on the lute by Tintoretto :—and two half length figures, companions, hieroglifical, both by Gerard Huntorst called Gerardo delle Notte. The above four pictures are all figures as large as life. The Goths are in full possession of Rome. Taste has declined every season, sir William Stanhope, the only one of taste, has offered large sums for pictures in the galleries of Rome,—to a thousand crowns a piece."

45.—Samuel Blacker to Charlemont.

1756, April 3rd, Tanderagee.[1]—"I with pleasure read in the English papers the unanimous loyalty of the English, but it gives me great concern to see the inactive loyalty of this kingdom at a time when the enemies of our liberties are at our gates. I see our newspapers stuft with the appointing officers of the militia as if it were to gratify the vanity and indulge the pride of country gentlemen. This is the time to show true patriotism in arming ourselves with the spirit of liberty in favour of our king and country against the gasconading insolence of the French. If Ireland is to be attacked, it will be by our lurking enemies at home, who are bréd up with the notions of eternal salvation by the utter annihilation of Protestants. It is against these home enemies we are to arm. But I'm sorry to say they are as well acquainted with the use of arms and are as great in number, even in the north, as the Protestants. My fortune is but small, but such as it is, together with my life, is at the service of my king and country. I beseech your lordship to exert yourself, upon this occasion—people will be fond to follow you. The experienced bravery of your ancestors, added to your own virtue, will cast a lustre about you and draw crowds to you. Sick or well, come among us. The Roman general, when unable any longer to head the troops, gave an entire victory to his army by ordering himself to be carried in a litter among the troops. I do not know what is meant by the arraying of the militia, if it be not the calling them together in battle array and to be ready armed to defend their king and country. If the government is in earnest, I think there ought to be sent several sergeants who can teach the militia their exercise. I shall with pleasure pay a sergeant his established pay, if put under my command. If the militia are not taught the use of arms, their numbers will destroy themselves and be worse than a mob. Order and discipline make an army—courage comes after. I hope your lordship will pardon this freedom which the zeal for my king and country has brought upon you."

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[1] In county of Armagh.

46.—JOHN PARKER, Rome, to CHARLEMONT.

1756, May 22nd, Rome.—"With great pleasure I received your lordship's of April 10th, 1756, in hearing of your recovery, which by several letters here from Dublin was put in great doubt, and, being spread over all Rome, was received with the greatest sorrow by every one. According to your lordship's orders I went to Nicola Conti, Borrioni's heir, to see and execute your commissions; they could doe nothing by auction, being few buyers, and he keeps up to the prices set by his master before his death. The table was sold to the margrave of Bareith;[1] the Pertinax he will not part with, nor any medal or medallion alone (if not duplicate) but all together; he gave me a list of the last, with their prices; he has sold little or nothing as yet, by reason of the prices he asks, nor will he 'bate anything.

"Vanvitelli[2] is daily expected in Rome, to give the designs for the church of St. Augustine. Till he comes, I have forbore the ordering other designs, to hear if he will come down in his demands The cavaliere Fuga is at Naples. The two best architects now here are scholars of Salvi, deceased, who built the Fontana di Trevi. As soon as I have Vanvitelli's answer, I will apply to one or both of these. Pyronese [Piranesi] has at last published his 4 vols. of Antiquities, the whole dedicated to my lord Charlemont, and is a very fine work; he has ordered to be bound two sets, to send your lordship. I could not persuade him to send them loose; he would bind them con magnificenza, disse, per mostrare, etc. He sells the 4 vols. unbound at 15 sequins and he tells me they will cost him 8 crowns per tome for the binding. He offered to return me the 100 sequins I gave him and for which I have his note of hand. This I refused till I had your lordship's further orders; as soon as delivered I will forward them. I have not yet been able to procure the licence for moulding the Mercury, as the minister is still in the villa, nor will give any leave till he goes away.

"Inclosed with the list of medallions is the name of the lawyer who I have employed to get the 100 crowns out of the heirs of Maini's hands, after having tried all means of a friendly agreement to take the busts at the price set by two sculptors, chose by me and the heirs, which done, they would not stand to, viz., 150 crowns, on which I cited them, and they were obliged to return the 100 crowns. Upon this they have cited me to produce my authority for citing them, and being the only witness of the contract, this obliges us to desire your lordship will be pleased to send me a proper letter of attorney, investing the power of acting as your procuratore to the above name. By this my testimony of the contract will be valid, and they must return the 100 crowns. Afterwards if your lordship pleases, I durst say, they will take the 100 crowns in lieu of the 300; the procuration must be in Latin. The other day I received a letter from Vierpyl at Carrara. He says the two statues are almost in a state of being forwarded to Dublin; he saw the Gladiator and other cases sail last week; inclosed are the bills of loading. With them he has sent 12 blocks of marble, which he begs the favour your lordship would give orders to Cosgrove, to whom Cassidy directed, to keep them till his arrival in Dublin. Inclosed with the other bills is his also. I have not as yet been able to forward your lordship's pictures, as the last

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[1] *See* "Thoughts for enthusiasts at Bayreuth." By the Hon. M. Burrell. London, 1889.

[2] Luigi Vanvitelli, architect of St. Peter's, Rome, 1726, and of the palace of Caserta, Naples.

purchased wanting some cleaning, I gave them to be done with the boy of Maratti and Borgia to be lined and they have kept them longer than I expected. They now only wait for a bark to Leghorn, which, I hope, will soon offer. The Miltons are almost terminated and by whiles I have dead coloured the two in the Farnese, they would have been done sometime past, had Mr. Stevens (who is here still shining away) not trifled with me in getting the licence. He has kept me in suspence above a year about it, and done nothing at last. Seeing this I applyed a few sequins, which had the desired effect.

"I writ to your lordship in February last; and could not sooner as Virepoyle had not given me in his account, nor the cases sent away. Inclosed was my account and his, the which I hope your lordship has received and found satisfactory. Abbé Wilkins was with me; he says Messrs. Knox and Craghead made a difficulty in answering his draughts, saying they had no orders about them from your lordship. I had desired the abbé to make the draughts in three separate, that the sum might not be great, as Mr. Murphy used to do; he tells me that he has writ to your lordship about this affair.

"I hear from Vierpyl that Patche is a-bridge-painting at Florence for lord Huntingdon; he has never writ to me. I am of your lordship's opinion that his oddities and loose way of talking in all companies was the cause of his exile. The Goths have been in almost perfect possession this last winter, excepting lord Huntingdon, who gave some work to Virepoyle, and sir William Stanhope who employed me in several large commissions for pictures and statues; the rest, lords and commons, were etc. I was recommended to several but declined it, on account of my commissions and lameness as an excuse.

"Perhaps your lordship may be glad to know this little account, writ me from Leghorn, of Port Mahone. The French, the 15th of this, had not made any attack on the place for want of their cannon, they not having beasts with them for that purpose; and general Blakney caused all those in the island to be killed that he could not keep in the place with him. Another letter from Marseilles says the garrison in a sally killed about six hundred, and between wounded and prisoners make a thousand French; another letter from Leghorn says this distruction was by a mine. The French finding the place stronger than they expected have sent for a reinforcement."

47.—ADDERLEY to CHARLEMONT.

1756, Oct. 21st, Dublin.—"From doctor Barber's letters of the 3rd and 7th inst., by last Sunday's pacquet, we are under dismal apprehensions lest your pains should so far retard your setting out from Aix as to occasion your taking a journey in winter. I wish to be relieved from those fears and know this has been presented to you in London without its going farther. Mine in relation to Mr. Tufnell, has I find reached your lordship. At length, but not before this night, I have agreed with him for the sale of those lands which he holds under the city [of Dublin] viz.: Marino, Shehan's and Netterville's farms, but this agreement is not to take place unless it meets with your lordship's approbation. The night is so much wasted that I cannot go into particulars, but you may expect next post I shall write your lordship a long letter, therefore will in general tell you the purchase money is to be £3,400 and you have two months allowed to consider whether or not at that rate you will please to accept of those lands. I should not have troubled you before next post with a

letter, but, fearing it may so happen that Tufnell may see you in London, before my next may arrive there, for he goes in this night's pacquet, if it should be so your lordship will please, if he mentions anything of our treaty, to be quite silent until you receive mine."

48.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1757, February 12th, Dublin.—"The three pacquets which came in here yesterday favoured me with Mr. Murphy's letter of the 5th inst. reciting your lordship's commands of the 15th of last January, and which I acknowledged by the same post I received it, and since then had the honour of troubling your lordship with two more letters; one covering the gross amount of alderman Dawson's demand, and the other signifying the payment of nine hundred pounds by Mr. Verner into the bank, for which I took an accountable receipt and had it applied to the credit side of your account. If these letters have come to your hands I beg leave to refer to them, as I have kept no copy, nor any memorandum of Mr. Dawson's account. As it may be satisfactory to your lordship to know the particulars of your transactions at the bank, I called there this morning and desired the account to be drawn out, which the alderman has promised to send me next Tuesday, when it shall be transmitted to you with Mr. Verner's, which he this day promised then to let me have. Mr. Barber when I applied for his account to day, assured me it should be ready by next post; he intends I believe to forward it himself. Enclosed your lordship has Mr. Dobbin's return of the rent and arrears due out of your estates in the counties of Tyrone and Monaghan at May last and also of the remittances made to the bank, and with them is enclosed his letter wherein he wishes to have such arrears as are insolvent struck off the list; what use there can be in continuing them I cannot see, but no one excepting your lordship can order the contrary. I must, for my own justification, observe most of these debts were deemed insolvencies before I had the honour of being engaged in your lordship's affairs. As to the affair of Lisgallen which his letter mentions, it is circumstanced in the following manner: this farm was leased out for the term of three lives, and, from some information received, it is apprehended all the lives are dropped. However the lessee asserts the contrary and offers to make proof provided time was allowed him for that purpose; wherefore (without detriment to your lordship's right) I allowed him to the first instant, to clear up the doubt, and have enlarged the time for one month longer. This land Mr. Cross has been in possession of and I have little doubt that it has fallen into your hands; when it comes to be set anew it will yield a considerable rent. It had been much more pleasing if your lordship had determined with yourself about Mr. Hill's and Miss Forster's lands, which might easily have been done had you taken my letter relative to them fully into your consideration; Miss Forster's I think is not dear and should your lordship find you should have no occasion for it, I would undertake to set it so that you should be no loser; as to Mr. Hill's I think it extremely dear, but since your lordship occupies part of it (and which comes up almost to your door) from Robinson, you cannot avoid closing with Mr. Hill, particularly as you are under a necessity at the end of your lease to come into such terms as Robinson may think proper to prescribe. Your directions about these lands came in nick of time; for Miss Forster is immediately to be married to Mr. Lumm, and Mr. Hill in a short time intends for England. Enclosed your lordship has my account, the vouchers for which shall be sent by the first safe opportunity that offers; if any article requires to be

cleared up, you will be pleased to have it signified to me for that purpose and when your lordship is fully satisfied with the payments of the account be pleased to sign one of the papers and have it forwarded to me that I may bring the balance into your general account, when your agents settle with me. There are several very considerable articles which are not included in this account which amount to a large sum and which must shortly be paid. These I will mention in my next, as I do not exactly know the particular sum which is to be annexed to each article. I am impatient to know what progress your uncle Arthur has made; there cannot certainly be any difficulty in getting the money your lordship requires upon such an undoubted, ample security; in this kingdom I believe so good a one could not be found. Mr. Murphy, by your desire he says, would have me signify by what scheme the expences of house-keeping here may be lessened; there is one, which I submit to your lordship, by which the whole may be absolutely cut off, that is by sending for Miss Caulfeild,[1] who would think herself very happy in being with your lordship. One objection to this I am aware of, the confinement which it must necessarily occasion to her, but I know her attachments to you are such that she would not consider it in any other light than a happiness and comfort to be with you. I have not had time since the receipt of Mr. Murphy's letter to look through my papers for the payments made for him and charged to your lordship. I will endeavour by next post to prepare the account for him which as well as I recollect amounts to about £600, exclusive of what I have paid in the account now furnished. I gave your lordship the account (which you put into a pocket-book) in order to settle with Mr. Murphy. The balsam of Mecca I will forward as soon as possible. The letter directed to Mr. Caulfeild I shall enclose to him by this post."

49.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1757, June 11th, Dublin.—"I have been detained here ten days longer than I expected by Mr. Verner's absence from town; to-morrow he must be here, and I shall settle some matters with him the day following, and then shall proceed on my southern journey. My stay in Munster will not be longer than to the 25th inst.; except the election of a burgess should come on, in which case it may be eight days longer, but there is not any probability that the vacancy will be filled up before Michaelmas, so that I hope to have the happiness of waiting on you very soon. After much trouble with Mr. Roberts, at last he thought proper to deliver me your settlement. I shall forward it to your lordship by Mr. Peters, who expects to sail next week, lest there should be occasion to look into it before my going over. I shall have two or three cases drawn up in order to have them put into proper hands for your raising the money you may have occasion for. Mr La Touche has promised me that he will do his utmost to oblige you and has wrote to his correspondent by this post to lay himself out to have the money raised. I have spoke to another gentleman, so that I think the matter must soon be effected, and I wish it, perhaps as much as you, that these Dawsons may reap no more advantages. The young one has spoke to me about it since I came home; the old has not. I suppose you know Edgar, the gardener, has gone from Marino and by Peters' account has left all things in great disorder. One Keatly has offered his service, he can be extremely well recommended by sir Arthur Gore,

[1] Alicia Caulfeild, sister of lord Charlemont.

councillor Forster and many more gentlemen; it will be worth while certainly to try him. If he answers the accounts given of him, Marino will flourish and you will save at least fourscore pounds a year. I am confident that place cannot be in worse hands than it is at present. It grieves me to see so little done for such a sum of money. I hope your lordship will be cautious about Peters; he likely will endeavour to get some money. If that be his errand, he ought to be discouraged. Stamers, before any work is proceeded on in the house, is to make an estimate of the expence, to be laid before your lordship. I think finishing it in the former manner cannot come to any great matter, but nothing is to be done till you approve. I have some people at work with Philips about a longer term, but I fear he cannot by settlement make a longer lease than 99 years, but that term he may keep full during his life. . Doctor Browne made me a present which he got from colonel Bagshaw of a dozen seeds of the East India red-flower tree, which is the beautifullest flowering shrub in that part of the world; I shall compliment Marino with them. This day the chancellor pronounced his decree in the cause of Tennison and doctor Delany;[1] and I am sorry to say the poor doctor has been utterly defeated; if he is not redressed by his appeal to the lords he is absolutely undone. I had curiosity to go to court, but I often wished myself out of it, for it pained me to hear my valued friend treated with such indecency."

50.—Giovanni-Battista Piranesi, Rome, to Charlemont.

"My Lord,—Invio a vostra grandezza le quattro dediche che sono alla testa de' 4 volumi della mia opera delle Antichità Romane, e la supplico nel tempo stesso de voler leggere sino al fine i giusti lamenti degli oltraggi che per sua causa ho ricevuti pubblicamente da' suoi agenti in Roma. E proprio delle anime nobili, e degli spiriti elevati sul vulgo il porgere le orecchie attente alla verità e il non offendersene da qualunque parte ella venga. Ho dunque ragione di sperare, my lord, che vostra grandezza non si formalizzerà punto della libertà che me prendo di domandarle giustizia contro di un'uomo benchè onorato della di lei confidenza. Se ella non mi avesse assicurato della sua protezione, se avessi poca cognizione del carattere delle persone dalle quali sono stato oltraggiato, potrei con qualche fondamento pensare, ch' elleno in qualche parte almeno fossero state autorizzate a trattarmi nella maniera che hanno fatto; giacchè non avendo v. g. data veruna risposta alla lettera ch'ebbi l'onore di scriverle, e avendomi comunicati i suoi sentimenti per il canale del Sr. Parker, mi pare, che questo fosse un farmi intendere, che tutto ciò che veniva da lui, dovesse credersi venire da v. g. Nondimeno io le protesto, che son piucchè persuaso della nobiltà del de lei animo, e della generosità del suo cuore, per non immaginarmi, che ricevendo ella de' pubblici contrassegni della mia divozione, volesse farsi, non mio protettore, ma mio padrone, e tenermi non per cliente, ma per ischiavo. L'assuefazione in cui sono di esaminare i residui della grandezza Romana, e di ricercare nei libri di quei fieri repubblicani i loro usi, costumi, e spirito mi ha data questa nobile idea della libertà che conviene ad ogni uomo d'onore, e della quale la vostra nazione, my lord, è sempre stata tanto gelosa: cosichè crederei di non meritare la protezione di v. g. e di rendermi vile

[1] In relation to the estate of Margaret Tenison, Delany's first wife, who died in 1741. The decision against Delany, in the court of chancery in Ireland, was reversed by the house of lords in England.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

à suoi occhi se continuassi a dimostrarmi insensibile alle ingiurie che mi si fanno, e incapace di farne risentimento; perchè son certo, my lord, che voi non accettereste una dedica pubblica da un' uomo, qualora lo credeste disprezzabile; ed io altresì mi terrei per il più vile degli uomini, se, nato libero, mi eleggesi un protettore, il quale me credesse indegno della sua stima, e mi accordasse la sua benevolenza, senza però credere che io la meritassi.

"Sulla riputazione che v. g. si era acquistata, e sulla fama de' generosi stabilimenti ch' ella volea fare in Roma per l'incoraggimento degl' ingegni dediti alle belle arti, fui consigliato di dedicarle l'opera che intraprendevo. Ne parlai al sr. Parker, il quale aveva l'onore d'esserle cognito, ed aspettai più d'un anno senza poterne ottenere una positiva risposta. Ebbi finalmente l'onore di andare a far la corte a v. g., e nonposso troppo gloriarmi delle riprove di buona volontà, e delle sicurezze di protezione ch' ella ebbe la bontà di darmi. La prego di ricordarsi adesso, eh' ella mi permesse allora, ed inoltre mi assegnò il giorno di presentarle i disegni da me destinati a contener l'epigrafe del mio libro. Mi feci particolar pensiero di ritornare nell'ora da lei preserittami; ma non mi fu permesso l'ingresso in sua casa, ed il sr. Parker me ne chiuse talmente la porta, che per tutto il tempo eh' ella è stata in Roma, io mi ci son presentato quasi ogni giorno e a tutte l'ore senza poter mai aver la fortuna di vederla. Veniste in mia casa, my lord, ma siccome vi veniste accompagnato, non ebbi la indiscretezza di lagnarmi con voi all' altrui presenza de' continui rifiuti de' quali non potevate esser l'autore, poichè, se non mi aveste creduto degno di comparirvi innanzi, molto meno mi avreste fatto degno delle vostre visite. Intanto ebbi il rammarico di vedervi partire senza poter'essere informato delle vostre intenzioni, senza poter ricevere i vostri ordini, e infine senza sapere a qual partito appigliarmi. Frattanto Parker m'aveva indotto a consegnargli i miei disegni sotto pretesto di mostrarli a v. g., dalla quale ei mi supponeva avere avuto il comando di chiedermeli, ma senza dubbio per tenermi lontano da lei. Tuttavolta vedendo, che anche dopo la sua partenza io non aveva nuova di lei, nè de' miei desegni, me ne andai da Parker il quale non si degno' farmi motto nè delle carte da me consegnategli senza dirmi niente da parte di v. g., e senza parlarmi della lettera che io aveva avuto l'onore di scriverle, mi disse, che eredeva di potermi consegnare dugento scudi in di lei nome, con fargliene la ricevuta, ma che non voleva fidarmene che cento alla volta, perchè temeva, che secundo il solito degl' Italiani, io non mantenessi la promessa fatta a v. g. Eccomi pertanto trattato come persona sospetta, e confuso fralla folla de' briceoni che possono darsi per l'Italia, da un'uomo che mi assicurarono poco prima doversi da me considerare come colui che mi riferisce le intenzioni di v. g. medesima. Uomo veramente malnato, che crede consistere il vantaggio del suo signore nel garantirgli un vile interesse, senza pensare al grande stregio che ei fa alla di lui generosità, per cui si distinguono l'anime nobili dalle vulgari eontrappesando in tal guisa la grandezza delle vostre massime colla bassezza delle sue, e facendo quindi risaltare il suo merito appresso di voi. Ma a qual proposito rieevo io un tal trattamento? perchè ho ritardato a pubblicar la mia opera. Ma questo r tardo, my lord, nasceva dal render l'opera degna del nome sotto cui era per comparire. Quando voi erate in Roma, ella non doveva essere che un volume in foglio; ora poi è compresa in quattro, perloché viene ad essere accresciuta di tre quarti. Mi è bisognato andare ad esaminare i monumenti sulla faccia del luogo, disegnarli, far de' giri per tutta Roma, leggere ed attentamente consultare gli seritti degli storici, e tuttociò fare con delle spese, che non ho risparmiate per render perfetta un' opera, la

quale doveva aver l'onore di comparire sotto il vostro nome. La considererete, my lord, e troverete, che la sola gran tavola, ove si dimostra l'andamento degli aquedotti di Roma antica non ha richiesto da me meno di sei mesi ; imperocchè ella non si contiene soltanto nella sua specie, ma passa ad una critica dimostrativa degli abbagli, che i signori Poleni, Fabbretti, e tanti altri, con tutta la giusta loro riputazione hanno presi nel trattare delle rovine di Roma, le quali, per esser conosciute come ho creduto di farle conoscere, richiedevano altre riflessioni ed altre fatiche che quelle che si fanno nella tranquillità del cabinetto. Ecco a mio credere delle ragioni che giustificano la mia tardanza, e che senza dubbio avrebbono dovuto piuttosto conciliarmi degli applausi, che attirarmi de' rimproveri. Ed in fatti, my lord, che cosa vi piacerebbe più il far comparire un nome come il vostro alla testa di un' opera mediocre, ma terminata con prontezza, ovvero tardare un poco più di tempo per farlo comparire nel frontespizio d' un' opera considerabile, ma terminata un poco più tardi ? L'avvenire, my lord, non cercherà di sapere, se Parker era malcontento del ritardo della mia opera per qualche mese di più, ma osserverà soltanto s'ella è buona o cattiva, degna o non del nome del suo protettore, e senza far caso del tempo da me impiegato nel comporla, i critici guarderanno indubitatamente se io abbia corretto, o solamente copiato, come in tanti altri libri, le oppinioni di coloro che hanna scritto prima di me ; e finalmente per dir tutto in una parola, considereranno, se là mia opera è degna di un protettore, il quale, come voi stesso avete dettato nell' epigrafe, favorisce gl' ingegni, promuove le arti ecc. ; e ardisco anche di aggiungere, s'ella è degna della riputazione dell' autore. Sino adesso mi pare, che il sr. Parker, che doveva pesare tutti questi motivi, non avesse ragione d'insultarmi come ha fatto. Vi voglio provare, my lord, ch' egli aveva anche meno ragione di dirmi che diffidava della tenue somma da lui rimessami per parte di v.g., e che il titolo : 'Nobilissimo viro . . patritio, etc., richiedeva una distinzione del tutto particolare; fui di parere, che la cosa sarebbe diventata povera e meschina, qualora non avessi fatto tutto qualche avessi potuto immaginarmi di più ricco, per corrispondere spezialmente alla pompa singolare del le parole : 'utilitati publicae nato.' In fatti tutta la maestà dell' arte è appena capace di giungere a tale corrispondenza ; e intanto queste parole poste senza ornamento in un' opera ove tutto spira la magnificenza Romana, divenivano in certa maniera ridicole, perché sarebbe stato uno stampare su d'un foglio volante ciocchè sembrava destinato ad essere inciso sul perfido, e sul bronzo il più duro. Voi sapete meglio di me, my lord, che vi sono nelle arti delle convenienze dalle quali uno non deve dispensarsi, e che la deferenza a queste convenienze è quella che guistifica mille cose, le quali collocate fuori di li si renderebbono assurde ; e perciò ne' buoni secoli delle iscrizioni i Cesari non si davano il titolo di 'Divus,' o, come Augusto, di 'Divi Filius,' se non che nei gran monumenti, sul fregio d' un tempio, o sugli obelischi che di loro natura doveano passare alla posterità la più remota, astenendosi dall' incidere questi titoli sulle pietre comuni, o di poca durata, per non esporre, per così dire la loro divinità agli oltraggi del tempo, perchè consideravano, che tai titoli spogliati di ornamenti non servivano ad altro che a far vedere la loro che non volea darmi verun consiglio, ma che la prima cosa che io dovea fare si era di consegnargli per conto di my lord, degli esemplari dell' opera per l'entrante quantità de' 200 scudi da lui imprestatimi da sua parte. Gli risposi, che io era pronto a restituirgli piuttosto i 200 scudi da lui rimessimi, che sei esemplari della mia opera con 20 scudi per pareggio di tal conto : lochè egli ricusò d' accettare. Fu poi in questa occasione ch'ei mi ripeté, che 'my lord non avea bisogno della mia dedica', volendo con ciò inferire, che my lord la disprezza. A che

dunque laseiarmi fare una grande spesa, ed intraprendere una gran fatica sul supposto, che ciò dovess' essere di gradimento a my lord? A che avermi impedito di dedicar la mia opera ad altro suggetto? E finalmente a che farmi scrivere il titolo di 'protettore delle arti,' se, come dice adesso Parker, my lord realmentè non è portato per le arti? e lasciarmi spandere per il pubblieo una quarantina di esemplari col nome di my lord?

"Dopo qualche tempo ritornai dal sr. Parker, e gli domandai, qual giudizio ei formava della mia opera, ma ebbe l'inciviltà di rispondermi, ch' ei non l'aveva peranche aperta. Come, my lord! ei che si picca d'essere antiquario; ei, ehe senza dubbio ha la commessione da v. g. di veder questi volumi: ei, che per rispetto del di lei nome, e per rieonoseenza dovrebbe interessarsi di tutto ciò che la riguarda; non si degna nemmeno aprire i libri che le son dedicati, e una tale opera non merita neppure per alcuno di questi titoli di essere onorata d'un' ocehiata del sr. Parker! Eppure my lord Stanhope, forse gran signore quanto il sr. Parker, si è preso l'incomodo di venire egli stesso a cerearla in mia casa: lochè me fa credere, che s'ei l'avesse avuta appresso di se, le avrebbe almeno data una scorsa. Ma v'e di più, che me ne sono stati chiesti dugento esemplari per Parigi, de' quali ho sospesa la trasmissione sino alla risposta di v. g. a questa lettera, e in fine le invio l'approvazione che quest' opera ha meritato in Roma. Ella vedrà dalla maniera eon cui si esprime l'approvatore, se in effetto ella sia qui riguardata colla disattenzione sprezzante del sr. Parker. Passo sotto silenzio mille insulti di tal fatta, come sarebbe quello, che avendo io inviato, giorni sono, un' amico a casa del sr. Parker, questi ebbe la insolenza di farmi dire, ehe non voleva aver più verun commercio con esso meco; e con ciò benchè egli mi trattasse con qualche sorta d'infamia, mi fece nondimeno, senz' avvedersene, un' ottimo servizio, perchè il di lui commercio non mi-faeeva onore, ed io non potea continuarlo se non per quanto speravo di liberarmi dalla incertezza, coll' apprendere almen una volta positivamente, se my lord, era più n'e medesimi sentimenti in cui l'ho veduto, perchè avendomi detto una volta my lord, che la mia opera gli piaceva, in oggi poi il suo agente mi dice, che non gli piace più. Se la eosa è tale in effetto, io son pronto a cancellar l'epigrafe, ed il rispetto profondo che professo a v. g. mi asterrà dal far cosa che possa recarle del dispiacere. Farò di più, my lord: farò vedere al pubblieo, che siete stato voi che avete ricusata la mia opera, acciò egli non si formalizzi di vederla comparire eon altro nome. Farò per tal' effetto imprimere innanzi alla prefazione questa stessa lettera che invio a v. g., affinchè da una parte il pubblico sia informato della singolarità per cui alcuni esemplari della mia opera sieno eomparsi dedicati a my lord, e tutti gli altri dedicati a un gran principe che l'Europa riguarda come protettore delle belle arti; ed affinchè non si ereda nel tempo stesso che l'interesse mi abbia indotto a dedicar l'opera ad un' altro, come al più offerente; imperocehè il mondo è così malvaggio, my lord, che non tralascerebbe di supporre, ehe io avessi ricevuto qualche regalo considerabile da v. g., e che avessi poi la viltà di preferirle un protettore più riceo o più potente. Non dubito pereiò ch' ella non sia per farmi la giustizia ehe le domando. S'ella me la nega, le ehiedo la permissione di appellarne ai miei eontemporanei, e all' avvenire, ch' è il giudice naturale della riputazione degli uomini. Dieo, my lord, ehe ne appellerò all' avvenire, perchè ardisco credere come Orazio, di aver finita un' opera, ehe passerà alla posterità, e che durerà sino a tanto che vi saranno de' curiosi di conoseere cioechè rimaneva nel nostro secolo delle rovine delle più famosa città dell' universo; perchè, come dovete eonsiderare, quest' opera non è del genere di quelle che si confondono nella folla de' libri di una biblioteca; ma che è composta di quattro voluni in foglio:

che abbraccia un sistema nuovo su i monumenti dell' antica Roma : che sarà depositata in tutte le pubbliche biblioteche : che la invio a tutt' i sovrani dell' Europa : che ne faccio regalo alle accademie delle belle arti di Parigi, di Berlino, di Pietroburgo ecc. ;—cosicchè mi pare di poter ragionevolmente sperare, che il nome dell' autore passerà alla posterità colla sua opera ; e siccome la giustizia che vi domando, diventerà un' anecdoto considerabile per quest' opera, facendo imprimere questa lettera per istruzione de' miei lettori, e per mia giustificazione ; son perciò risoluto di depositarne l'originale manuscritto a lato della lettera stampata, nell' esemplare da me destinato per la biblioteca Vaticana, perchè non credo di poter render la mia giustificazione bastantemente autentica, e v. g. medesima ne sente la ragione al pari di me. In fatti non è ella cosa molto dispiacevole, my lord, che dopo avere impiegati i miei pensieri, il mio talento, le mie fatiche, ed anche la mia borsa : dopo essermi affaticato per lo spazio d'otto anni di seguito per render l'opera degna di voi, abbia io poi il dispiacere di vedermi, rimproverato, affrontato, e oltraggiato da un' uomo che per attaccarmi più fortemente si riveste, per così dire, del credito ch' egli ha presso la vostra grandezza ? Ma la cosa non finisce qui, my lord ; gli affronti si son resi pubblici, e tutt' i miei amici, tutti gli amatori delle arti, tutta Roma si lagnava per me nel tempo che io, per riguardo di vostra grandezza mi sforzava di sepellir nell' oblio le male azioni del vostro agente. La violenza usatami scuopre finalmente inoggi ciocchè ho sempre cercato di tener celato ; e tanti artisti, i quali senza saputa certamente di v.g., sono stati tenuti lontani dalla di lei porta : quegli, a'quali son rimaste in mano delle opere espressamente loro commesse : ed altri, ai quali nel ricevere i loro lavori, è stata risecata una parte della mercede convenuta prima d'intraprenderli, com' è accaduto all' ebanista che fece il modello della porta Falconieri, già inviato a v. g. dopo chè il vostro agente, il quale gli aveva accordato sei zecchini, ebbe poi la viltà di risecargli uno scudo e mezzo. Potrei qui aggiungere anche tutti gl' Inghilesi che ritraevano un gran vantaggio dall' accademia che v. g. manteneva in Roma, e che accusano Parker di essere stato l'autore de' torbidi che l'han fatta decadere. Le circostanze della sua decadenza, e quelle che la precederono, le voci ingiuriose fralle quali si sentiva anche il vostro nome, my lord ; ed il non essersi voluto pagare il maestro Franzese, e la donna, a cui v. g. avea promessa una certa ricompensa : le quali cose non sono verisimilmente giunte alla vostra cognizione per la lontananza de' luoghi, la quale v'impedisce il risapere tutte le infamie commesse per questa causa. Tutto questo numero di artisti, dico, è quello che si lamenta, e che mi objetta inoggi gli affronti da me sofferti. Io ho un bel dir loro, che v.g. se ne sdegnerebbe se li risapesse, ma se la ridono, perchè sono interessati a non credermi. È dunque tempo che io pensi a salvare il mio onore. Intanto, se sarò costretto a cassare l'epigrafi che adesso esistono, vi prego a considerare, my lord, che io non faccio alcun torto al nome de' vostri antenati, ma che questa è una riparazione dovuta al mio ; perchè non voglio, che scrivendosi la mia vita fra quelle de' professori, mi abbiano ad accusare nell' avvenire, ed abbia ad esser rimproverato ai miei figli, che il loro padre era un' adulatore, il quale non era stimato in segreto neppur dalle persone ch'egli con somma prodigalità di lodi pubblicamente celebrava. Cosicchè, se v. g. non mi scioglie la lingua, se non mi rende giustizia, se non mi protegge in effetto dalla calunnia divulgata contro di me coll'essere io stato forse rappresentato ai suoi occhi come uomo che non meriti ch' ella ne faccia caso : egli è certo, my lord, che io non posso nè da uomo d'onore, nè in coscienza, nè senza rendermi oggetto di derisione appresso il pubblico, chiamarir il protettore delle arti, e dirmi il vostro protetto ;

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

e se l'ho detto in una quarantina di esemplari già pubblicati, sono nella dolorosa necessità di accusare la mia melensaggine, e di giustificarmi col mondo, per chè, come vi prego a riflettere, se un gran signore deve avere a cuore il nome de suoi antenati, un professore che lascia il suo nome dopo dise deve aver a cuore la riputazione sua, e de' suoi discendenti. Un gran signore è per il tempo presente l'ultimo del suo nome, un professore ne è il primo; e l'uno e l'altro debbono avere la medesima delicatezza. Se questa letterasarà mai pubblicata (lochè farò col maggior rincrescimento che mai del mondo) supplico coloro che la leggeranno, i posteri, e voi ancora, my lord, a non credere, che io manchi al rispetto profondo da me dovuto alla vostra grandezza, protestandomi, che io qui non intendo di uguagliar nome con nome, ma soltanto riputazione con riputazione: oggetto che dev' essere ugualmente prezioso a tutti gli uomini di qualunque condizione essi sieno, e che debbesi molto più avere a cuore, allorchè il nome è più recente, e che nè una lunga discendenza di avoli, nè i piu illustri titoli nè le ricchezze possono riparare la nostra riputazione quando è perduta.

" Dopo avervi raccontate cose, che io son pronto aprovarir con testimoni ardisco di azzardare una congettura di cui voi giudicherete meglio di ogni altro. Non dubito di non essere stato dipinto a v.g. per un' uomo singolare, e su cui ella non dovea fare alcun conto. Quelche me lo fa credere si è, che quando voi ordinaste al sr. Parker d'inviarvi il disegno d'una porta che volevate far eseguire, mi pare, che conoscendo egli la mia divozione verso la v. g., poteva darne la commessione a me che sono architetto. Ma il sr. Parker, all' incontro, stimò bene di eleggere uno de' più ignoranti disegnatori che sieno in Roma, incapace sino di fare una cosa cotanto semplice; vanità, invece di rappresentare la loro grandezza. Secondo questo principio adunque ho creduto di dovermi regolare, e mi sono immaginato di non poter far cosa così magnifica, non dico, che accompagni, ma che semplicemente si accosti alle parole: 'utilitati publicae nato.' Io dispenso Parker dal non aver considerate queste convenienze, ma non conveniva a me il tralasciarle. Così, my lord, questa sorta d'iscrizione mi ha indotto ad aggiùngnere ne' miei libri quattro frontespizii di più, e per salvarmi da questa novità, mi sono industriato di riunirir i principali monumenti de' Romani, affine di renderli vie più degni di conciliarsi l'attenzione pubblica, e di far concedere il superfino e l'inutile all' aggradevole e al singolare. Ma egli è però certo, my lord, che io non mi sarei messo a fare un solo di questi frontespizii per 300 scudi Romani, perche ognun sa che un foglio ordinario delle mie vedute di Roma si paga due Paoli e mezzo, e siccome io soglio tirarne almeno 4000 esemplari, ciascuna di esse dunque mi rende 10,000 Paoli, che sono mille scudi Romani; nè però è comparabile co' frontespizii di cui si tratta, che da voi saranno trovati molto più ricchi; cosicchè io sarò molto moderato nell' ideare il prezzo di ciascun di essi in 300 scudi. Ecco dunque di sola incisione di questi quattro frontespizii almeno 1200 scudi Romani, non compresi nel prezzo del' opera, e sacrificati al riguarda di v. g. nel tempo che il di lei agente non si arrischiava di confidarmene 200. Equando, per cumolo di contradizione, il Papa oggi felicemente regnante, sulla mia sola riputazione, e per incoraggirmi nella prosecuzione di questa opera, mi faceva la grazia di 1200 scudi Romani coll' affrancarmi il dritto della introduzione di 200 balle di carta, che pagano sei scudi per ciascuna alla dogana, non ella cosa singolare, che nello stesso tempo, che un sovrano, a cui io non dedico la mia opera, mi fa nondimeno un dono considerabile per incoraggirmi a finirla; all' incontro un pittore, come Parker, non ardisca confidarmi la sesta parte della spesa da me fatta? Ma v'è di più, perchè se vi aggiungete, mylord, il costo di 16,000 fogli di carta, che i quattro

frontespizii in 4000 esemplari di quattro volumi mi obbligano a mettervi di più; ciascuno di tali fogli costandomi 4 bajocchi, fanno per me una spesa nuova di 640 scudi Romani. Ecco dunque, my lord, una spesa di 1200 scudi da una parte, e di 640 dall' altra, che ho ardito di fare in attestato della mia divozione a v.g., senza sapere se fossi per esser rimborsato di una somma così considerabile, e nel tempo stesso in cui Parker mi dava tutt' i motivi di dubitarne. Se io mi fossi mai potuto indurre a confondere la maniera di pensare di my lord con quella di Parker, che intanto non ardiva di confidarmi su i danari di my lord la decimottava parte della spesa fatta per my lord medesimo, e ch' ei mi trattasse come un' uomo capace d'ingannare; sta a v.g. il giudicare, chi la faceva comparire in azione più nobile, se io, o il suo agentè. Se io, che ardivo di fare 1840 scudi di spesa per collocare decentemente il suo nome: o se Parker, che le attribuiva la circospezione che non avrebbe avuta un banchiere per imprestare la somma di dugento scudi a me, che in Roma ne troverei diecimila qualora ne avessi bisogno, e senza incontrare l'incivile complimento che il sr. Parker ha giudicato a proposito di farmi. Chiedo umilissimamente perdono a v.g. de' detagli che son costretto di farle, protestandole che non glieli avvei giammai avanzati, se ciocchè ora sta per leggere di più atroce ancora delsinquì raccontatole, non mi forzava a sfogare un risentimento che trattenuto per troppo tempo, non poteva essere ulteriormente taciuto, e che per esser troppo giusto non può fare a meno di esser da lei approvato. La supplico inoltre a farmi la giustizia di credere, che se ho fatto entrar qui questi conti di spesa, ciò non è stato certamente per ostentazione del mio zelo, nè per adulazione, speranza di eccitare la di lei generosità. Sono così lontano dall' avere alcuno di questi sentimenti, che invece dipensare a tale spesa, la mia arte mi ha reso assai comodo, e la mia inclinazione mi solleva bastantemente sopra l'attacco al danaro, per esser capace di fare una spesa tre volte maggiore della già fatta, per mettermi al coperto dai malvaggi trattamenti che ho ricevuti sino alpresente. Così vi prego, my lord, a scordarvi dell' essere io entrato in questa spesa, e a ricordarvi soltanto della protezione che mi avete promessa e degli insulti che per essa mi sono stati fatti. La perdita del tempo e delle fatiche me darà piacere, ma non posso sopportar quella della mia onoratezza.

"Appena erano uscite le prime prove della mia opera di sotto il torchio, che io ne portai due esemplari al sr. Parker, e gli domandai come dovevo contenermi in quanto a v.g.: quanti esemplari dovevo inviarlene. Gli dissi ancora, che ne avevo dati a legare due in marocchino, e che facevo incidere le di lei armi per imprimerle sulle coperte. Che poteva io far mai di più per rendermi benevolo un uomo, il quale fosse stato attaccato in ciò che vi riguarda, dopo essermi rimesso al suo sentimento? Nulladimeno il sr. Parker mi rispose, nè delle intenzioni di mylord, ch' erano già due mesi dacchè era partito. Quest' oblio è un disprezzo molto sensibilè per un professore che ha qualche riputazione, e che certamente avea ragione di aspettarsi un' altro trattamento. Fui finalmente costretto a sollecitare la restituzione de' miei disegni, i quali mi furono in effetto resi dopo essere stati da quattro mesi in mano del sr. Parker. Con essi ei mi diede anche la iscrizione, chè mi disse essere stata composta da my lord medesimo, e ch' è la stessa ch' ella troverà qui. Tutto ciò fu fatto dal sr. Parker con una freddezza più insultante che l'oblio il quale l'avea preceduta; e ardisco dire ch' ei mi ordinò di eseguir questa epigrafe, come se avesse comandato al suo lacchè di servirlo d'un bicchier d'acqua. Tutto ciò dovea fin d' allora farmi credere che il mio progetto v'era indifferente, my lord; ed ebbi ragione di confermarmi in questa idea, allor chè veddi passare due anni interi senzachè il vostro agente si degnasse neppure informarsi dello stato in cui era l'opera. Intanto un

gran signore mi fece proporre di dedicargli la stessa opera; e mi avanzo a dire, che le di lui offerte avrebbono forse fatta impressione su qualcun, altro meno schiavo che me di sua parola. Tuttavia un' amico a cui ebbi occasione di parlarne, mi consigliò a cercare una via di scuoprire, se la condotta dell' agente di v.g. veniva realmente dalla di lei indifferenza, o dalla poca attenzione di Parker in ciò che la riguarda. Quindi m'indussi a domandarle dugento scudi, considerando fra me, che questa domanda me avrebbe proccurata una risposta da chiarirmi, quale io avrei molto più stimata degli stessi dugento scudi, de' quali realmente non avevo verun bisogno, e nettampoco mi son servito. E che ciò sia vero, my lord; sono stato dal banchiere di v. g. per consegnargli questo danaro nelle stesse cedole già datemi dal sr. Parker, e contrassegnate a tergo dal medesimo col suo nome; e giacchè il banchiere ha ricusato di riceverlo, supplico la v. g. a disporne, e a farmi restituire le ricevute che me ne furono richieste.

"Mentre la mia lettera era in cammino per l'Inghilterra, venne a caso in casa mia il signore Andrea, amico e confidente di Parker. Credetti per convenienza di dover discovrire della lettera scritta da me a v.g., con un' uomo che si lusingava di perfettamente conoscere le di lei intenzioni. Su di che mi rimproverò di esserni indirizzato a v.g., piuttosto che a Parker. Mi credetti in obbligo di rispondergli, che avendo inteso dal grido pubblico di tutta Roma, che il suo amico avea ricusato di pagare i busti di marmo biancho ordinati da my lord allo scultor Maini, comeppure di pagare da qualche tempo inpoi la pensione di due paoli il giorno assegnati dalla generosità di v.g. al maestro di lingua ch' ella avea preso in Roma, benchè quest' uomo si lagnasse altramente di simil trattamento, e si ritrovasse in una extrema necessità, la quale giunse ad eccitare la compassione e la generosità del signore Oudny: tutto ciò, gli dissi, mi dava da dubitare, che quando io avessi impiegato un tempo considerabile infar le tavole delle mie dediche, il sr. Parker, non mi avesse poi trattato, come avea fatto recentemente colle predette persone. Soggiunsi inoltre, che siccome io non lavorava per il sr. Parker, ma per mylord Charlemont, mi sembrava perciò ragionevole di dovermi regolare piuttosto secondo le intenzioni di mylord, che le relazioni, e i pareri del sr. Parker. Non ostanti tutte le mie ragioni fui biasimato d'avere scritto a v.g., come se avessi mancato al rispetto dovutole. Se così è, mylord, ve ne chiedo mille volte perdono, giurandovi in verità che io era affatto ignorante del ceremoniale moderno su questo punto; anzichè io mi supponeva (veramente con troppa presunzione) che avendo Orazio scritte delle lettere ad Augusto, Catullo a Cesare, l'architetto Apollodoro agl' imperadori Trajano e Adriano, ed avendone ricevute delle risposte, come pure il primaticcio al re Francesco primo; mi supponeva, dico, sulla fede di questi esempli ingannevoli, giacchè io lavorava per my lord, di potermi prendere la libertà di scrivergli, e di non mancare perciò al mio dovere, e di aspettarne risposta. Allora mi fu fatta la positiva predizione, che mylord non mi avrebbe risposto altrimenti, e che mi avrebbe fatto sapere le sue intenzioni per il sr. Parker. Fui inoltre avvertito di rimettermi in tutto alle di lui disposizioni, come disposizioni dello stesso mylord. Riferisco i precisi suoi termini. Fui perciò obbligato d'inviare una copia della mia lettera al sr. Parker, che allora era in Napoli. Bisogna senz' altro, che' ei mi giudicasse indegno di una risposta di sua parte perchè non me ne diede veruna. Eppure non mi pare che il rango di un pittore come il sr. Parker sia tanto più alto di quello di un' architetto come Piranesi, perchè possa ammettersi una si fatta distinzione fra l'uno e l'altro; anzi credo, my lord, che il nome dell' architetto sia più cognito di quel del pittore; giacchè mi sono stati richiesti più di duemila esemplari delle mie opere per le sole parti d'Ale-

magna, di Danimarca, di Svezia, e di Russia. Al ritorno del sr. Parker fui a fargli la corte, e allora fu che mi disse di aver ricevute lettere di my lord ; e quindi senza motivarmi alcuna cosa di mio riguardo e ciò affine di aver le cose al più basso prezzo possibile, comecchè v.g. andasse cercando il buon mercato, e non la perfezione di esse. In quanto a me, mylord, mi sarei più consolato di rendervi questo picciolo servizio, che di tutto il danaro che me aveste potuto offerire, e che non avrei mai accettato. Ma che cosa è avvenuta da ciò ? il disegno non ha trovato in Irlanda chi lo intenda; e quando v.g. lo rimandò a Roma, il di lei agente venne da me, e mi disse, che nel di lei paese non era stato inteso, perchè gl' Irlandesi son barbari: il disegno per altro era barbaro, non gl' Irlandesi, perchè l'assicuro, che a Roma non s'intendeva piucchè in Irlanda. Mi presi la libertà difarne vedere e considerare tutt' i difetti al sr. Parker, e s'egli è uomo sincero, confesserà a v.g., che fu costretto a venire nel mio sentimento. Ciò sembra autorizzarmi a pensare che sino ad ora vi sia stata data una cattiva idea o della mia condotta, o del mio talento ; perchè se la cosa fosse altrimente, mi pare che Parker avrebbe avuto ordine d'indirizzarsi a me per preferenza. In quanto alla mia condotta posso sfidar chicchessia a convincermi del minimo defetto. Per quelche riguarda poi il mio talento, tocca al pubblico di giudicarne, e voi potete consultarlo, my lord, perchè, nè il mio nome nè le mie opere sono incognite in Inghilterra. Avrei mille cose da aggiungere, ma il rincrescimento di ripetere delle istorie tante nojose mi fa cader la penna di mano; non mi rimane altro che a chieder perdona a v. g. dell' aver si spesso mescolato il di lei nome con quello di Parker, supplicandola ad inviarmi la sua risposta diretta a me, perchè da qui innanzi la mia porta è assolutamente chiusa per il sr. Parker, avendo io cessato per sempre di riconoscerlo per vostro agente, perchè lo credo indegno di esserlo ed essendo risoluto di non più rivederlo per qualsivoglia ragione, e nettampoco per ricevere le di lui scuse, qualunque persona che verrà in casà mia in nome di v. g., alla riserva di Parker, vi sarà da me ricevuta con tutto il rispetto che le professo ; e credo ch' ella non potrà in ciò biasimarmi. Attendo i vostri comandi, my lord, e vi supplico di credere, che non vi è chi vi porti maggiore e più sincera venerazione di me, che sono di vostra grandezza, my lord, umilissimo, divotissimo ed obbedientissimo servitore."

50A.—Piranesi's Description of Title-pages engraved by him for Lord Charlemont.

" La prima tavola rappresenta una lapide scoperta fra le rovine, sulla quale si legge la iscrizione [1] che porta il nome, al qual' è consacrata l'opera, e indica il di lei contenuto. Su i trofei, che accompagnano questa iscrizione l'autore ha collocate in uno scudo le armi della casa di Charlemont per dimostrarne insieme e l'antichità ed il lustro. Gli ornamenti poi che riempiono il resto della tavola sono allusivi al soggetto de' 4 volumi.

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[1] This inscription was as follows :—" Nobilissimo viro, utilitati publicae nato Jacobo Caulfeild, vicecomiti de Charlemont regni Hiberniae patricio quod Romae dum degeret ingeniis favebat, artes promovebat, Joannes Baptista Piranesius, architectus Venetus, antiquorum Romae aedificiorum vestigia prout supersunt topographice disposita veteribus urbis ichnographiae fragmentis et pluribus tum ipsorum aedificiorum cum aliorum quae desiderantur supplementis et additionibus illustrata monumenta sepulcralia antiqua Romae Romanumque per agrum sparsa et antiquos urbis pontes omnia aeri manu sua incisa lubens devotusque dedicavit."

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" La seconda tavola rappresenta la via Appia al secondo miglio, la quale inoggi resta dov' è la chiesa 'Domine, quo vadis.' L'iscrizione dinota il bivio antico, formato dalle vie Appia e Ardeatina. Egli è stato rappresentato adorno di monumenti e di sepolcri, e vi è stata riunita la magnificenza che Cicerone riferisce aver regnata particolarmente in questa contrado, la quale riguardava l'ingresso il più cospicuo della città. Il principal monumento di cui peranco rimangono le rovine, è la tomba degli Scipioni, sulla iscrizione della quale si è posto il nome di mylord, di cui è stato imitato il busto sotto la figura di un Meleagro collocato sul sepolcro di Tullia, figliuola di Cicerone. E stato poi preso l'attributo di un Meleagro per alludere ai dragoni che sostengono le armi di mylord; e coll' aversiposto il suo nome sulla tomba degli Scipioni, i più saggi de' Romani, e che si facevano il merito di esser coltivatori delle arti (attribuendosi all' ultimo cognominato l'Affricano d'esssere stato l'autore delle commedie di Terenzio, e di aver composte con Lelio, suo amico, le prime satire che si vedessero in Roma) si è inteso esprimere il medesimo carattere nella persona di mylord, notato nella prima epigrafe. Coll' aversi poi messo il di lui nome e busto sul sepolcro della figlia dilettissima del più grande oratore dell' antica Roma, si è inteso di esprimere la eloquenza necessaria a un magnate del regno, la quale inoggi non è coltivata che in Inghilterra, ov' ella ha luogo negli affari di stato, come ve lo aveva al tempo di Cicerone.

" La terza tavola rappresenta il circo di Antonino Caracalla, vicino alla via Appia, il fondo del quale ne lascia vedere quella parte ov' era situato l'Ustrino etc. E stato scelto questo soggetto in preferenza di ogni altro, come sarebbe stato l'eleggere la veduta del campidoglio etc., per alludere alle famose corse de' cavalli, le quali si praticano in Inghilterra e che pajono fatte sull' esémplo di quelle usate dagli antichi ne' loro circhi. Ed è stato messo il nome di mylord su di una colonna rostrale per designar la gloria marittima della nazione Inghlese.

" La quarta tavola representa un ponte decorato, che si finge sopra un fiume vicino al mare, e che potrebbe servire per un luogo soggetto al flusso e riflusso. E stata collocata l'iscrizione di mylord sul fregio all' usanza degli antichi. Si è stimato bene di non ripetere la medesima forma d'epigrafe in ciascun frontespizio per evitare ogni affettazione, cercando di far parlare piuttosto il soggetto medesimo, e di supplire in tal guisa a ciò che non si è espresso con una iscrizione formale.

" Confido che questa maniera di fare non sarà per dispiacervi, mylord. Se me fosse stato permesso il consultare il vostro gusto, avrei fatto senza dubbio qualche cosa di meglio. Ma in mancanza di questo merito, avrò sempre quello d'aver fatto il possibile per rendere a v.g. gradita la mia opera, la quale se piacerà al pubblico, potrò dire con Orazio: 'Si placeo, tuum est.' "

51.—Abbé Peter Grant, Rome, to Charlemont, 1758.

1758, the 1st April, Rome.—" 'Tis now the space of two months since I thought I should have long before now been obliged to trouble your lordship with a letter, in order to apprise you of Piranesi's proceedings and punishment. But as matters were not brought to any kind of conclusion, till a few days ago, I judged proper to say nothing of the affair till I should be able to acquaint you of the result of the whole. Your lordship must know, then, that notwithstanding the formal precept that was intimated to him in June last by the government here, never to dare to publish any thing either in writing or print, wherein anything that could reflect on your lordship might be mentioned, and particularly that the scandalous

letter he had wrote to me, after I had communicated to him, with all the smoothness and coolness of temper imaginable, your sentiments with regard to his dedication to your lordship, which he had threatened to publish, should never appear in print, under the most rigorous and severe penalties of galleys; and notwithstanding the said precept was registred in the books of the office of the government by a notary publick, yet the fellow had the boldness and audaciousness, in the begining of February last, not only to publish the two letters he had formerly sent printed to your lordship, and that most scurrilous one to me, but moreover was so mad as to publish at the same time, several most satirical prints, wherein your lordship's coat of arms was represented shattered, and broke to pieces, and all these he bound up in a small volume, and sent copies of it over all the town, particularly to all the cardinals, monsignors, and artists in this city. The plates in all are ten in number, and as Mr. Parker by this occasion gives a long and particular account of them to Mr. Murphy, I shall forbear saying anything further about them. As soon as this scandalous libel appeared, Mr. Parker and I waited instantly upon monsignor Cenci, and his advice to us was, to have a long account of the whole drawn up by a lawyer, and to present it to the governor, monsignor Caprara, who would not fail to do your lordship, and every body else injured, justice. What was thus advised was immediatly executed, a clever lawyer was employed, a relation of the whole was made, and presented to the governor, and by Cenci to the secretary of state. The governor and his luogotenente, one Cherubini, were entirely on your lordship's side of the question, and immediately issued out an order for having the fellow seized, and imprisoned. But, as the villain had long premeditated what he had done, he had accordingly taken his measures in order to prevent the execution of justice against him, and had procured, by some interest or other, the protection of three cardinals, by virtue of which no sbirro dared to lay hands on him. The cardinals who had thus granted him their patents of protection were Corsini, Orsini, and Alexander Albano. These he had all gained by presents of his works, made to themselves and their dependents. However, the governor and Cherubini waited on all these eminences, and, by all they could do, never were able to prevail upon them to withdraw their protections. Monsignor Cenci was also most active and yet all that he and the two former were able to do, was to have all the plates seized, with all the letters he had printed, either relating to your lordship or to me, and as he had been so impudent as to have the said letters put in the front of his works, his bookseller was ordered, on his peril, to produce and deliver to the governor all the copies he had of them, and to tear them from the books that had been already bound. The governor was not satisfied with this, but still insisted on the fellow's being corporally punished, but was soon given to understand, that therein he was not to be gratified. However, a mezzo termino, as they call it here, was offered, and that was, that the fellow should be obliged to publish in print something by way of recantation, and honorable for those he had injured and abused. There were fifty sketches of the said recantation wrote and sent to the governor, none of which he judged to be satisfactory. At last, one was sent him with notice given him, that if he was not pleased with that, he was to expect nothing further. The governor therefore, finding himself overpowered in the affair, accepted of what was thus sent him, and obliged the fellow to sign it and print it, and here your lordship has a copy of it. When the thing was brought to the push, the scoundrel struggled hard before he would sign it. He absconded for five days, and had threatened to throw himself in the river rather than make honorable mention of those he had abused, but at last was compelled to

yield. In the meanwhile that this was going on, as the whole affair made a great noise here, it came to the ears of all the heads of the high communities in this place, and they had a long address made and presented to cardinal Corsini in behalf of your lordship, in which they represented the injury that was done to your lordship, whom they attested to be one of the first peers of Ireland, and one universally beloved and adored, not only over all that kingdome but also in England. They gave in the whole a very just and true character of your lordship, and did you all the justice imaginable. They were seven who signed it, and made a national affair of it. They addressed it to Corsini, as he was the chief and most zealous stickler for Piranesi. When his eminence read it, he told them, that by the seizing of the plates, and of every thing that had appeared in print upon the whole affair, and by the printed recantation of Piranesi, that he imagined your lordship would be entirely satisfied, and that in case you was not, that you should have nothing to do but to signify to him what else you considered, and that it should, upon his honor, be granted to you with pleasure; for that he should make a point of it, of having all satisfaction done you. For my share, I thanked all your countrymen, for the zeal they so warmly professed in your lordship's behalf, and promised to acquaint your lordship of the whole. The address they made was drawn up by one versed in the law, and what that cost I payed. The whole affair cost Piranesi at least one thousand crowns, for it is inconceivable what influence regals [1] have here. For my part, as I relied on the justice of the cause, I never offered one farthing to any body, yet I know the luogotenente expects something, and I must say that he deserves some acknowledgement, for he was a good deal out of pocket by coach-hire only. He has in his custody the plates of the satirical prints, and I should surmise, that upon his giving them up, in order to be put into your lordship's possession, that something handsome might be given him, for as many changes happen here, God knows, but some time or other, they may not appear again, if proper measures to the contrary be not taken. Parker and I have been these two months in continual agitation, and perpetual running about. We are not satisfied with the recantation, because, it contains a false account of the affair betwixt your lordship and the fellow, but as everything has been seized, and as nothing else was to be had, we were obliged to acquiesce, till such a time as you should be acquainted with the whole, giving our words that we should attempt nothing further without your lordship's orders and the governor's knowledge. And, in the main, things have been brought to a better issue than I really expected, for your lordship knows mighty well that all laws and justice are executed here by underlings, or by people who have their fortune to make, and as just now we are not at great distance from a change of a padrone sopremo, and as nobody knows who may in some few months hence be his master, every body is immensely loath to disoblige any one cardinal. So that just now every one in that dignity is truely a sovereign absolute and despotic; and as the fellow Piranesi had got three to espouse his cause by the warmest impegnos imaginable, I was therefore of opinion, that so much as has been done, could hardly ever have been accomplished. You know likewise, my lord, that in this country, the common saying is, 'maggiór briccóne, maggiór fortuna,' which explains a great deal and accounts for the protections the fellow in question has and enjoys. If your lordship is not satisfied, will you be pleased to write a line to cardinal Corsini, which I shall have delivered to him, and then I am convinced,

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[1] Regáli, presents, gifts.

he will exert himself in your behalf. Monsignor Caprara, the governor, and monsignor Cenci beg to be kindly remembered to you, with an offer of their warmest and best respects. . .

"The whole expences I was at in this troublesome and disagreeable affair, amounted to 33 pauls, which Parker insisted on paying me in your lordship's name."

[Enclosure.] "The words of the precept intimated by the government to Piranesi were the following, copied from the registers of the office: —

"'Die 13 Junii 1757, pro curia et fisco contra Johannem Baptistam Piranesi, quondam Angeli, Venetum.

"'Die 13 Junii, ego, notarius publicus gubernii, de mandato almæ urbis gubernatoris, vocari feci ad officium supradictum Johannem Baptistam Piranesi, cui præsenti injunxi et feci præceptum formale de non publicando quidquam tam scriptis quam typis impressum, quod respiciat quovismodo personam, vel decus sive convenientiam excellentissimi domini milord Charlemont, absentis; sicuti etiam de non offendendo et molestando, neque factis neque verbis, abbatem Petrum Grant, et multo minus publicando tam scriptis quam typis impressum, aliquid respiciens ejusdem personam, et hæc omnia eidem supra-scripto Piranesi injunxi sub pœnis gravissimis corporalibus, etiam triremium, et aliis arbitrio illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini almæ urbis gubernatoris infligendis in casu contravenientiæ etc.; et ita, etc. Omni servata forma, etc.'

"Then the notary's name and two witnesses, who signed it, are put down. And after this, none but a madman could have done what Piranesi has since done, and the truth is that he really and truely is out of his senses."

[Enclosure.—STATEMENT by PIRANESI.]

1758, le 15 Mars, à Rome.—"L'histoire de l'affaire dont vous souhaitez, monsieur, d'être informé, est celle, dont je vais vous faire le recit avec toute la sincerité et verité, qui ne craint point la lumiere. Désque j'eus l'honneur de connoitre mylord Charlemont, je vis par moimême ce qu'on m'avoit déja dit, que parmi les belles prerogatives qui faisoient l'ornement d'un personage si grand, si noble et si illustre, il y en avoit une trés-estimable—scavoir, la connoissance de toute l'antiquité et de ce qu'il y a de plus parfait entre les beaux arts, et ce que j'estimois d'avantage, c'etoit la valide protection qu'il accordoit aux mêmes arts, et aux professeurs d'elles; et comme j'avois l'honneur d'étre de leur nombre, on me conseilla de rechercher sa protection en l'honorant autant qu'il m'étoit possible. Or, comme j'avois entre les mains un ouvrage bien gros et plein de planches avec le titre: 'Monumenta Sepulcralia Antiqua,' il me prit l'envie de le lui dedier. Je lui en communiquai ma pensée, et non seulement il l'agréa avec cette bonté et gentillesse qui font l'ornement d'un personage de sa naissance et de sa qualité, mais il m'en envoya encore par un de ses domestiques la dedicace, conçue en peu de mots, et en termes autant veritables que moderés. Une maniere si noble d'agir m'encouragea à l'honorer d'avantage; c'est pourquoi m'etant réussi, dans le tems que mon dit ouvrage étoit sous la presse, d'achever le recueil de toutes les antiquités de Rome, qui faisoient mon application depuis longtems, je pris la resolution d'augmenter l'ouvrage jusqu'à quatre gros volumes et de les dedier tous à mylord, en mettant à la tête d'un chacun autant d'inscriptions gravées en cuivre, trés

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richement ornées, et de mon invention. Avant pourtant d'y mettre la main, je me fis un devoir d'en faire part à mylord pour en avoir ses ordres ; mais, soit par mon malheur, soit par mal-entendu, sa porte me fut toujours refusée pendant tout le tems qu'il resta à Rome. Je lui fis part de ma pensée par la poste, et il eut la bonté de me faire sçavoir par son agent qu'il agréoit l'augmentation de l'ouvrage et que, la premiere inscription n'étant plus à propos, je pouvois la remplacer par l'autre qu'il m'envoyoit, qui me fut en effet remise par le dit agent, et qui étoit conçue avec la meme brièveté et moderation. Je m'empressai alors de faire l'impression de l'ouvrage, et j'en debitai plusieurs exemplaires en et hors d'Italie sous le nom de milord Charlemont, aprés pourtant avoir accompli tous les actes de respect et de reconnoissance que je lui devois, ayant apporté à son agent deux corps de l'ouvrage avec l'offerte d'en consigner autant que mylord en auroit souhaité. En attendant, survinrent divers incidens, dont le récit seroit autant inutile qu'ennuyeux ; il vous suffira, monsieur, de sçavoir qu'ils donnerent occasion au dit agent de me dire que mylord ne vouloit plus ma dedicace. Je fis sur le champ et de cela et des autres circonstances correlatives une trés-humble remonstrance à mylord, par la poste ; et comme cette lettre resta sans response, je lui en écrivis une seconde, qui eut le meme malheur. Ayant alors reflechi qu'un seigneur du rang de mylord auroit pu raisonnablement prendre comme un affront la dedicace qu'il avoit rejettée de mon ouvrage ; aprés avoir beaucoup pensé, et aprés avoir fait, mais inutilement, toutes les diligences possibles pour en sçavoir le vrai, je crus qu'il étoit de mon respect pour mylord d'ôter la dedicace des volumes que je n'avois pas encore debités. Si en cela je jugeai mal, ce fut par faute de chose mal-enténdue, pas de volonté, que je conserve toujours préte à l'honorer autant qu'il est en mon pouvoir ; et il est si vrai que cela ne peut étre qu'une faute de chose mal-entendue, que je le fis avec bien de chagrin, parceque tout moyen m'étoit ôté de donner une marque de mon respect à mylord, et aussi par ce que je fis reflexion, que ma reputation pouvoit rester attaquée puisque le bruit que je faisois cette dedicace s'étant repandu par tout, et jusq'au dela des monts, et particuliereiement en France et Angleterre, et le bon cœur de mylord et ses sages et justes manieres d'agir étant connus de tout le monde, on auroit pu soupçonner que j'etois la cause de ce qui étoit arrivé, en sorte que tout ce que l'on pouvoit penser, pouvoit aussi tourner à mon déshonneur ; d'autant plus qu'il y avoit des gens qui par des faux recits dans les lieux publics de Rome, et par des lettres en Italie et hors d'Italie, m'attaquoient de la plus forte maniere : cela me fit résoudre à publier toute l'affaire, dont je vous fais l'abrégé telle qu'elle étoit en sens de verité, deffiant quiconque à me dementir, s'il le pouvoit ; et je fis cela par la dure necessité où je me trouvois, et par le droit qu'un chacun a de se defendre, et en particulier quand il s'agit d'un point d'honneur. Ajoutez à tout cela, qu'en defendant moimême, je prenois aussi la defense de mylord, qui par les fables qu'on debitoit, etoit en quelque maniere attaqué, sans que ceux qui l'attaquoient s'en apercussent. Dans mon écrit donc qui est tout plein des louanges dues à mylord, et de la profonde veneration que je lui professe et professerai toujours, s'il étoit échappée quelque phrase, ou quelque mot qui puisse étre interpreté comme contraire et offensif de mylord, et de ceux qui lui appartiennent, je proteste et protesterai devant tout le monde, que mon intention n'y a eu point de part, ma veneration pour lui ayant toujours été la même, comme aussi mon estime pour monsieur l'abbé Grant, pour monsieur Parker, et pour monsieur Murphy, auxquels, outre leurs qualités personnelles, suffit pour tout éloge l'honneur d'étre estimés et aimés par mylord, qui est un seigneur tres-eclairé, et qui sçait

connoitre le merite d'autrui. Je proteste donc de nouveau que je suis trés faché de m'étre trouvé dans la dure necessité de produire ma justification, et pour tout l'or du monde je ne voudrois pas m'etre trouvé dans cette necessité. Voilà tout, monsieur ; ne m'en demandez pas d'avantage, et soyez persuadé que je vous aime du meilleur de mon cœur.—Piranesi."

52.—PARKER, Rome, to MURPHY.—Dispute with PIRANESI.

1758, April 5th, Rome—" Mr. Grant and I having agreed to divide the affair between us, in relation to Piranesi's new insults, in order not to tire my lord or you by a long letter, the following is my part: Mr. Grant writ in his last letter to his lordship, the order Piranesi had to not print or publish any more the scandalous letters sent to my lord, under great penalties. We thought the affair finished; but as Mr. Grant nor monsignor Cenci had not taken care of my character, by having my name also inserted in that order, I was informed that he continued selling the first two letters, annexed to the four volumes, as a justification of his having erased my lord's name out of the dedication; and as he had complimented me and Messrs. Ramsay and Adamo with sepulchres in the Via Appia amongst the Scipios etc., he had rased out the encomium of 'Pictor; Studio:' etc. and put 'Translat. in Esquil:' etc. I went to the governor's lieutenant criminel, to inform him of the proceeding; and as I had also notice, privately, he had reprinted the above two letters, with a third very scandalous against Messrs. Grant and Murphy, and had engraved some and was engraving other satirical prints, as head and tail-pieces to the said letters, in order to publish them (in revenge of my lord's not satisfying his exorbitant demands, and his being obliged to refund the money received). I desired the lieutenant to send and search his house for the copies and plates, the which, he told me, could not be done, unless I had a witness who would swear to have seen them. This was not to be done, as the gentleman who had seen them refused to appear as a spy on Piranesi; and in a few days after he published them. Now to the description of our new honours. The first print is an emblem of eternity, the serpent biting his tail, and a pen, porte-crayon, brush and compass forming a square, in the middle of which, he had writ the name of the person to whom he sent it. The second plate: ruins, and on an obelisk: 'Lettere di giustificazione scritte à milord Charlemont e à di lui agenti di Roma dal signor Piranesi, socio della real società degli Antiquari di Londra, intorno la dedica della sua opera delle Antichità Rom: fatta allo stesso signore ed ultimamente soppressa. In Roma, 1757.' Also on a ruin, this: 'Nec. mi. aurum. posco. nec. mi. pretium. dederitis.[1] Piranesi fecit.' Follows the 'Prefazione con un aviso al publico.' The head-piece is: Time, discovering Truth; and a fat fellow, with a swelled leg, his hat fallen off, passing under the three spears, to characterize me; follows my dear friend, Mr. Murphy in a despairing action, and after comes an abbé, for Mr. Grant; over our heads in a label. 'In Aequimelio.' And at our feet, this in Greek: Πρὸσ ταυτα κρύπτε μηδεν ωσ . . . . . χρόνοσ. He has scrawled it so that it is hardly legible. Then the first letter: the head-piece an antique rudder on it, this: ΑΝΕΥ. ΡΥΜΟΥ. ΑΝΕΛΠΙΣΤΟΣ. Ο. Ο. ΠΛΟΟΣ. In this amongst other lies is, that I refuse to pay Maini's heirs [for] the bustos ordered by milord, also the pension to abbé Dubois, whom he says Mr. Wood, out of compassion, paid. Also Magdalen's pension; and having

[1] In another copy the inscription is as follows: "Justissimo casu obliteratis tantae vanitatis nominibus."—" Plin. lib. xxxvi.; cap. xxii."

cut off three crowns from the man who made the model of the Falconieri gate, contrary to price agreed. All these assertions I proved false by affidavits sworn before a public notary : by Dubois' son, backed by an original letter of Vierpyl's, translated, the which proved that what the defunct asserted to Mr. Wood and writ also to my lord that he was not payed, was a lie ; this also Mr. Wood will certifie to you ; by that of Magdalen, who declares to have been always payed by me, and in my absence by Vierpyl ; by that of the carver, who declares he was payed his agreement without any abatement. This letter of Vierpyl's, several of yours, viz., that of paying Piranesi the hundred sequins and taking his promissory note ; that of my lord's order to dismiss the Academy till further orders on account of Patche's beating Warner, whilst I lay sick at Naples, this proving I was in no way the cause of the Academy's being broke up ;—these and other affidavits I put all into the governor's hands, who remained much persuaded of the villany of this fellow to ruin me with my lord and the world.

"Follows the second letter : the head-piece, an example of the name of Geta, erased in the inscription on Severus his Arch, as he has done by my lord's ; in this letter he accuses me to have accepted a sequin for having helped him to sell his prints, equally true with the rest. Then comes the third letter to signore A[bbate] G[rant]. The head-piece: the abbé, supposed dead, carried to the funeral pyle, and a view of some torments in hell. This is a copy of an antique basso-relief. This letter is that he sent to Mr. Grant, after that he had been with him to shew him your letter, and is that the governour expressly ordered him not to publish. It contains most scandalous lies, that Mr. Grant threatened him milord would have him assassinated if he dared publish those two letters he sent to my lord; and that abbé Grant confessed to him, that it was to no purpose his writing to my lord, for that you and I were agreed and stopt his letters, the which my lord had never received and that you kept my lord's seal and falsified his hand ; and that the letter the abbé shewed him was so also. This letter, with notes, contains ten pages, and the whole book twenty-eight. The 'Finis coronat opus,' is a view of the Campus Esquilinus, several figures carrying dead bodies into the puticoli [1] ; three cippi, on one this : 'Pantolabo scurrae, Nomentanoque nepoti.' Horat. On another : 'Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos in agrum.' 'H[eredes] M[onumentum] N[e] S[equentur].' Horat. lib. i., satir. viii. On the third: tre pare di coglioni, at the top ; then: 'J[ohannes P[arker], E[dwardus] M[urphy], P[etrus] G[rant].' This finishes the letter part; the rest are copper-plates, viz., the four dedication-plates to my lord ; then, two other of the inscriptions you sent him ; then another, with my lord's arms and name erased ; this as he published the second time. The last print is his dedication to the public. In this he has broke my lord's arms to pieces, nothing remaining but the coronet. The inscriptions, in lieu of milord's, thus : 'Vrbis Aeternae vestigia e ruderibus temporumque iniuriis vindicata, aheneis tabulis incisa. J. B. Piranesius Venet. Romae Degens aevo suo Posteris et Vtilitati Publicae C.V.D.' This in the first volume. On the second inscription nothing ; only rased my lord's name and title. On the third, being a column, in the Circus Maximus the name and title erased, and put 'Marti Vltori,' with three pair of coglioni, one above the inscription ; the two below. The last inscription, 'Vindicibus et Protectoribus bonarum artium, J. B. Piranesius.' I have a copy ; should you or my

[1] Grave-pits, near the Esquiline Hill, used as burying-places for slaves and the poor.

lord have the curiosity to see it, I can divide it in three letters. This book he sent, gratis, to all the cardinals, monsignori and other persons of quality, natives and foreigners. To the most part of the English noblemen and gentlemen, as lord Mandeville, Brudenell, Garlies, sir Brook Bridges, Mr. Compton, etc., Russel and Jenkins having assisted him to writ their names in the vacant place in the title plate, and have fomented the rascal in revenge,—the first out of jealousy, and the second, saying I was the fomenter of the affair of Mr. La Touche's busto. The falsity of this you and my lord can affirm, I had no hand in. He also sent copies to all the English painters, Italian, French and Germans, and where abroad God knows. This pamphlet being industriously given the gentlemen as they arrived, hindred those I have been recomended to from sending for me, as I learnt since, and the two above served them all, to my no small loss of reputation and perhaps work, as Mr. Compton ordered a large history-piece to Mr. Hamilton, and had he seen my work, I flatter myself I should have been employed too. By the memorial the Irish friars gave in to cardinal Corsini, they found the cardinal almost ignorant of the affront done my lord, and he had been maliciously informed by these rascals, that I was the Parker who was banished Rome, the cardinal telling the friars, he wondered they would appear in favour of so great a villain as I was, and that in his uncle's papacy I had several times deserved the gallies, and run on so that there was no persuading him hardly the contrary. However, they at last made him see the injury he did my lord and me in protecting Piranesi, who had informed him falsely, and he gave them this precise answer: 'Send the printed letter to my lord, and let his lordship know that if he is not satisfied with it, that he has nothing to do but let me know, and that, on my word and honour, I will punish Piranesi as my lord shall think proper.' I should not have waited so long, to have made him feel the effects of his villany, but on reflecting he had given out artfully, that my lord threatened to have him assassinated, any attempt to do myself justice, I was sensible, would be confirming that assertion; nor did I know how my lord might approve of it. Nevertheless, I hope my lord will think of having him punished by means of the cardinal, or give me leave to publish the whole affair with my affidavits and original letters, to show the world the truth, for absolutely the printed letter he has signed rather affirms than denies what he advances in his letters, and so most understand it. Mr. Grant tells me that in his to my lord, he mentioned that the lieutenant governor expected a present from his lordship. How far he deserves it God knows. I should rank him with Piranesi, as I have reason to think he has played two parts, and am pretty sure he has had a present of the four vols., for he confessed to me they were offered him, etc. He told me also that he had the pleasure to know my lord and you at Perugia, where he was when you arrived there in the way to Spoleto for the opera, and that, as there was not fit room for my lord, that he quitted his to his lordship for several days. Should my lord think proper to order me to give him anything, I beg I may have leave to insist on his giving up all the copies and copper-plates he has in his hands of this libel, or they may get abroad again. I am afraid I have tired you allready, or I could say more on this affair. Mr. Grant has been too easy in giving his consent to the printing the letter he inclosed, they never had mine, and I used the above lieutenant (as far as I durst) in Mr. Grant's presence pretty handsomely for his injustice and negligence in not having finished this affair as he might at first before Piranesi had by his great presents acquired so many protectors, etc. This at least has cost him 2000 crowns as yet. I beg, sir, you would repre-

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sent to my lord how sorry I am to have been the introductor of this fellow to his lordship, in the which I had no other intention than the glory of my lord's name, nor, I protest before God, never have given him the least reason of using my lord or us so as he has done, nor have erred in the least from your order by letter, as Mr. Grant found on examination. By a letter I received this last post from my friend Mr. Anderson, I had the pleasure to hear of my lord's growing better, all other bye accounts of my lord's health having been rather the contrary, and your long silence rather confirmed me in it. I beg you would present my humble respects to his lordship, and remind his lordship that all his pictures, bronzes, etc., with the Miltons, have lain many months in Peter Cassidy's hands, and that I hope in a few weeks to forward him the Mercury of the Villa Medici, the which will be much better than the original, the which, in taking down from the fountain in the portico, to put it up in the gallery, fell down and split the body from the bottom to the top and one leg and arm broke, and has been so badly mended as to leave a rising of about a finger thick. This in my lord's I had new modelled and moulded by signore Bracci, one of our best sculptors here, so that it is quite superior to the original. The lawsuit of the bustos we have been obliged to put a stop to till now; the reason was that Piranesi had given in to the judge, before whom the cause was trying, a copy of his letters against me, by which means the judge was so set against me that he would not accept of my affidavit as a person 'infame in stampa e di malafede.' Now this is taken away, I shall see and finish it soon. I hope you have received your drawing and print of the Aldobrandini marriage from my father, and the 'Guerre civili [1] degli case di York e Lancaster' for my lord, as I supposed they arrived in the last fleet from Leghorn. My father will also, on the arrival of sir William Stanhope's cases, give you the four vols. of Piranesi's work, with the dedication prints, the which I procured with the greatest difficulty, as he had destroyed what he had worked off. When I forward the bronze Mercury, I will send you the account of what I have as yet received and laid out on my lord's account, and draw as usual."

53.—T. Lysyeatt, Turin, to Charlemont.

[17]58, August 22, Turin.—"I had the pleasure of writing to your lordship the 24th of June and giving you, by means of a copy of a letter from the French army, a good account of the action of the day before. I hope the good news my letter contained was some excuse for the hurry with which it was written. Your lordship might, indeed, have well expected in that my first letter some returns for the many favors I have received from you: but, as I then told your lordship, I was just getting into the chaise, not having been in bed all night; very sober, though we had drank a bumper, as many a stout-hearted Englishman has since done, to our friend prince Ferdinand, and yet very unfit to return in a proper manner the thanks which I so justly owe you. Since that time my obligations to your lordship have been much increased by the very polite reception your letter procured, both for me and Mr. Houblon, from Madame St. Gille, and by her means, from lord Bristol [2]: of which Mr. Houblon has given you an account and thanked you for, two posts since. Lord Bristol presented

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[1] "Storia delle guerre civili d' Inghilterra." By G. F. Biondi. Printed at Venice, 1637–47, in 3 vols., quarto.

[2] *See* p. 308.

us and was as civil to us as the state of his house would permit, which was quite unfurnished for his leaving this place; which he did last Tuesday to go to Genoa, where his brother in the 'Monmouth' waits to carry him to Alicant. Your lordship must have had great credit with Madame St. Gille, since she payed the bill you drew upon her, at first sight, and still continues to supply us with fresh civilities, so that though there is scarce any other woman, except Madame Martinian, at her assembly, yet I don't find that amongst all the men that frequent her house, there are any that receive more marks of her public favors than we, one or both of us being constantly of her party at shilling whist. Mr. Houblon hardly ever misses her assembly and I should do it much seldomer, was it not (as your lordship once hinted) that we should look too much like a double man. At the marquis Gorsegne's, where I sometimes go, there are more ladies, but then they are more reserved and talk more Piedmontese. However the other night an accident happened to put me upon a more easy footing there: Madame Richelmi, daughter of Madame Gorsegne (young and handsome), had taken me to assist her in playing at whist, which she is just learning. I played the cards so well that the rubber lasted till all the rest of the company were retired and I had the honor to conduct her to her chair, where, finding she had left her cloak, I ran back to fetch it, but in returning missed my way and ran directly into the room where the marquis Moncreuil, her brother, and his lady were going to bed.—Judge, my lord, which of us was most astonished.—The Marquis would have informed me of my mistake; but before he could close his mouth to speak (which stood wide open as the door I came in at), holding up the cloak by way of excuse, and begging ten thousand million of pardons, I ran back much faster than I came. This I say has put me upon a much better footing there; for, going the next day to tell my story and make my excuses, gave me an opportunity of being better acquainted with them than I should otherwise have been in a month's time. As we came through Switzerland, we met M. Voltaire, who lay at the same inn, but unluckily we did not know it soon enough to go and pay our compliments to him. He was then going into Germany: since which a report is spread that he has changed his religion. I did not know that he had any; but, however he is now become they say, a very good Catholic, in proof of which they hand about an ode in manuscript, said to be wrote by himself upon his conversion. As to his conversion, it may be true enough, for I don't think it strange that a man who has no religion should clothe himself with one that is commode and will slip on upon any conscience: but as to the ode it proves too much, for it would prove too that he is converted from poetry as well as heresy. It is too long to transcribe except it was better, but I send your lordship a copy of a strophe by another hand written upon seeing of it. We begin to amuse ourselves very well here considering that a great many families are in the country and that there is no theatre open. However, they promise us an opera buffa the 2nd of next month; in the meantime the ramparts in an evening serve by way of spectacle, and indeed it is a fine one, especially of a feast day, when the bourgeoises make their appearance there, sitting in rows, as your lordship must remember, upon the parapet, among whom as well as among the nobility, are as fine women as ever I saw and as many, not excepting the Mall of a Sunday. Besides Madame St. Gille, your lordship has many friends here (their names indeed are a little Gothic and I can't remember them) who interest themselves much about your health, and I flatter myself and them with the hopes of your speedy and effectual recovery, and shall be glad to hear soon that I have not been deceived. Mr. Houblon joins in this wish."

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

54.—PARKER, Rome, to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1758, October 4th, Rome.—"Not to trouble your lordship with many letters, I desired my father and Mr. Freeman to communicate what occurred. I now let your lordship know that the bronze figure of Mercury is finished, and sent off to Leghorn. The arrival there I expect to hear from Cassidy next post, who I have directed to forward it immediately, with three other cases, two of busts and one of pictures, to Dublin, by the first good occasion. Of the former sent I hope your lordship has news of the safe arrival; so that now nothing of your lordship's commissions remains in my hands, but the two copies in the Farnese gallery and a fruit-piece (this being too long to go in the above cases) I kept to go with these copies. The Mercury cost more than I apprehended at first, as on the agreement, not being before the statue to examine it, since taken out of the garden, and put up in the gallery, I did not know it had been broke in several parts, viz.: the body split from the bottom of the belly to the throat, the leg it stands on, broke under the knee, the arm also, that holds the wand; and the whole so badly mended as to lap over a finger thick in the juncture; so that to remedy this in our cast, I was obliged first to cast it in soft wax, and have it all retouched by signore Pietro Braeir, the best sculptor now here, and then remould this cast retouched to get a proper cast in the hard composition of wax they cast the metal from; so that this expense was absolutely necessary. The difference your lordship will see in the enclosed bill, which is the whole I have laid out; and part of which Belloni drew for lately on Nesbit and company, the rest in another draught. Thus, the above all done, this cast is turned out much better than the original; I have had an iron passed up the leg it stands on to strengthen and balance it, so that there is no danger of its falling, and under the head of the wind is a screw, that enters enough into an iron, the which is to be first fixt into the base it is to stand on, which if of wood, may be nailed to the base, if of stone or marble, fixt with melted lead. This iron fixed, the figure screws into it, so that it may be turned round, to examine it on all sides, without any danger of its falling, or the person that views it changing his place. This method I thought necessary, as I could not tell what place your lordship might put it up in. At the time your lordship ordered me to buy no more, etc., I had purchased four busts, and some pictures, viz.: two antique, restored, heads of philosophers; two busts copied from the antique of the school of Algardi; four landskips, three of which are companions to one of Monsieur Stendard, sent away before; the fourth a small one by Gaspar Poussin, a long fruit-piece by Michael Angelo di Campidoglio, another lesser one by Gobbo Carracci, a little jewel in miniature, the portraits of Rosalba of Venice and her master, the famous abbate Ramelli of the Chiesa della Pace. They are represented in masking dress, painted by Rosalba; this, being small, I shall forward in a case to Mr. Anderson with prints, etc., and he will deliver it to your lordship. I hope to forward soon the two copies (with the above long fruit-piece) as they are near done. I paid fifty Roman crowns to the luogotenente Cherubini as a present from your lordship. This sum Monsignor Cenci and Mr. Grant agreed I should give him. Mr. Freeman to whom I writ lately, will communicate to your lordship what has happened since in relation to the plates, the which I could not have, fault of Mr. Grant, etc. When we were just on the finishing the suit with the heirs of Maini, the executor of his will died suddenly, so that we are in a manner almost to begin again. Mr. Grant rejoyced me lately by communicating a letter he had received from Mr. Ramsay, the painter, who writ to have seen your lordship at Harwich and perfectly recovered. This pleasure was soon

dampt by Mr. Freeman, who informs that your lordship had writ to him, to have found no benefit by the bathing nor was yet rid of your disorder. Dr. Irwin, who desires his respects, says nothing but the air of Italy can recover your lordship perfectly. I shall take the liberty to send your lordship in Mr. Anderson's box a remedy, the effects of which are surprising in the rheumatism here. I have seen several cured and almost instantly, though some of long standing. The author, a secular priest of the order of Malta, gave me a bottle, at my desire, with directions in Latin, and there is a sufficient quantity to try the effect on several persons, before your lordship makes use of it, though I hope before it arrives, there may be no further occasion to use it. I hope Vierpyl is well and so full of business, that that may be the reason he has not favoured me with a line these twenty months; his correspondent here, abbé Wilkins, died a few days ago, after eight months lingering illness, and left his widow and children miserably poor. My poor old father is continually calling me home, in the which I would willingly obey him, were I in force. Piranesi, Russel, Jenkins and their crew, ruined me last winter, so that although I was recommended to several gentlemen they all shunned me as an ill man, and I had really counted on the gain of that winter, with what little my father could send me, to have been able to see Venice, etc., and home by sea. They had so prepossessed my lord Brudnell that I could never get admittance (nor abbé Grant) to his lordship (with whom the year before I had dined several times, invited by his lordship) though I went several times with the affidavits and Mr. Murphy's letters to shew his lordship the wrong was done your lordship, Mr. Grant and me. Joined to this mortification, all the English painters were employed to paint and draw, except me only, thus I must wait here till it shall please the Almighty to open me some way to gain by my work wherewithall to get forward. I shall finish to tire your lordship with a list of the work I have done since the Miltons. Two large pictures, companions, the figures four feet each, the cloth eight feet square: the one is the story of Apelles drawing on the wall the portrait of the person who invited him to Ptolemy's feast, etc.; its companion, Zeuxis painting Helen for the city of Crotona, from the five virgins; eight or nine figures in each; two other compositions, the figures little less than life, the cloth seven feet and a half high by five feet broad. The one: Epaminondas dying, when his shield was brought to him; eight figures: its companion: Agrippina killed by the centurion; a night piece, five figures. Two other compositions: Socrates receiving the poison; eight figures, three feet each; the cloth, five feet eight inches high, by four feet broad. Its companion: Catiline swearing his companions before the statue of Angerona, making them taste the entrails of a slave; nine or more figures; a night piece; and a single piece, represents Hamilcar swearing young Hannibal at the altar; fourteen figures, about three feet each; the cloth seven feet and a half high by five feet and half broad. Abbé Grant desires his compliments, says he does not write fearing to tire your lordship. Borrioni's heirs have given me a list of all their antiques, tables, etc. with their prices, to send your lordship as they are now resolved to sell the things separate, provided they sell for a thousand crowns at a time. Would your lordship that I send it by the post, or in Mr. Anderson's case, which will be forwarded in November? It consists of four sheets. If your lordship knows Mr. Brown, that was at Rome with his lady, you may there see this list, as Wilkins a few days before his death told me he had forwarded it to him, as he was employed to buy for Mr. Brown after Vierpyl left Rome. I have Mr. Brown's last letter to the abbé, wherein are several commissions, as Belloni sent me all his books and papers to translate, etc."

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

ii.—1759, February 20th, Rome.—"I hope you will pardon the trouble of this, caused by the anguish of spirit I am in. It is to inform your lordship that Mr. Grant communicated to me lately a letter from sir William Stanhope, in the which he says: 'there are very bad stories go about amongst the nobility and gentry about Parker's having stopt people's letters to lord Charlemont,' and other things he does not mention but hints at only, and says: 'I am sorry, abbé, your name is also mentioned in this affair.' Now, I must beg of your lordship, for the love of God, to think of some way of re-establishing my reputation, as I have unjustly lost it in your lordship's service; you know, my lord, if I ever stopt any of Piranesi's letters, having received but too many impertinent ones, and equally lying; and your lordship will pardon me the having so unhappily introduced that villain to your presence, the which I did with no other view than the spreading your lordship's name all over Europe at the head (to do it justice) of so great a work. This has had such effect that sir William has countermanded the commission he gave me to buy pictures for him; and the stories artfully spread about here by Russel, Jenkins and Mylne,[1] a Scotch architect, scholar of Piranesi, shut the doors of lord Brudenell and all other our gentlemen here this two year past, so that I could never get admittance to any to shew the affidavits I have on oath, before the governor of Rome, of those things I am accused of in particular to be false; and Mr. Murphy's letters that clear up the truth of the whole. And, more, they have to all made me appear to be the other Parker; so far as one person called me to account for money received many years agoe, for copies to be done, but this was soon cleared up. These continued vexations have almost put me in desperation, joined to the present state of my affairs, without work, friends or money, and loss of reputation so unjustly. My condition is deplorable. If I stay here, I have no other prospect but misery, and how to get away (God knows) having such a large study to send away in these troublesome times, that require a sum to case them only. My father I find out of state of helping me further by his answer to me. I beg your lordship would be so good as to clear up these expressions to sir William or any other your lordship judges proper, that I may be able to appear in England, when it shall please God to open me the way by sending me some employment. The two copies in the Farnese are finished, and I only wait their being thoroughly dry to case them up. Your lordship will be pleased to direct me how Magdalena's pension is to be payed her, by whom, should I be obliged to leave this place soon; as abbé Wilkins is dead, it will be necessary a line from your lordship to marquis Belloni for to give her credit on her receipt, as he made some difficulty to pay me, much more her."

55.—Abbé Grant, Rome, to Charlemont.

1759, the 1st April, Rome.—"I hope you will pardon the freedom I am going to take of introducing to your acquaintance and of imploring your protection for the young gentleman, who will have the honor of delivering to your lordship these few lines. The person I mean is Mr. Mylne, an architect by profession, who by his uncommon talents, and singular application, has done himself and his country great honor here by having, by unanimous consent and universal approbation,

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[1] Robert Mylne, architect of Blackfriars Bridge, London, etc.

carryed the first prize, in the month of September last, in the public Academy of Arts and Sciences, held at the Capitol; and soon after, at the instance of all the professors of this metropolis, was admitted and declared member of the Academy of St. Luke. He is in all other respects a young man of great worth and merit, and therefore greatly intitled to a share of your lordship's particular protection. He is by no means a stranger to your lordship's amiable character, for he has often heard, with pleasure, how generously you have upon all occasions interested yourself in behalf of those who distinguished themselves in any branch of virtù. He, therefore, hopes to feel the effects of your great goodness on that score, by patronizing him, and by making his abilities known to your friends and acquaintances. I take his success and wellfare extremely to heart, and for whatever honors you shall be pleased to conferr upon him, I shall be as acknowledging as if they were done to myself. I was made more happy than I can express, by the delightfull accounts I received, some months ago, of your lordship's perfect recovery."

56.—Richard Rigby[1] to Charlemont.

1759, 19th June, Whitehall.—"The king having taken into his royal consideration how his army in Ireland may at this time of danger be most effectually and speedily strengthened, has approved a plan which the duke of Bedford,[2] not having an opportunity of mentioning in person, has directed me to communicate to your lordship, for compleating some of his battalions of foot, and particularly his 39th, 62d and 73d regiments, respectively commanded by the colonels Adlenson, Strode and Browne, with natives of Ulster, Protestants, and of Protestant families, proposed to be enlisted, at the usual expence of the respective regiments, by the noblemen and gentlemen of estate and interest in that province, for three years, or till the end of the present war with France, to serve in Ireland only, and not to be sent out of the kingdom. If your lordship, who has been represented by my lord lieutenant to the king to be one of those noblemen, shall be disposed to take a part in carrying this important service into execution, I have his grace's commands to acquaint you that your lordship's zeal therein will meet with his majesty's most gracious approbation and acceptance, and to desire that your lordship will be pleased forthwith to give such orders upon this business as you shall judge to be most conducive to the end proposed, and to inform the lords justices of Ireland to what part of the country you would choose to have recruiting parties sent."

57.—Parker, Rome, to Charlemont.

1759, August 20, Rome.—"Pickler has desired me to send the inclosed[3] to your lordship, to know if your lordship would purchase the original lately found near Rome. I have had it in my hand, and it is of very good preservation, and he says is a unico not mentioned by any author on medals. The enclosed is the true size and weight, and the last price 250 Roman crowns. He says that at Herculaneum one of Augustus was lately found, the which, though not the only one, is highly esteemed. The owner

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[1] *See* p. 10.
[2] John, duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1757–59.
[3] Drawing of a coin of Domitian.

of the above desires an immediate answer whether your lordship will have it or not, as he waits this only to send it to Paris for the French king's cabinet. The other day were brought me underhand (belonging to prince Altieri) three exceeding fine cameos, they say antique, but are antiquo-moderno, representing Antinöus, Galba and Agrippina di Nerone; the heads are at least as big as the circle of the above medal, and are set in gold, back and edge, with a ring at top to hang them up. I have never seen any work antient or modern reach these; he asks 400 Roman crowns for the three, and the person who brought them me will wait your lordship's answer, and desires it may be kept secret, the sale, etc.

"I am now to inform your lordship that the prince, that Piranesi says in his libel was well known to your lordship and that was to have been a witness for him against abbé Grant, and who was the person taken stealing of the Termini in the Villa Negroni, is now run away on foot from Rome, having robbed and taken in many people for considerable sums, amongst others Belisario for 800 crowns, and a French gentleman for some thousand. He has left the woman called his wife, ... and the talk in Rome is that he was the valet de chambre of the prince Lichtenstein, and this woman the laundress, and that both had robbed their master, etc. He was remarkable for the fine linen he wore, and lately kept his coach and two servants. This worthy person was the constant companion of all the English for these two years past, and always dined with lord Brudnell while in Rome. He went under the name of baron D'Hanau."

58.—Charles Lucas to Charlemont.

1759, November 27th, London.—"However ambitious I may be to receive a letter from your lordship's hands, however anxious to know the state of your health, I should hardly have assurance enough to trouble your lordship now, in this manner, were it not for a very singular incident, to which, I judge, you should not be left quite a stranger. Upon hearing one of your lordship's servants complain in bitter terms of being turned off by Mr. Pullein, for the sake of preserving peace in your lordship's house, I waited upon Mr. Pullein, and, in the civilest terms, asked the cause of the maid's dismission; knowing your lordship would never suffer a servant to be discharged or otherwise injured, without just cause. Mr. Pullein, instead of assigning any particular reason, hinted something doubtful, indeed dreadful, but in general terms; such as, 'It is not necessary to go into particulars; she is a very devil; such a subtil, prying, jesuitical devil, that I would not for any consideration live in the same house with her. My lord knows the matter and in obedience to his lordship's commands, I have turned her off.' It was fit I should acquiesce, and I did so accordingly. The poor injured creature ceased not complaining to every acquaintance and friend of your lordship. Colonel Blayney was affected with her cries, and bade me write to your lordship about it. But, I thought it best to let things lie quiet, judging Mr. Pullein would some time or other lay aside the priest, become penitent and merciful, or at least, touched with a sense of shame for the slander he has brought upon himself. I solemnly declare, I did all I could to silence slanderous tongues and to hush up the scandalous tales concerning this nasty affair, for which, your lordship will see the priestly return I receive. I must take the liberty of informing your lordship, that Mrs. Longfield, this maid's sister, lives with me. Longfield, affected with the abuse of his sister, it seems wrote a foolish,

threatening letter to his reverence, upon which, the man of God, from the overflowing of the spirit, wrote to the master of Arthur's desiring Longfield to be turned off. Some days after, he writes the following curious epistle to me, who had never given him any sort of offence:—

"'To Dr. Lucas.'—Sir,—I have received very particular and authentic information of most impudent language uttered against me by a woman servant of yours, whose name is Longchamp. I take this method (usual in the like cases) to inform you of it, that you may discharge her from your service, after which I shall take a proper method with her. That you may not be imposed upon by lies, I here set down her words which were directed to Mrs. Chambers: that she was a very worthless woman to harbour such a villain as me. As your procedure in that case will regulate mine, your answer will be acceptable to your humble servant.—Sam. Pullein.—Lord Charlemont's, Mount Street, November 22.'

"Your lordship will readily judge the fit answer for this haughty, cruel priestling, whom I had ever treated with civility and kind offices till now. I thought priestcraft had not quite effaced the sentiments of humanity, and therefore wrote him the following answer:

"'To the Rev. Dr. Pullein.'—'Sir,—I condemn nobody unheard. I neither know nor interfere with the private affairs of mine own servants, and much less those of others. Mine have no protection; so that you have as easy a remedy against any offender in my family, if such there be, as if she were actually discharged my service, which she shall not upon any hearsay information, which is all the evidence you offer. This is common justice, the method and rule of my precedure, by which you may regulate yours, if you think fit. Losers, they say, have a right to speak; and after what has passed, permit me to recommend it to the consideration of one of your sacred function, whether the Christian spirit admits of the severity of attempting to get a brother and a sister of the unfortunate objects of your displeasure, both discharged, perhaps, set a begging, for being offended at their sister's being turned out of her service, without any just cause assigned. These things, I hint to you as a friend, but, I must expect, that, on these or like subjects, you do not further trouble yourself or your humble servant,—C. Lucas.'

"I hoped our correspondence would have ended here. Your lordship, I dare say, wishes it had never begun, since you are to be thus teased with our impertinence, your lordship will now be persuaded that operation of consecration was fully performed on his reverence and that he imbibed all the fire, fury and rancor of the priesthood. The day following, he sent me the following menacing letter; I wish your lordship do not construe it a challenge, and that you do not call my courage in question, when you find I declined taking up the clerical gauntlet:

"'To Dr. Charles Lucas.'—'Sir,—I received your letter of yesterday. The strong contrast between it and your first declarations, and the contradictions which it contains in itself, have sufficiently unravelled the part you have acted and leave no sort of doubt concerning the light in which you are to be considered and treated by your humble servant,—S. Pullein.'

"Pardon me, my lord, if I thought this divine, and this second epistle undeserving of further notice. But as I cannot say how long the gentleman may think fit to leave me master of my temper and able to keep the peace, I think it incumbent on me to lay the whole affair thus open to your lordship, with all due deference submitting myself to your judgement. From his mentioning 'first declarations of mine,' your lordship

may conceive, that I acted a double part in this. I solemnly affirm it to your lordship, that my conduct was as uniform, as regular to this man, as it was meant to be respectable to your lordship and friendly to him. I used my utmost means to stop the progress of the infamy he has brought upon himself. See the return the rancorous priest affords me. As chaplain to lord Charlemont, he insists upon Longfield's being discharged; and, by dating his letter from your lordship's house, he seems to inforce the same demand with respect to his wife. My lord, have I not as good a right to demand his reverence's being dismissed your service, which he knows must protect him from the chastisement his insolence deserves. But your lordship is too just to hear such a demand, if I could be base enough to follow the sordid example of the carnal priest. However I may hope that your lordship will not blame me, or suspect me of any degree of disrespect to you, if repeated insolence should urge me to have recourse to the decision necessary in such like cases. Your lordship's goodness and kind indulgence to me will plead my excuse for giving you this trouble.

"Mr. Pitt inveighed bitterly yesterday in the house against all the people of Ireland, sacrificing the whole nation to a little pitiful compliment to the city [of London]. He bade all the Irish members of that house acquaint the members in Ireland, that however they may talk of their zeal for the service of the government, the city furnished more men by their single subscription, than all the kingdom of Ireland did in a whole year. O! how my soul was fired with indignation at the base, unjust representation; and how I longed for an opportunity of answering and lashing the flattering, triumphant orator, upon this occasion, at least!—"

59.—CHARLEMONT to his brother, FRANCIS CAULFEILD.

1760, May 26th, London.—"As your last letter was by no means of a nature to be suddenly answered, I hope you will excuse the delay of this, and rather be pleased that I have taken thus much time to consider and maturely weigh a point so worthy of consideration. When first you disclosed to me the secret of your heart, I thought it my duty as a friend and a brother to let you know my real sentiments upon the intended match, and the knowledge I hope you have of my tenderness toward you, may well assure you, that, as I was thoroughly persuaded that my advice in this circumstance was contrary to your inclination, it cost me not a little to give it you. I hoped, however, that the affair was then in a situation to allow you the liberty of recoiling, otherwise I concluded you would not have asked an advice, which you were by means in a condition to follow. However, I since find that, as is too often the case, you did not then ask or desire advice, but rather approbation. You now tell me that the affair is advanced so far as that neither your heart nor your honour will permit you to recede—that is to say that it is impossible you should recede, and in consequence of this you desire that, at least in the eye of the world, I would appear to approve of your conduct. Does my dear brother consider what he now asks? If, as I cannot avoid still thinking, the match is an imprudent one, in desiring me to let the world think that I approve of it, you desire me to take upon myself, a great share of the opinion of imprudence which must consequently follow it. Nay, the greatest share, for passion may and will be alleged in your excuse, but your cool friend has no palliation for a defect in his judgement. You see what a dilemma you reduce me to—either to refuse what you so earnestly request, or to pass for an accomplice in an

act which in my own opinion may be attended by disagreeable consequences. Thus much, however, I will, and can truly say, that since upon the most mature reflection, you find that without this marriage you cannot be happy, since your heart is so far engaged as by no means to be capable of extricating itself, and, most of all, since your honour determines you to persevere, were you my son, and had I it in my power by denying my consent to prevent the match, I would not make use of such a power, but would freely give my consent, though perhaps my approbation could not follow it. You in effect must be the ultimate judge of what may conduce to your own happiness—a friend may advise, but the right of taking or rejecting the advice must be in you alone. Marry then, my dearest brother, and content your heart; and be assured that my conduct in consequence of your marriage shall be as you will direct. Whoever your heart chooses for wife, mine shall consider as a sister, and as soon as she becomes such, I shall endeavour totally to forget that I ever advised you against her. If such a conduct can persuade the world that I did not disapprove of the match, be assured that it shall be a principal business of my life to labour to convince them of it. And now I conclude with my most hearty and sincere wishes that your marriage may be productive of all the happiness which you can expect or desire, and that my, perhaps too nice, apprehension may by event be found entirely frivolous. Nay more—I make no doubt but it will be so—since you like the lady, she must be amiable. I know your taste and judgement too well to doubt of it. You know her—I do not. Her family is as good as can be wished. Her fortune more than you could have expected. Her person pleases, and ought to please you. There is but one objection, which I shall labour entirely to forget, and never mention more. It appeared to me weighty and therefore I insisted upon it—perhaps I may have been wrong, but I judged for the best, and accordingly to my best judgement."

60.—Lord Pembroke[1] to Charlemont.

1760, July 28-29.—"I won't begin by dating mine, as I don't know when I shall be able to send it, consequently shall add a bit more perhaps every now and then, if anything worth troubling you with should happen. I will however, and not by way of a proclamation secret à la Newcastle, not the horse man,[2] mark that, but the secretary of state, tell you that we are now at Kalle camp near Grebinstein, in Hesse, and that this day is the 28th of July. As our life is a gloriously uncertain one, I don't, indeed can't, write often. When I do, I lump a cursed deal of nonsense together, as your lordship will probably be sensible of, before you've got half through my scrawl, in a very incoherent manner, and by the person, who is plagued with it, to communicate my being alive and well to any friends of mine they may meet. Your lordship may probably have some here, if any amongst the carabineers, I'll venture to say the oddest in Europe, and the greatest treat heaven ever bestowed on an allied army. May it please your lordship, I have in very good and a numerous company been hunted of late from post to pillar. That cursed Broglie with an incredible mob, full double our's, whatever political falsifiers may say in England, has never left us a moment still. I joined the army on the 15th and on the 16th, my birthday too, aged 26, he was

[1] Henry Herbert.

[2] Sir William Cavendish, duke of Newcastle, author of "Méthode et invention nouvelle de dresser les chevaux." 1658.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

impolite enough to canonade very briskly just that part of the camp at Saxenhausen, where I had set up my canvas palaces. Though our fatigues are immense, we are very jolly, barring some bad fluxes, and now and then a fright. As for me I am only occasionally troubled with the latter. 'Tis my only trouble, except a few English servants, whom I most heartily wish again in London, or at the devil—I did not care which. Sir Wm. Boothby will tell you how happy we are. 'Twas all in vain, that we tried to keep him with us here, and partake a black eye, or so. He was silly enough to return, only because he had no business in Germany, nor leave to stay. I shall expect, my dear lord, with your leave, to hear from you every now and then, and will trouble you too sometimes. But you must be good enough, in consideration of our hurrying life, not to expect letter for letter from me in the most exact manner. We have too many perpetual rouses for that, and very little rest, or belly provender in return. You never saw a more compleat set than we are. I really believe all the oddities of the three kingdoms and Germany are met in this army. I could almost wish your lordship would crown us, though wishing you here is no great compliment, for never poor devils lived harder, or earn their pay more than we all do. Shelley I long for. He is, he must own, a queer fish, and values himself on standing difficulties he has not even an idea of suffering. St. Germain has left the French army in a pet with Broglie, which we are not sorry for, though we have a miracle at our head, for he was clever, consequently troublesome. Till four days ago, we have been for some time past, both armies, in prince Waldeck's dominions near Corbach and Saxenhausen. The French in possession of the former, we of the latter, so near to each other, that our advanced post heard one another's conversation. I am glad we are no more there, for I really love the prince and princess of Waldeck, two charming people, very unlike the common thonderdentrancks of course, and such a disputing numerous canaille could certainly do them no good. We are got off from thence unhurt, though most certainly the French might have entaméed us cursedly. The ground was such, that it was taken for granted, that, whoever moved first, must suffer greatly, but the duke made such a nobly surprising retreat, and the enemy did so little, that nothing happened. We are, however, still so near, for they follow us close, which I imagine the duke intends they should, that we think it impossible for us to part with dry lips. 'Candide'[1] is my constant pocket companion, and I meet his characters living every moment. Don't laugh, though you may too, if you please, and I'll join with you, but me voici, grand capitaine. The duke sent for me from off the march to leave the regiment and come to him at camp, and as soon as I came to him, was so good as to order me to act as major-general, and to give me the command of a brigade of cavalry, consisting of the Scotch greys, Cope's and Ancrum's. Just before we left Saxenhausen, we expected a battle, but it did not happen. We got off with a frightening rouse only. A good clever French deserter informed H.S.H. that Broglie intended to tickle us at break of day with a cannonade on our right, and to sustain it, and the old dog added, 'et vous serez, monseigneur, le vainqueur, car nous n'avons plus de Saxe, ni vous autres, messieurs les alliés, de duc de Cumberland, mais, votre altesse serenissime, ce diable de maréchal de Prusse à sa place.' Is our game at Quebec,[2] and no Quebec over yet? We have a noble body of cavalry here, two regiments of which, from a certain country, no horse or mare can carry. What say your politicians to this

[1] By Voltaire.

[2] Besieged by the French in 1760.

last stroke, unparalleled we call it here, of the king of Prussia? Our hereditary struck a noble one the other day. If lady Augusta gets him she'll be very well off. He is a charming young man in every respect; though so very young, everybody has the greatest confidence in him as well as love for him. . On the 10th (which, entre nous, was an ugly affair) he got a slight wound, on which Broglie was writing him a polite epistle. While the Prince was taking prisoners, and cutting to pieces a whole detached army of French in the greatest style imaginable, our regiment of Gallop V— performed wonders there. A propos to —— I wish you'd seen two days ago a brace of Highlanders, sitting under a hedge, shot at and put to sudden flight and confusion by some French hussars, who unexpectedly fired at them from the other side of the hedge. The poor little fellows suffered so much (I mean now the light horse), as hardly now in a manner to exist. We had two officers killed, Basil and Burd, both, I believe unknown to you. Little Floyd, who you have seen at my house, just past twelve years old, behaved most gallantly, which I was very glad of. I could only have wished he had not had his horse shot under him, for it was an exceeding pretty one I had lent him. By being sent for to the great army, en qualité de monsieur le general, I had the misfortune not to be then with, nor see, our friends make so excellent a beginning. Both officers', and men's behaviour, Erskin's, (the major's) who commanded them, and all's indeed prodigious. Time hence, it will never be believed that one regiment of young light dragoons (I wish by the by every one in England was here, for they are much wanted) after having almost by itself in a manner defeated a whole little army, alone made about 1600 prisoners of war. Those rogues of hussars ran at once for plunder into the enemy's camp, and without striking one blow, or firing a single shot, got every thing, became rich, and doubtless will be soon all barons, for every thing, baggage, tents, houses, etc., was all taken. 'Tis a pity (for here at least I am not) I am no longer a hussar. I had a great genius for it, as far, as I can judge by the begining I made, which was stealing a perpetual allmanack at a neither fish nor flesh Lutheran convent on the march. Though Broglie is a good clever fellow we have a still better chief, and are better stuff, though much fewer, and don't at all despair of drubbing him. Though in retreat we go nearer our magazine, they farther from theirs, and into a very intricate difficult country. This is not, I believe, only our opinion, but at bottom the French's also. M. Ferdinand puts so many posts in their way, and so frequently, that he must at last, knock his head against some of them. If, according to the vile fashion, you get into an English parliament, before I have the pleasure of seeing you, which you must know I have too much pride to like a lord's doing, be so good, as to move, that during the war, all contractors, and followers of British armies of all kinds, should be hanged every Christmas, and new ones taken to replace them every first of January. If the duke had not everything in his pocket, I believe all would starve, but as he is a miracle, I believe the only one that is or ever was, we do not, and are most wonderfully supplied. These contractors dare not use the foreigners as they do us, for, if they fail, they goodnaturedly hang them; good-naturedly I will maintain, for many lives, and valuable ones too, of soldiers are saved by it, while ours scarcely even keep up to their engagements, by which our sick and tired perish, and, out of a mistaken notion of good nature, are not punished. The same thing happens in regard to marauding, a sure method of an army's never being well provided. To-day, indeed, at last, the duke has been obliged to give out a very strong order in regard to the English alone, which though a slur on us, I'm glad of, for, if our people go on, as they have done, and do, we shall be

less than nobody very soon. The affair on the 10th turned out as it did, merely by contractors not sticking to their agreement, and the same will happen to us allways, by their not being punished for failure. They had agreed to furnish such a number of artillery horses. Half were not produced, by which our cannon did not arrive in time, and could not be taken away at all, till the French laid hold of them. Bread indeed has been good hitherto, and plentifull, I own, I don't conceive why, and I dare say it won't be so long. They [the contractors] will, too, I dare say, be members of parliament. In short, we are melancholy folks all together, comparatively speaking with the stupid Germans. Fatigue, and the study of ease, though we get little or none, makes us all carriage doctors. My old landau, lengthened out for a matrass, does very well, when I've the good luck to be able to get it up. Upon the whole, I would recommend to all wagers of war, a coffin on a light carriage with a bed in it, and a tilt, and some chicken coops of the sides, in the suttling way. Besides your humble servant in the stile of general, we have a fine set of lording aid de camps; lords Hinchinbrook, Walkwurth, and Dunkellin, all act as such. I passed by Minden [1] in my way, a mighty clear case indeed. The ground is very easily understood, though there is nothing worthy of the name of woods, enclosures, or distances. I forget, how long somebody, who, the newspapers inform us, is retired into Scotland, says he was galloping from his post to the duke; but this I can swear, that my horse, without trotting a yard, walked from the extremity of the right wing of cavalry to where the duke was, and there is no possibility of mistaking the very exact spot, in six or seven minutes and a half,—I can't positively say which. Entre nous, considering every body's position and numbers, if we were not sure, and had a belief beyond a belief in the duke, we should think ourselves in a cursed hole, as the French are in possession of places up to the very walls of Cassell, of Fritzlan, Stadbarge, and Warbour over the Deimal, and a chain from one to the other, and we have neither sleep, victuals, or any thing dry to put on, all baggage being sent off, but, as Pangloss [2] says, 'all is for the best.' I was in hopes of seeing a feu de joie the other day, but was bilked by the French's routing us quite off. I wish I could give you the least idea of where we are going next, but that is quite impossible, for the duke only knows it, and he is too wise to trust any body, so greatly clever too, that, in my opinion, spies should not only be let alone unhurt amongst us, as they really are, but even encouraged. Probably we are to cover Cassell, the Rivery, and the bishoprics, if possible. Our feu dé joie was to have been for the India news, and many are just beginning to be now sorry for poor Brereton. I swear t'was old credited though not confirmed news, when I left England. When we came off in a hurry the other day, I had the honor of being posted in the rear of the rear guard, a cursed disagreeable post, entre nous, though I am now very glad of being after having been there. Ten thousand men, under the hereditary, went off as regularly as at a review in the face of the whole French army with the loss of about sixty men, or some such trifle. That same retreating is a very comical, ugly operation, being kicked, then turning about again to snarl, shew your teeth, and walk off again. Broglie might certainly have done us much mischief, and I can't conceive how he did not. Such a retreat is, I really believe, finer than a victory, though not so agreeable any more than lying on one's arm

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[1] The French were defeated at Minden, in 1759, by the allies under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

[2] In the "Heir at Law," by George Colman.

night after night in damned bad weather, sleeping, and starving au bivouac and sleeping on a stone under a hedge. Notwithstanding all this, as poor beggars generally are, we are vastly jolly and happy. Half an hour ago had you seen me, you would have taken me for Robinson Crusoe, now again for the lord-in-waiting on a drawing-room day at Leicester house. Your friend Wauthier, your favourite little French figure, has declared his abhorrence to war on account of a bullet which came over colonel Johnston, me, and him, the proximity and whistling of which deranged our constitutions very much, made us duck, and killed an unluckly servant just behind us. For the honor of Ireland, I must tell you, that potatoes are sometimes as effectual as bullets. The other day, a party of English, without arms, plundering a garden, pelted out three French hussars with some. We are every day going into a more and more difficult country in every respect, especially for a large, and foreign army to subsist in, where, probably things must soon, for this year at least, be determined. As for the wars formerly in Flanders, I don't suppose half the difficulties existed, and yet the duke of Marlborough sent to the enemy, and the enemy to him, cards of invitation every now and then to meet and fight out their differences at an appointed time and place. I wish you could see some part of the infantry of the army, especially the Brunswickers, and part of the Hessians: noble-bodied, active, handsome, clean, cool, obedient, civil, brave, immovable fellows. Our cavalry indeed, du coté des chevaux, when there are no flies stirring which make them mad and the Cadogan tail can't defend them from, excells them all very much; but I don't know how it is, but John, especially in times of difficulty, has not the proper obedience, and willingness, which the other brutes possess. Notwithstanding this apparent difference, I am John enough myself to think, that, if our commanders would be prevailed on to be good-natured enough to hang some to prevent constant theft and murder, we should be at least full as good as any of them. Though we know nothing, we must nevertheless pretend at least to think. Pray, don't your knowing ones think our motions here depend as much on the court of Berlin, as on that of London? We suspect as much. I have had a vast triumph in my method of managing and shoeing horses, for which, thank God, I have the hearty curses of all grooms, everybody, seeing my horses' feet stood these bad roads so well, having come over to my method. Pray tell Stopford this. He is a disciple of mine, as well as Shelly, and must be confirmed, both of them, in the true religion. They begin to talk of a winter's campaign, but rather than trudge about in ice in a desolate ruined country, when good things are going on in London, I wish they would take as much out of us now, as possible. When you've done with this long job of a letter of mine, pray send it to Shelly and bid him write to me, and remember me to my brother, odd Earl, his friend. When I am roused, I recollect my friend Othello:[1] 'Tis the soldiers' life, to have their balmy slumbers waked with strife.' Be so good as to let me know the state of operas. Are we to have any or how many, and where, and by whom? I shall not be long on the heights of Greenwich before I hope to meet you musically in the plains of London. Imhoff is this day dismissed the army, and the duke of Brunswick's service, regiment and all, I believe, taken from him. As he was in great favor, and reputation, the hereditary's governor, etc., heavy suspicions are on him, but we are, as 'tis fit indeed we should be, as much in the dark about him, as about every thing else. Adieu, my

[1] Act ii. scene 2.

dear lord, thank God, that lord Granby's [1] sending off a messenger has freed you from my unconscionable scrawl; I am enough so myself to expect to hear all that is stirring from you at your leisure.

"July 29, 1760.—The messenger says he sets off to-night, but I don't believe he will. Whether he does, or not, I can't get at him any more, though lord Granby should not write, as I dare say he won't, for he had not before dinner, and he don't love to quit a few jolly hours, when he can help it, over a bottle after dinner."

61.—Charlemont to [William Brownlow].[2]

1760, October 30, Dublin.—"As there is reason to believe that the report of the king's death is but too well grounded, I think it my duty to take this first opportunity of declaring to you my sentiments and resolution with regard to the ensuing election in the county of Armagh. As I am persuaded that my brother will again declare himself a candidate, there can be no doubt but that I shall espouse him with all the interest in my power; and should you choose to set up along with him, the friendship long subsisting between our families, my personal regard, and a desire of thus requiting your past favours would undoubtedly incline me to serve you also. But then, as in the last election, I was at the whole expence in supporting our joint interests, in this I shall expect that you in your turn will take that burden wholely upon yourself, a pretension which appears to me so reasonable, that I cannot imagine you will make any difficulty about it. However, should any circumstance induce you to decline the offer of my interest upon this condition, you can not then be displeased with me for taking such measures as may be most likely at all events to secure my brother his seat. I shall wait with impatience for your answer, as, 'till I know your final resolution, I shall listen to no application whatsoever."

62.—Lord Bruce to Charlemont.

1760, November 1, London.—"The late unexpected event has brought me for a few days from quarters at Marlborough to pay my court in town. It has made me likewise desire a declaration from my family about a certain place in my neighbourhood of Fetterhamlack. They think the expence will be greater, as well as the uncertainty that must naturally attend such an undertaking, than any of them chuse to risk. You are the next person entitled to my attention on that head, and, after what passed between us, when we talked the subject over last, you will continue to be first in my thoughts. I shall make it my business to join somebody with you that shall be unexceptionable, and who, in case of a petition, which is possible, will be powerfully supported. I have the same delicacy with you, as with my family, about advising in a matter that must draw on such an expence, and which can't be limited or insure success. All that I can answer for, is the utmost zeal and attention on my part. It is almost impossible to be accountable for consequences in things so circumstanced. The same plan of administration, as has been lately followed, is to be continued.

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[1] John Manners, marquis of Granby, commander-in-chief of the British forces, 1760–63.

[2] William Brownlow and Francis Caulfeild, brother of lord Charlemont, were members for the county of Armagh in the preceding parliament.

" P.S.—I hope to hear from you when you have thoroughly considered the intention of this letter: direct to me in town. I know you enjoy odd characters; I have promised to recommend to you a colonel Dalrymple, born in Scotland, transplanted to North Carolina, and who was induced by a most violent passion for music, to pass some years in Italy. He served in America at the beginning of the war, and is governor of Fort Johnston in Carolina. His business in Ireland is to find out some baggage that was sent him to Italy seven years ago, and which he could never hear of till within these six or seven months. He is as wild as the country he came from and belongs to, especially if you touch on his musical passion, and ask to see and hear an instrument of his own invention."

63.—Adderley to Charlemont.

1760, November 7th, Bandon.—" I had the honour by Tuesday's post of signifying to your lordship, the situation of affairs relative to my interest in this corporation, and of requesting your favourable interposition with the duke of D[evonshi]re in my behalf. In my former I mentioned that the acquisition of two voices would ensure me success; but now I can say the addition of a single vote would as effectually secure me the majority. If the matter I now mention be approved of by your lordship, it will make me extremely happy, and in consequence thereof you may be assured of my utmost gratitude and thanks. Though I have strong hopes that affairs here will terminate in the manner I wish, yet as there is a greater number of voters who have not than who have declared in my favour, I cannot assure myself of success; yet my friends say I certainly shall prevail; the reasons they assign are: that three of the members of this borough who will not, now, declare in favour of any one, owe their being considerable solely to me. Another, and which, my lord, you will think a very strong reason, is that in consequence of their obligations to me, the head of that triumvirate, without being asked, voluntarily promised archdeacon Crofton and myself about three weeks ago, not only for himself but the other two, that I should when an occasion presented itself be complimented with their voices. From these and some incidental causes my friends are sanguine in their expectations that I shall not be disappointed. Your lordship has now before you the awkward, disagreeable situation I am in at present, with respect to the ensuing election of representatives for this borough. Hence it is that I now resort to you, my lord, and request your assistance and patronage, and if you will take me under your protection I shall think myself always indebted to your goodness for the obligation it will lay me under. The favour I am to solicit is, that your lordship will do me the honour to have me returned for your borough.[1] Should I have success here,[2] then your lordship will have the seat you honoured me with to compliment any other friend; on the contrary, should it so happen that I be not returned for this place, in that case I shall most chearfully dispose of six or eight hundred pounds or such further sum as may be sufficient for a seat for any person your lordship shall name. I cannot say how greatly I shall be obliged to your lordship if you should think proper, on this occasion, to distinguish me by any mark of your regard; had I authority given me to say your lordship will be my patron, I

[1] The borough of Charlemont, for which Adderley was member from 1752 to 1760.

[2] Adderley was elected for the town of Bandon-bridge in April, 1761.

should then, I think, make easy terms for myself here. This letter as it is only intended for your perusal, I have no fears of the contents being communicated to any other, for should they happen to transpire, possibly I might be disserved. When I wrote last Tuesday I had not seen a public paper, and therefore did not know that Mr. Caulfeild had advertized for the county of Armagh. I have not seen sir Archibald [Acheson [1]] amongst the candidates, which surprises me.—I am very anxious to know somewhat about the governor's county connections; what part the primate purposes to take. I hope you have not omitted to apply to lord Orrery for his interest, it may be had through lord Shannon. Lord Fane [2] has a considerable number of freeholders on his estate. He should be applied to. Sir John Bernard's estate at Tandragee could serve you very greatly. Upon the death of sir Francis St. John, whose estate it was, I applied through your uncle, Arthur, for that interest for your lordship, upon a general election; the knight did not pretend to say he was engaged, but that it was too early to promise. But I suppose all these matters are so well known to you, that I had no occasion to trouble you about them."

64.—Sir Capel Molyneux [3] to Charlemont.

1760, November 10th, Clogher.—"Your lordship's favour and that from Mr. Caulfeild, both found me here, and I guess I need not at this crisis explain to you the occasion of my visit, which however has proved so favourable to me as to the object of it that success has been insured to me in this borough on the approaching vacancy in parliament, and that under so very particular a circumstance of embarrassment, which I may one day explain to your lordship, on the side of my good friend, that nothing but the inflexibility of his regard for me could possibly have got over it. This high mark of his friendship to me under such peculiar distress, laid me in point of gratitude as well as interest under the necessity of complying with a request he instantly made me that he might dispose of my interest, wherever I might happen to be concerned, upon occasion of the approaching elections, which on the arrival of this evening's post seemed to turn on the side, to my very great astonishment, of the two other candidates for our county. Your lordship, I am certain, will not therefore take it amiss that my present circumstances debar me from making any immediate declaration, at the same time assuring you that nothing but the difficulty I find myself under could possibly have prevented me from being the foremost in making your lordship a tender of my services on this occasion. Yet still I shall not cease to use my utmost endeavours to act in a manner that cannot fail to be most agreable to my inclinations."

65.—Charlemont to Adderley.

1760, November 11, Dublin.—"Before the receipt of either of your letters I had determined with regard to the borough, and as I thought myself indispensably obliged to favour my own nearest relations, I had resolved that my uncle John [4] and Harry Moore [5] should be the persons

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[1] Created baron Gosford, of Markethill, co. Armagh, in 1776, and viscount in 1785.

[2] Charles Fane, second viscount Fane, died, without issue, in 1766.

[3] Of Castle-Dillon, co. Armagh; elected member for Clogher in 1761, and for university of Dublin in 1768.

[4] John Moore, of Drumbanagher, in county of Armagh, was husband of Mary Caulfeild, grand-daughter of William Caulfeild, second viscount Charlemont.

[5] Francis Caulfeild and Henry William Moore, of Drumbanagher, were elected members for the borough of Charlemont in 1761.

fixed on. Affairs have since turned out so ill in county matters that I now find myself obliged to reserve a seat for my brother. As to what you mention of seven or eight hundred pounds, I can only say that I am greatly concerned you ever should have thought of it, as you ought to know me well enough to be very certain that I never should make a pecuniary bargain for any favour in my power to bestow, and least of all for a borough."

66.—CHARLES LUCAS, M.D., to CHARLEMONT.

1760, November 22, London.—"Among other instances of the invaluable regard with which my most dear and honored lord is so kind as to distinguish me, give me leave to return you my most grateful acknowledgements for the most kind and sensible though short, hints, you gave me in a paragraph of Braddell's letter. I took the liberty of communicating mine own private sentiments upon the occasion to your lordship, through Braddell, and of making him submit to your lordship's judgement an advertisement to be inserted for me. Your lordship is very sensible how critical this conjuncture is for Ireland. Another long reign, with such a stupid, corrupt and perennial parliament as the last, will prepare the people for any yoke. Sensible of this, the ministry have settled their schemes in a most cunning manner; they have provided seats for their chosen tools, and now hurry on the elections, without giving the uninformed people time to look about them. And so stupid, I suppose, will these remain, so insensible of the importance of a sensible and free election at this juncture, that few besides knaves or fools will be chosen anywhere.

"There is nothing, I am so ambitious for as to stand well in your lordship's judgement. For years I have been laboring to inform the minds of the people of Dublin, and though they have not gained all the benefits that might have been hoped, thank God! they have reaped some desireable fruits from my poor labors. From the narrowness of their own hearts, many of the people judge that I would not quit my present practice or my future prospects, to unhinge myself and imbarque again in seas of trouble to serve a public, not remarkable for their gratitude to me. I hope your lordship knows me well enough to answer for me, that if they have the virtue to act upon the proper principles and choose me, I will sacrifice all my enjoyments and all my private hopes in life, to exert mine utmost means to serve them. I can only look for a call, a legal call from them, without which, I am in your lordship's judgement how far I should run risques to serve them. Were I assured they were warmed with the same sentiments, in which I left them, I would set out to night, to engage in their service. But I have no proofs of this; wherefore, I hope, your lordship judges I stand fairly acquitted. I am, I own, greatly staggered at this attempt of the government, in precipitating the elections. I can not help being much alarmed at it, so that I would go any length to obviate the ill consequences of it. If your lordship will, from your patriot spirit, inquire and judge how and where I may be of any real use, your single voice shall determine me at the shortest warning.

"I have sent a pamphlet intituled 'Seasonable Advice to the Electors of Members of Parliament in the ensuing General Election, addressed to the Free and Independent Electors of Ireland in general, to those of Dublin in particular,' to the press, last Monday. It was to have been published this week, but will not now, I fear, till the middle of next. I shall send the sheets as I get them, to Braddell, with directions to

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lay them before your lordship and reprint them in Dublin.[1] I hope they will do some good, if there be a spark of true liberty latent, unextinguished. I could do no more. I wish this may meet with your lordship's approbation.

You will be able to judge, my lord, of men's intentions in the succeeding parliament from the price boroughs already bear. Two thousand pound is the price to day among the brokers, and to morrow it will be more, as the lord lieutenant[2] has settled the seats of his junto or thinks them secure. I had the mortification to be unexpectedly introduced to your lord lieutenant's secretary in the gallery of the house of commons last Wednesday, by the provost[3] of Trinity college, Dublin. It was unavoidable; so must I put up with the undeserved honor. I see your lordship is (by the governor) involved in an election and against a conspiracy. 'Crush the slaves,' but take care of an health so dear to the public. This moment the printer sent me three half sheets of the pamphlet, I send them rough and incorrect as they are, rather than you should not have them. Your lordship will be so good as to correct and set Braddell to work in publishing them. I wish they do not come in every sense too late. Who knows but they may be of some service to Mr. Caulfeild's cause, and such others? If your lordship has a minute to spare, throw it away in writing a line to me."

67.—Lord Rockingham[4] to Charlemont.

1760, November 25, Grosvenor Square, London.—"I could not answer your lordship's letter sooner, as I waited for a letter from Ireland from my friend and relation, Mr. Wentworth, and which I have now received. I see by the papers that Mr. Wingfield has offered himself candidate for the county of Tyrone, and I have since had a letter from Mr. Stratford desiring my interest in the county of Wicklow, as Mr. Wingfield stands for Tyrone. I shall beg leave to trouble your lordship, as an old friend and acquaintance, with my particular situation in regard to the county of Wicklow and shall also beg for your assistance in carrying on the plan I would propose. Mr. Wentworth, who is both my friend and relation, has long had a great desire to offer himself candidate for the county of Wicklow, and upon the late melancholy event wrote to me, desiring that he might have leave to offer himself. Your lordship knows that the wishes of a friend must always have great weight, but yet when one's own private opinion does not entirely concur with their wishes, the situation one is in is very delicate, and extremely perplexing when the distance is such that all communications backward and forward take up so much time. The reason which makes me disinclined to follow Mr. Wentworth's inclinations arises from a consideration which I know your lordship will approve of. For though I think the Qualification Bill as it stands in England is a very absurd one, yet I must think that a member for a county ought to be a gentleman of that county and possessed of an estate within that county. Mr. Stratford in his letter to me informs me that he can be chosen for a borough of his own, but prefers representing the

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[1] This publication was printed in numbers, in 8vo., by James Hunter. Dublin: 1760.

[2] John, duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

[3] Francis Andrews. *See* Eighth Report, Hist. MSS. Commission, 1881, Appendix I., pp. 180, 192–5.

[4] *See* p. 53.

county of Wicklow. I have, therefore, wrote to Mr. Wentworth and have also wrote to Mr. Stratford in order to try whether Mr. Stratford will answer Mr. Wentworth's inclinations of being in parliament by bringing him in for his borough and to offer Mr. Stratford my interest for the county. I have heard an excellent character of Mr. Howard[1] and if Mr. Stratford assists Mr. Wentworth in the borough, lord Carysfort[2] has authorized me to say that his interest in Wicklow shall be for Mr. Stratford and Mr. Howard, which I do not doubt with the addition of their respective interests and mine will make their election very safe and easy for the county. Now, my dear lord, I must beg for your friendly assistance in this affair, and I must also beg of you to make my excuses to lord Powerscourt for not answering his letter immediately, as you see by the circumstances I have mentioned that I could not readily form any determination. I must hope this will answer the end I propose. If it does not I shall still be in difficulties and must leave it to Mr. Wentworth's judgement how to act."

68.—Lord Rockingham to Charlemont.

1760, Sunday, December the 8th, Wentworth.—"The letter I had the honour to write to your lordship some posts ago (and which you would receive very soon after the express left Ireland with your lordship's and lord Powerscourt's[3] second letters) will have fully informed you of my situation and wishes in regard to the county of Wicklow. I delayed sending back the messenger till after last night's post in hopes of receiving some answers to the letters I wrote to your lordship, Mr. Stratford[4] and to Mr. Wentworth. Your lordship being on the spot now knows whether I am at liberty to assist Mr. Wingfield, as it depends upon what has been done in consequence of letters to Mr. Stratford and Mr. Wentworth, and, also, as you know that besides the attempting to make an agreement with Mr. Stratford, I also gave Mr. Wentworth full liberty to determine the part I should take, in case no agreement was come into. I know that Mr. Wentworth has great personal regard for lord Powerscourt—and it would give me great pleasure to be able to oblige lord Powerscourt, and the more so as backed with the application from your lordship.

"Upon the death of the late king, I mentioned to lord Bessborough[5] that I imagined that Mr. Brabazon[6] did not intend standing again for Wicklow, and that Mr. Whaley[7] was not likely to be re-elected, and wished him to give me some insight into the personal character and inclinations of those who might offer for the county; as, in truth, not having been able to take a trip to my estate in Ireland, I had not the advantage of being personally acquainted with any gentleman in the county. His lordship was so obliging to write at my request to Mr. Ponsonby; but as yet I have not heard from lord Bessborough only that he believed Mr. Ponsonby wished well to Mr. Whaley, and I had before

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[1] Ralph Howard, elected for county of Wicklow in 1761, 1768; created baron of Clonmore, co. Carlow, in 1776, and viscount Wicklow in 1785.

[2] John Proby, first lord Carysfort.

[3] Edward Wingfield, second viscount Powerscourt, died in 1764.

[4] John Stratford, M.P. for borough of Baltinglas, Wicklow; created baron of Baltinglas in 1763, and viscount Aldborough, 1776.

[5] William Ponsonby, second earl of Bessborough.

[6] Anthony Brabazon, M.P. for county of Wicklow, 1747; for county of Dublin, 1761; earl of Meath in 1772.

[7] Richard Chapel Whaley.

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declared that Mr. Whaley should not have any assistance from me. If I am at liberty, lord Carysfort and I shall unite in supporting Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Howard's interest. I shall be very anxious to hear what has been done."

69.—Lord Bruce to Charlemont.

1760, December 9, London.—"You are certainly the first person amongst my friends that ought to be made acquainted with any event that nearly concerns me. You will have seen perhaps in the papers the honor the king intends me, which cannot be a greater matter of wonder to you than it was to me. It was the last thing in my thoughts at the time I heard of it, and nothing but the manner in which it happens, could make it desirable or acceptable to me. Another event though not so near, is not very distant; in short, I am going to be married to lady Dungarvan.[1] Don't accuse me of not treating you sooner with confidence on this occasion. Her match with the duke of Somerset, from his absurdity, broke off in the summer, and mine did not begin till since we broke up camp, and has been concluded on within these few days only. I know your thoughts too well on the marriage state in general: I only beg to have your good wishes, and that no change of situation may let me lose any part of your esteem, which I value to a very high degree. Things at B—— are circumstanced as they were almost when I wrote to you last, and scarce any hopes of their mending. I fear your affair in Ireland of the same sort is not in a much better way."

70.—Charles Lucas to Charlemont.

1760, December 23, London.—"Am I not the most unfortunate fellow in the world, my most justly dear and honored lord, to have given pain to that most generous and noble bosom, for whose peace and happiness, heaven knows I would at any time shed my blood? Forgive my pride in wishing, yea, in hardly daring, to be under obligations to any one but you. It is my glory to find, that you deign to let me lean upon you. And as your support does me honor, I will claim it, since it gives your truly noble heart pleasure. Is it not a wonderful thing, that I should find comforts in the distress of the man I love the best of any living? Yet, so it is. Your goodness long since raised my pride, in admitting me to such a share in your lordship's favor. But, your last letter carried this so much farther, that it is well if my most noble patron has not the turning of my head to answer for. The truth is, my heart,—dear lord, that I want but words to express my affection, my respect and my gratitude for your last letter. What you wish and desire shall be done, if I do not easily compass what I want otherwise. Set your noble heart at ease, all will, all shall be as you wish. I have not time, or I should give you a minute detail of what I had done against the outlawry[2] since my last. I applied to Pitt, through Wood, but had no further satisfaction than, that he could not interfere with the department of another minister. Finding the routine of office obstruct me thus, I wrote to the duke of Bedford, and sent him inclosed a copy of the application I made to him when one of the secretaries of state. I

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[1] Susanna, relict of Charles Boyle, lord Dungarvan, married Thomas, lord Bruce, in February 1761.

[2] The proceedings against Lucas by the house of commons at Dublin were in October and December, 1749.

waited upon him with this, but finding he was out of town, I left it, desiring it should be sent to him. Then I drew up a petition to the king, in which I, concisely as possible, set forth my case; but missing of lord Bruce and all my acquaintances among the lords of the bed-chamber, I resolved to go to the levée and deliver it myself in person. Accordingly I went yesterday to court, gave my name to the lord in waiting, who was lord Hertford, who readily presented me, upon which I addressed the king in these words: 'Most gracious sovereign, cruel oppressions and arbitrary denials of law and justice, in your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, put me under the necessity of applying in this direct, I fear irregular, manner, to your majesty, the fountain of mercy, which, I hope, you will, of your royal clemency pardon.'—Will your lordship condemn me as an hardy fellow? Necessity has no law. It was a shocking task; but a cat closed in a corner, will be bold and adventurous. At the same time I delivered the pamphlet, of which his grace the l[ord] l[ieutenant] is foolish enough to complain, as several of his friends, lord Waldegrave particularly, have told me. To whom I answered that I was sorry the crimes of the wicked l[ord] l[ieutenant]s of Ireland were not to be mentioned in general terms, but his g[race] of B[edford] found characters to suit himself. As he was best judge whether they fitted or not, God forbid, that I should dispute the propriety or truth with his grace. But if they fitted him, it was his fault not mine, 'Qui capit ille facit.' The king gave me not only a gracious ear, and received my petition and pamphlet with humanity equal to his royal dignity, but seeing me somewhat decrepid,—took me by the hand to raise me off my knee. This is a most extraordinary piece of humanity; but it is such as he daily sheweth those that want it. My friends here applaud the petition and my conduct, and say, I want but somebody to remind the king of it, to gain a pardon. On this occasion, your lordship and lord Powerscourt, giving but my character to some of your acquaintance of the bed-chamber or council, would readily get me a pardon. I long to send your lordship a copy of what I have written on this occasion, which I hope to do soon. I am quite well and in good spirits. The public is so struck here with the invitation to me, that it has been in all our public papers. It is extremely applauded and has done me much honor and service. I have not yet heard from the d[uke] of B[edford]. One thing, I am sure of, that he will not again trouble you in Ireland. It is not known who will succeed him. But great revolutions in the ministry are daily looked for. Some say lord Temple is to be your lieutenant. Others that he is to take the d[uke] of N[ew] C[astle]'s place. And others say, that P[itt], N,[1] O,[2] and Dev[onshire] are going out. The exertion of power by the p[rivy] c[ouncil] here is the most wanton that has been known in our days. Nothing has exceeded it, but the hitherto steady sense and virtue of your p[rivy] c[ouncil]. Will they hold it? God grant it! If they do not, and that you have not good commons to stigmatize and damn such measures, it is all over. I wish your lordship, from my soul, health and every happiness. But, why should I wish you the last? The few souls like yours insure it to yourselves here and hereafter. Let me wish you a free and rational election, and success to your brother and friends."

71.—Lucas to Charlemont.

i.—1761, February 10, London.—"In my last, I informed you of the message from his grace by his secretary. I have since judged it

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[1] Duke of Newcastle.

[2] James Oswald, Lord Treasurer.

right to write to each of the lords justices. But lest some unfair representations may be made upon my memorial as well as letters, I have thought it proper to trouble your lordship with copies of them; that of the memorial I have sent under cover to the speaker; the three letters,[1] I send under your own address. I will beg leave to trouble your lordship with letting Braddell or any of our active friends see them, if you shall think it proper or necessary. I also send your lordship some more sheets of the pamphlet,[2] which you will please to send to Braddell, if you judge them proper. I have not been able to do any thing in Nesbitt's affair. Nor have I since heard from our fair friend, though every thing is ready. . . . I cannot get a line from Mr. Adderley I hope to be soon set at liberty to return. Shall I hope to overtake your lordship?"

ii.—1761, February 12, London.—"This day my fair charge came to my house, and I took her and placed her where every thing proper and necessary for her health and reputation shall be carefully done. She has settled her domestic affairs prudently, and I think every thing before us promises well. When she is recovered will be the time to think of settling her future habitation.

"I sent you three pacquets last post; one a copy of my memorial to the d[uke] of B[edford] under Mr. Ponsonby's cover, telling him, that you would shew him a copy of my petition to the king, as well as this. I also sent you a copy of my letter to the primate, and of those to the two other lords justices, under Mr. Walsingham's franks, with some sheets of the second pamphlet.

"I fear, by your long silence, you are not at home. If so, I hope I shall soon see you. But, if you be not very soon to come over, I hope I shall hear from you by the return of the post. I have not been able to get the money from Nesbitt, and I could not have assurance to make use of your name elsewhere. There is one way left of facilitating this matter, though it is not without shame and confusion I mention it. Necessity urges and I must call upon my most truly honored friend. If you will entrust me with your bond and warrant for five hundred pounds, payable in a year, from the first of January last, I can pass it for the sum and shall return your lordship mine for it, and shall take care, let what may happen to me, to leave means for discharging it. Can your lordship forgive me? Your goodness has taught me to think so.

"I have often called at lord Bruce's without being able to see or hear from him. But I suppose the business is in a fair way of succeeding, upon what you see in my former letters; and after all this noise, I find they have not been hardy enough to complete the outlawry, so that in fact, entre nous, there is no obstacle to my returning to Dublin, but the means of paying my debts here, for which, I am thus forced to trouble my most noble friend, for the reasons I formerly gave you. If however it should happen, that I should be able to raise the money otherwise before your lordship's bond comes, I shall most thankfully return it. Since I had the honor of writing last to your lordship, governor Caulfeild informed me that your brother has been clerically jockeyed out of his Armagh election.[3] I need not tell your lordship how sorry I am for any conspiracy of this kind, but especially where your lordship or your family are concerned."

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[1], [2] Not in the collection.

[3] Francis Caulfeild was not re-elected for the county of Armagh in 1761, for which sir Archibald Acheson and William Brownlow were returned as members in that year.

72.—To CHARLEMONT from EARL OF HALIFAX,[1] lord lieutenant of Ireland.

"1761, Sunday night, September the 6th.—If the president of the council has not taken and notified his majesty's pleasure in consequence of the meeting on Friday, I take for granted it has been oweing to the custom of looking on Saturdays and Sundays as holydays. I will be in town early to-morrow and will take care that his majesty's pleasure be known to your lordship as soon as possible.

"As soon as I am informed of his majesty's determination I will communicate it under my hand, at Arthur's, that all concerned, by sending these, may have as early notice as possible."

73.—MARLAY to CHARLEMONT.

i.—"1762, 17th July, Tullamore, near Rathfriland.[2]—What can you expect to hear from a hermit shut out from the pomps and vanities of this wicked world? Shall I entertain you with Sunday jokes of my parishioners, and give you an account of the many lively sallies of wit, and the many smart repartees, which give a relish to the whisky punch, and set the table in a roar? Shall I inform you of the success of my sermons, which have drawn to my church two Presbyterian beggar-women, lord and lady Annesley, and a popish tythe-farmer? But my vanity must confess that the agreeable prospect of a penny has induced the beggar-women to attend me; the tythe-farmer has an eye on my tythes. . From what I have said you may easily guess at my Sunday's amusement. The rest of the week I pass in walking, reading, and writing. The weather is uncommonly fine, and this place extremely pleasant. Three times a week lord Clanbrassill[3] and I meet. I do not go to the park till three o'clock, and leave it at seven. His lordship and his reverence allow each other to be vastly clever. My lord has a prodigious deal of judgment; and the doctor has more wit than anybody. Every sentence I utter is finely pointed, and pregnant with true humour. Every story he relates, is clear, spirited, concise, and apropos. You should, in return for this particular account, let me know how your time steals away. My hours are a little tardy-footed and limp along; yours have down upon their feet. I do not know whether they are winged or not. If they are, I hope they do not fly so fast, that content cannot keep pace with them. Have you done much at the Gothic temple? Does Marino flourish? Does Miss Otto appear in beauty? Does she still bless Dublin with her presence? Are our friends of Marlborough street still in town? I hope my dear lord will pardon my impertinent curiosity, and satisfy it. I am very solicitous to be particularly informed of everything that concerns you, and therefore I trouble you with so many questions. Is not our late victory a noble one? I have not had a letter from my brother, but expect one next post. It would be charitable in you to send me some news,—whether the news be true or false, will be of no importance in this place. Who is to be appointed lord lieutenant? The northern politicians have fixed on lord Hertford.

"Just as I was going to seal this, I received your letter, for which I return you many thanks. Your essay or rather rhapsody on love and tenderness is very pretty and ingenious. Time and experience have rendered me so cold and unfeeling, that I think reason ought to have

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[1] *See* p. 15. [2] In county of Down.
[3] James Hamilton, second earl of Clanbrassill.

much influence on all the passions. In love and friendship we must employ our reason to judge of the worth of the beloved objects; and reason requires a long, long time before it can form a true judgment of a mistress or a friend."

ii.—1762, September the 30th, Calverstown.[1]—"The first part of my dearest lord's last letter contained many wise truths; what you have remarked concerning advice, and the manner of giving it, is undoubtedly just. I also agree with you, when you say that gilding the pill is useful, when the medicine is unpalatable, and I confess myself very apt to forget that circumstance when I make up my drugs. I, who ought to be a 'sweetner' by my trade, have a particular dislike to every thing sweet and luscious. What is bitter or sharp agrees better with my stomach. But a word to the point. I advanced, that passion generally blinded the eyes of a lover and prevented him from seeing into the character of his mistress. This I confess to be as trite, as patched, and as true, as that two and two make four. According to your arguments, a lover cannot be deceived, if the lover's friends see faults and imperfections in the admired fair one, which faults the lover chuses to think virtues and graces, the lover must be right. Suppose I asserted that lady Brandon, or Mrs. Pagneham the figure dancer, (for on the present occasion I can be in love with either of them) had every beauty of body and mind, must my assertions be true, because I am unfortunately inamoured of the lady, and therefore must be supposed to have examined the lady's parts more nearly, but of this enough. I am grieved to hear you have had a return of that vile disorder. What can be the cause of it? Have you consulted Lucas? Can not you contrive to have company in the country, and to get some person to read aloud to you? I fear removing to Dublin would be of little service to you, as the evenings there would be equally long, and equally dismal, as the town must be at present almost empty, but I believe you have chosen wisely to divide your time between town and country. I pass my time in reading and walking, and feel myself contented and easy without the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. As to the sinful lusts of the flesh, I leave them to the fair Parry. It will not be in my power to see my dear lord till the middle of October. I send you the lines on his grace.

iii.—[On George Stone, primate and lord justice, Ireland.]

"From base ingratitude what clime is free,
Since its black tongue, O Stone, defames[2] ev'n thee?
While for Hibernia's weal you studious toil,
Alas! you cultivate a thankless soil.

"Ungrateful land! your guardian thus to spurn
And scorn, for favours; ill, for good return.
For thee he labours with incessant cares
Neglects his holy charge,—sometimes his prayers.
For thee, in falsehood's smiles his face is dressed,
While conscience stings in vain his callous'd breast.

"For thy dear sake, to meanest arts descends,
Forgets his promise, and betrays his friends.
For thee he compromises, fawns, and prates,
And yawning senates numbs with dull debates.

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[1] In county Kildare.

[2] *See* Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS., 1881, part i., p. 176.

"For thee, ungenerous and ungrateful land,
He stretches forth his all-corrupting hand,
With pious bribes the voice of clamour stills,
And reconciles your sons against their wills.
For thee, he bids septennial discord cease,
And buys your parliament to give thee peace.

"Proceed, bold priest, thy generous plan pursue;
High-born as Wolsey, be as humble too,
With Christian piety like St. John grac'd,
Sincere as Cromwell, and as Villiers[1] chaste.

"Proceed till blushing freedom flies the shore,
Till learning droops, and virtue is no more;
Till dullness sheds o'er all her opiate charms,
And mild corruption faction's power disarms.
Hibernia then with gratitude must own,
These are illustrious works, and worthy Stone."

74.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1763, March 12th.—"I received your lordship's letter of the first instant by the last post. I have sent herewith a design of the manner in which I think the sweep-walls should be ornamented. If the upper part of the house be of brick, then the space between the rustics of the niches should likewise be of brick, but if of stone then that should also be of stone. As you cannot have a court deep enough to turn carriages in without throwing the house too far back to be an ornament to the street, or to receive any advantage from the fine prospect, I have designed two entrances with piers at the two extremities of the court, and the space between them may be closed with an iron grille which will look well and show the house to advantage. I have made the piers plain as the rest of the design is so. The whole space occupied is 100 feet in front. Your lordship does me honour in employing me in any shape; I always execute your commands with a sincere pleasure. I humbly thank your lordship for your compliment and good wishes. How far public taste may receive any improvement from my being employed, I cannot tell, but my own affairs wear a smiling aspect by it. I shall not mention any thing your lordship has wrote about Mr. Pullein."

75.—Sir Capel Molyneux to Charlemont.

1763, August 3, Castle-Dillon.[2]—"Since the time of your lordship's first appearance among us to this day things have continued to put on a better and more tranquil face than could well have been expected from the late very turbulent temper of the times, owing, I am convinced, to that unanimity and vigour with which our resolutions have been framed and executed. Upon these your lordship very wisely observed our security depended, and the effect has accordingly proved answerable to our expectation: not only submissions imploring forgiveness for past misdemeanors, but also the most solemn assurances of future good behaviour, having already been received from different parts of the county. However as we cannot be too attentive to the means of securing the quiet we enjoy,

[1] George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, favourite of James I.
[2] In county of Armagh.

the power over the military, which government has been pleased to invest us with, has, as when your lordship was with us, been successfully employed in securing some of the chief of the ring-leaders, so that there are no less at this time than seven or eight of them in gaol. Whether that number, with those who are in confinement in other northern counties, deserves to be considered as an object worthy of a special commission, I submit to your lordship, who have so kindly undertaken to lay our wants before government and to whose care is owing much of that tranquillity which subsists at present amongst us."

76.—T. Verner to Charlemont.

1763, August 6th, Church hill.—"In consequence of the measures concerted at Armagh, when your lordship was present, to have the chiefs and incendiaries of the riotous mobs in this county apprehended, five different parties of the gentlemen with the light horse, detached themselves into as many different parts of the country last Monday night. We set out at midnight, but to little purpose, for upon search till six next morning we had taken but one, Robert Marks,the rest were all fled and left the country. This Marks was committed to gaol last Tuesday. He is a man of some property, about £100 a year real estate—but alledges he was involuntarily forced by the mob to go out and appear abroad with them. The whole country are alarmed beyond measure, and so terrified that they dare not sleep in their own houses, but lie abroad in the fields, lest of being taken by the light horse; for they are all conscious of their guilt, but they sincerely repent of their transgressions and seek forgiveness with assurances of good behaviour and obedience to the laws for the future. Certain it is that their trades and business are totally neglected and the linen manufacture is very manifestly declining. I am using my best endeavours to inform the country that they may all (except a few well known to them) return with security to themselves to their respective homes and employments, and telling them that it is their future conduct will recommend them to the pardon of those they treated ill. I never knew the country in so submissive a state, they are fully convinced of their errors. Your lordship's presence in the country and the measures you took produced that happy effect.

"Your lordship, I understand by a letter from Mr. McGeough, desires the association of the gentlemen in this county to be sent you. Mr. McCan got it from me, but I shall send your lordship a copy of it next post."

77.—Sir Capel Molyneux to Charlemont.

1763, August 24th, Castle Dillon.—"The meeting of the late grand jury, which was to have been held on the 15th, produced nothing of consequence, owing to the absence of several gentlemen who should have attended, neither has anything material occured since I had the honor of writing last to your lordship.

"We have been told a great deal here of a proclamation, shortly expected to be made public, setting forth the names of such among the rioters as were indicted at our last assizes. I wish much to know whether the report has any truth in it, and whether your lordship may have heard anything of it."

78.—Charlemont to Marlay.

1763, August --, Dublin.—" Your letter, my dearest Dick, should not have remained so long unanswered, but that I did not receive it till at my return from the north, since which time the same business, which carried me thither, has kept me so constantly employed that I have scarce had time to write. That expedition, you may well judge, was nothing less than pleasant. And yet as every unpleasing occurrence appears more or less disagreable by comparison, and in proportion as we are happy or wretched at the time when it happens, I must confess this disagreeable journey appeared to me a great deal less so than it would perhaps have done at any other period of my life. I flatter myself that my presence in the country has had the desired effect, and, by bringing gentlemen together and ingaging them to act with unanimity and vigour, has somewhat contributed to reduce the counties of Armagh and Tyrone to that degree of tranquillity which they now enjoy. Your mountains have, I find, escaped the general contagion, and your small dues have remained unattacked. Poor Hacket's parish, as he himself with tears assured me, which ought to produce him the full sum of twenty-five pounds sterling per annum, was by these unmerciful rioters shamelessly reduced to five pounds. I was present at the visitation at Armagh, a ceremony I never saw before, nor did I now see it completely, for there was, to my inexpressible loss, not a scrap of sermon, the preacher having ran away. Dublin is almost as empty as I desire it should be, and the dismal weather has concurred to make Marino capable of affording me very little dissipation. But dissipation is a remedy only proper for those who can be amused. For my part I may well say :—

'Ogni oggetto ch'altrui piace
Per me lieto più non è ;
Ho perduta la mia pace,
Son io stesso in odio a me.'

These lines, which you will understand, when you have learned Italian, say a great deal, though not a bit too much.

" Tom is not yet arrived. I have a constant look-out for him, and shall take care that he does not escape me. He has gained the Veseys' hearts to a most inconceivable degree. I really believe that Mrs. Vesey would prefer him to anything under an earl, or the author of a folio. Baronets or pamphleteers, I am confident, he has entirely got the better of in her good graces, and if he would but be knighted and write even a ballad, I doubt not in the least but that he would be at the top of her list. Vous voyez que je cherche a m'égayer afin de ne vous pas ennuyer : vous devez m'en savoir gré quoique je ne puisse pas y réussir—

'Hei mihi difficile est imitari gaudia falsa,
Difficile est tristi fingere mente jocum,
Nec bene mendaci risus componitur ore ! '

" I believe then I had better conclude, for, though your goodness might pardon and excuse a dull letter, yet I am certain you love me too well not to be much affected at the receipt of a melancholy one from me ; and this consideration was indeed one principal cause why I have so long delayed writing. Dissimulation is a science I am no ways skilled in, and my letters to you have been always so used to speak the language of my heart, that they cannot be constrained to learn any other. I shall, therefore, suffer this to conclude with the only period of that language, which can afford you any pleasure by assuring you that I am, and ever will remain, 'quisquis erit vitæ color,' your most sincere faithful and affectionate friend."

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

79.—Marlay to Charlemont.

1763, September the 8th, Calverstown.—". . You cannot expect any news. I might tell you of the books I read, of my morning and evening walks, etc., etc. of the agreeable conversations I have with the Dons and the Vans our neighbours; but I will not trouble you with a full account of these things as you can easily imagine them. I shall remain here till the auction is over at Celbridge, where I hear Mrs. Marlay has sold the walls. She has received great comfort in her afflictions, from fourteen pence, which she received for a shelf in the larder and an old tin cannister."

80.—Patent for Charlemont Earldom.[1]

1763, December 24, Dublin Castle.—"Accept of my most sincere wishes long to enjoy the honour, of which I send you his majesty's patent, which has passed through all the necessary forms. I also inclose to your lordship an account of the several fees paid at the different offices, the amount of which I have received from your lordship's banker, Annesley Stewart, esq., in which I have admitted none, but such as are usual and customary. If in the prosecution of this business any delay has arisen, it has not been owing to any negligence on my part, or want of zeal for your service.—G. Villeneufve.

[Enclosure.]

"Fees paid at the sundry offices for passing the patent creating the right honourable lord viscount Charlemont an earl.

"English fees, paid by sir Robert Wilmot, and paid here to Mr. Meredyth, £62 14*s.*; recommendatory letter, £1 11*s.* 5*d.*; copying and entering the king's letter, £1 5*s.*; lord lieutenant's warrant and clerks, £14 15*s.* 6*d.*; attorney and solicitor general for the fiant, £61 12*s.*; do. for another fiant, with a preamble, £5 13*s.* 9*d.*; signing the fiant by the lord lieutenant, £2 10*s.*; docket office, for entering the docket and clerks, £2 5*s.* 3*d.*; king of arms, for the fees of honour, £125 7*s.* 6*d.*; do. for embellishing the patent, £11 7*s.* 6*d.*; signet office, for entering the fiant and clerks, £2 10*s.* 3*d.*; lord chancellor and hanaper's several fees, £47 4*s.* 4*d.*; clerk in hanaper, extra, 11*s.* 4½*d.*; enrolling the patent and clerks, £25 15*s.* 1½*d.*; case for the patent, £1 0*s.* 5*d.*; office keeper, 5*s.* 5*d.*—£366 8*s.* 10*d.*; usual fee for solicitation, £22 15*s.* —£389 3*s.* 10*d.*"

81.—Letter from Charlemont.

1764, Oct. 17, London.—"Very cold and moist weather, with a piercing easterly wind, has at length determined me to write to your ladyship, a duty, which I have hitherto postponed merely from the want of that sort of news which I knew would be most pleasing to your goodness, and which I now with pleasure perform because I can inform you that, notwithstanding this most searching of all winds and this most unfavourable weather, I find myself rather better than when I had last the honour of writing to you, and have from thence the strongest reason to flatter myself that

[1] *See* p. 136.

my disorder is now not far from being completely conquered, and that my enlargement from these cursed rheumatic stocks, in which I have so long sate, is now not very distant, and that I may once more indulge myself in the pleasing hopes of being at liberty to choose that sort of life which may best agree with my taste; which, however, I must confess will not be exactly that which you, with all your powers of eloquence, though you have painted it in the most pleasing colours, and placed it in the most advantageous light, will never be able to make me prefer to that noise and bustle which you despise. And here I must take the liberty of disagreeing with your ladyship, and with all due deference, of insisting that this same life of peace, of which you seem so fond, may be the best to make a figure upon paper, but is not by any means the best to lead. Inaction and want of occupation are contrary to our nature, and any agitation, even though its cause may be a painful one, is preferable to that dead calm, in which the soul loses the pleasure of exercising its principal functions. Everything in nature grows worse by rest. Without frequent storms the air would grow impure and unfit for respiration. Stagnated water presently corrupts. Fire exists but by constant and violent motion, and even the inert earth will produce nothing fit for use unless when perpetually agitated and turned by the hands of the labourer; and shall we, who are compounded of these elements, and have beside in our wonderful composition a principle still more active than any of them, imagine that inaction can be suited to our nature? Let the wise declaim as they please, they shall never persuade me that happiness can be placed in cold contentment. Nature has formed us never to be contented. She has given us desires for something more even in our happiest moments; and in this she has consulted our happiness, which, as she has thus taught us, consists rather in the agitation of the mind, than in that stupid calm, which absolute content would produce. Let any man consider what his situation would be, if he had nothing to desire—nothing to hope. Surely he would find it by no means eligible. No, give me agitation—nerves quick and sensible to all the excesses of pleasure and of pain—senses perfect in all their perceptions, and objects to keep them in constant occupation, whether agreeable or disagreeable let chance and the common course of things determine; and when old age shall at length have hardened and numbed my nerves, and blunted the edge of my senses, then and then only let me have recourse to that peace and content, which then only can be of use. But whither has my warmth transported me? Into a long argumentation contradictory to your sentiments, and to those of all the wise, in which too upon recollection there may possibly be not one word of sense. Can your ladyship forgive me? Yes, you can. . . I write also to one who knows that I am sometimes wild, and do not always think in the same manner for an hour at a time, and who is accustomed to forgive these odd incoherencies to one, who possesses at least one principle stable and immutable, that of being, with the greatest respect and the truest sincerity, madam, your ladyship's most faithful and obedient, humble servant."

82.—Lucas to his sister, Mrs. Heatly, Dublin.

1765, September 6, Cork.—"I am sensibly obliged by the tender part you bear in my sufferings, and not less by your kind attempt to console me. Everything, however, of this kind, must yet be fruitless. She that was the sum of worldly happiness to me; she who could blunt the keenest edge of adversity, and sweeten the bitter cup of life, is not much more than a month fled from me, from calamity to which I wedded her, to a place fitter for

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her angelic spirit. You know that in her, heaven fulfilled all the wishes and desires of my heart. Can she be so soon forgot, whose loss is ever to be felt and deplored? Was she given to me, with all her charms and perfections, to make the loss more insupportable? What shall I say? What shall I think? Which way shall I turn? What shall I do? I know, I must live—so much the worse. I must endeavour to fulfil my task. How hard is the lot. I am determined, as far as I can. That is not much, for I am deplorably weak, and decrepit. I shall set out soon for home. Home! I have no home but where my Penelope dwells. I will go to Dublin and there do the best I can. . . . My son Charles's expedition has reached your ears. He set out to see me, where he had no right to hope to find me and is now in London. Is this right? I wrote to Julia upon coming here, but never got a line from her. But why should I tease you with all my troubles? Some comfort, my babies, the dear pledges of my Penelope's love, are both well; like the mother. Oh! that they may be as good. It is happy, I did not bring them to this vile town, where the worst small-pox rages. Yet, I am doubly wretched without them. I long, yet dread to see you. I hope to leave this place next week."

83.—Leland to Charlemont.

1766, Tuesday, March 11.—"It is my pleasure and my pride to write to you. But such is the situation of my life, that I am obliged to practise what I learned from your lordship, and to begin my letter on Sunday. I hear and believe you are well: and I am happy to hear it, though I should know nothing more about you. Many thanks for your account of Burke: I love him affectionately, and I think most highly of him. For many days I was in great anxiety about him: I had confirmed myself in the opinion that he must do great things; and yet I don't know how, the first accounts I heard of his speaking in the house seemed tinctured with that cursed envy we are so very fond of casting on the merit of our countrymen. I wish we had a hundred Burkes, to take their and our revenge in England, for that worse than Egyptian plague of locusts sent here, to blast and defile this wretched land. If I knew much of our Irish politics, I should not trouble you with my accounts; for I know you get them from Flood. Our present gov[ernor] [1] becomes every day more and more obnoxious to the mob. And indeed your friend the sp[eake]r [2] is likely not to be quite a favourite. I pitied him the other day: for indeed he was in a situation that must have been very mortifying. The affair you must know. It was to the last degree ridiculous; and though by no means a violent patriot, my indignation was never raised so high: no, not when the one-handed chaplain from England was made a bishop. You say we dare not shew any refractory dispositions in the college.[3] Do you know that the other bishop from Aberdeen applied for a degree in divinity, and was refused, though a lord of parliament? But I must explain what I mean by being refused. People were previously informed that a motion was to be made for granting his degree, and almost every one readily answered that they never would consent. This, by my advice, was intimated to his lordship, and he withdrew his application. The present first chaplain, an Irishman too, applied for the same favour, in the same manner, and with the same success. His manner of soliciting

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[1] Earl of Hertford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1765–66. *See* p. 22.
[2] John Ponsonby, M.P. for county of Kilkenny.
[3] Trinity college, Dublin.

voices was odd enough:—'I assure you, gentlemen, by granting me this favour you pay no sort of compliment to the l[ord] l[ieutenant]. If it were a compliment to him, I never should presume to ask or expect it.' And so, as it was not a compliment to his ex[cellency], we refused him too.

"You see, my lord, my ideas are confined within the narrow sphere of my college. I am informed that Charles Townsend is bringing in a bill for abolishing all restraints, and giving a free course to matrimony and honest propagation in Cambridge. Tell Ned Burke I expect he will support this bill with all his power, on the peril of my severest displeasure. And if Mr. Townsend will have Ireland expressly mentioned in this bill, we are ready to acknowledge ourselves firmly bound by it.

"I should proceed to say something of your domestic affairs, but alas, I have no time to spend at Marino, though our weather has been so fine. At Dominick-street all is as usual . . . For the first time I was at Mrs. Vesey's on Sunday evening. If I should say I disliked the scene and almost every actor in it, you would impute it to affectation or bad taste, so I shall keep my thoughts to myself. Only N.B.: lord Long[ford][1] did me the honour to repeat to me by heart, two long speeches which he read out of his paper in the house of lords; for, like majesty, he was in good humour. Deliver me from such good humour! Tell Jephson I remember him with regard. Could you think it? Lucas[2] divided a few days since, against Flood and sir William Osburne[3]? But I must have done. Farewell, and sometimes remember your poor chaplain, who is and ever will be, etc.

"It is now Tuesday, March 11, 1766: I would give you an account of Irish political pamphlets, but I read but one called 'An analysis,' or some such name. It seems to me to have been the work of two different people, and the first thirteen pages I take to have been strangely mangled in the publication."

84.—Flood to Charlemont.

1766, March 27.—"I find it in vain to attempt any expression of the infinite pleasure I receive from your admirable letters. They satisfy in everything but one, and in that particular they render me more disatisfied, viz.: that you who speak so inimitably for others will not speak for yourself. I waited for the fate of my militia bill before I acknowledged your last. It was finally determined yesterday. The whole power of government was set against it, merely because I was the proposer of it. On Monday last, when I was to make my report, Gisborne[4] in an elaborate argument contraverted the whole bill and moved that the report should be postponed to the 1st of July. Lord Beauchamp[5] (strange) seconded the motion. I endeavoured to confute what they had said. Our friend, Langrishe[6], supported me. Neville Jones,[7] which you will wonder at, spoke sensibly in my favour. The temper of the house turned, and the attorney-general[8], who is offended, joined against the postponement, in favour of recommittal, and Gisborne, lord Beauchamp and Hutchinson[9] were obliged to retract. Yesterday, after having moved heaven and earth to get and to keep people away, and after having

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[1] Thomas Pakenham, created baron Longford in 1756. [2] *See* p. 9.
[3] M.P. for Carysfort. [4] Colonel James Gisborne, M.P. for Tallaght.
[5] Francis Seymour Conway, M.P. for borough of Lisburn.
[6] Hercules Langrishe, M.P. for Knocktopher. [7] *See* p. 203.
[8] Philip Tisdall, M.P. for Trinity College, Dublin.
[9] John Hely Hutchinson, prime sergeant, M.P. for Cork.

amused weak men with promises of a militia bill next session of parliament, they got sir Archibald Acheson[1] to move that Mr. Carew,[2] who took the chair for me, should leave it. We had a long debate and Hutchinson and your humble servant had another pitched battle. Whatever argument was, numbers were lamentably against us. Between the avocations of assizes and the numbers that were kept away by infinite assiduity, we were reduced to 30, tellers exclusive, and they had 78. One awkward circumstance happened in the debate. I had received a letter about a week before from the 'Genius of Hayes' in which he repeated his favourable sentiments of militia in this country. I mentioned this to two or three friends in confidence. Beauchamp heard of this. He supposed, I presume, that I would make use of this (which was very absurd) and prepared a little harangue, and, rather than lose it, made his little harangue, which obliged me to call upon him for an explanation and to declare that he said it without the least foundation. On this, he allowed he had no foundation for it, and retracted. Was it intended to make a malicious use of this, or was it mere absurdity? I am just stepping into my chaise for our assizes. Forgive my hurry and the very ill amends I make you for your invaluable correspondence."

85.—Robert Jephson to Charlemont.

1766, 1 Octobre, Boulogne.—" Ce n'est pas faute de reconnoissance de la letre gracieuse que mon cher lord Charlemont m'a fait l'honneur de m'ecrire, avant mon départ de Londres, ni d'affoiblessement de sentimens d'amitié et de respect (dont mon cœur sera toujours penetré) que jusqu'ici j'ai differé à y repondre, et lui en faire mes remerciemens : mais depuis ce tems-la toujours occupé de mes petites affaires, qui, quoique frivoles qu'elles paroissent à tout autre, deviennent pour moi de jours en jours plus serieuses et exigent toute mon attention ; ce qui fait, que je n'ai plus le loisir ni d'écrire ni de penser qu'à d'elles : car à quoi sert-il de se plaindre à un ami aussi eloigné et aussi enjoué que monseigneur ; achever tout ce que je pourrois dire à mon sujet, avec le triste recit d'une nécessité génante qui contraint un pauvre reformé comme moi, sans biens et presque sans esperances, à quitter sa patrie, n'ayant même de quoi bien vivre dans quelque autre que ce soit. Cependant (vous me direz) comment sçaurai-je me justifier dans ce que contient ma premiere lettre a l'egard de Marlay, et de ses recits qui n'etoient reservés que pour lui ? En voici mon excuse : avant que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire je lui etois iongtems redevable d'une lettre et j'en deferois l'aveu par les memes raisons qui cy-dessus je vous ai cité, pour m'acquitter d'une negligence qui, supposé qu'elle fût reelle, ne seroit susceptible de la moindre justification. D'ailleurs comme je me proposois de lui informer de tout ce que m'interessoit, pouvois-je trouver un moyen plus sur de vous en faire part, qu'en lui ecrivant ? car comme ami aussi intime qu'il est de tous deux, il ne tarderoit surement pas à porter chez vous ma lettre. Considerez donc, mon cher comte : tout ce que j'ai voulû communiquer à mon sujet vous est également addressé, et ne croyez jamais qu'apres tant de preuves de votre consideration pour moi j'en serois si peu susceptible que de douter de la part que vous y prenez, vous qui par bonté de cœur vous interessez même pour les inconnus. Mais qu-est ce que je lui communiquerais ? et helas tout est passé et il ne me reste que le souvenir ridicule d'avoir été encore une fois le dupe de promesses trompeuses, et de frivoles fleurettes que certain genre de

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[1] *See* p. 204.

[2] Thomas Carew, M.P. for borough of Dungarvan.

badins m'avoient conté. Par exemple, mon ami Ham[ilto]n, (si abondant en expediens propres à lui concilier les gens, sans leur rendre grands services) se croyoit à la veille de devenir ministre de la guerre, pourvû que milord Temple accepteroit un charge dans l'administration qui vient de se former sous l'appui du feu monsieur Pitt,[1] et il m'asseura que le soin de ma fortune lui seroit toujours cher, et qu'en consequence il parleroit à milord Granby,[2] commandant-en-chef, pour y prêter la main. Mais au lieu de ça, des évènements fâcheux, qui ne servirent qu'à reveiller l'esprit remuant et à aigrir le chagrin de milord Temple, renverserent le tout, et laisserent à milord la liberté qu'il aime à briguer, et à traverser, et à moi la seule satisfaction qui me reste (assez infructueuse), de le maudire et de le blâmer. Mon cher lord Charlemont me pardonnera si je lui recite encore une partie de l'acte seconde de la comédie de ma vie : à Dieu ne plaise qu'elle resemblât trop à la premiere dans le denouement qui est encore à developer! Voici comme elle commence : trois ou quatre jours avant mon départ de Londres, je rencontrais monsieur Townshend, (dont vous sçavez bien le génie profond et spirituel) et nous passâmes le jour ensemble. Apres qu'il m'eût donné une idée tres avantageuse de son esprit et de ses talens, en traitant devant moi mille matieres diverses, il m'en donnat aussi de son cœur et de sa genérosité en daignant passer d'elles à mes petites affaires. Il me sembloit qu'il s'y interessoit avec une bonté qui me touchât, et d'abord me priât d'accepter le poste de son secretaire dans le seul dessin (comme il disoit) de m'avoir auprès de lui. Je lui remerciai de mauvaise grace en ne me rendant pas à une telle proposition, mais un reste de défiance joint à la honte de tirer à ses fraix un salaire de deux cent livres sterling, l'emporterent sur toute consideration. Cependant il ne cessât pas de m'assurer qu'il feroit sur le champ des grands efforts pour m'obtenir une charge convenable, et suffisante de me rétablir à Londres. Il y a un mois que je suis ici et point encore de charge . . peut-être pour éprouver combien peu on doit se fonder sur les promesses et les louanges. Je ne me plaindrois pas trop de ma destiné si je n'emporterois d'autre profit de celles (dont monsieur Townshend m'avait comblé) que la seule vanitè d'avoir une fois attiré l'approbation passagère d'un esprit si eclairé que le sien. Car combien de fois n'ai-je pas déja éprouvé que les promesses ne se terminerent que dans des apologies, et les caresses que dans la froideur la plus humiliante. Me voici donc dans un pays étranger, où on ne me promette, ni on me flatte, où on ni me trompe, ni on me neglige. Ici sans autre société que ce qui est compris en ma femme et en quelques livres, je goute le bonheur mediocre de la tranquillité, de la perte duquelle on ne sçauroit se dédommager ailleurs; mais en même tems de borner ici mes vues, et d'y fixer pour jamais ma retraite, ce seroit de me trouver reduit dans un etat beaucoup plus facheux que n'etoit celui dont j'ai voulu me mettre à couvert en me retirant de ma patrie. Ainsi je viens de vous conter la partie la plus essentielle de mon histoire, n'y etant point porté par l'amour-propre (ce qui le rend presque toujours agreable a parler de soi-même) mais plutôt par l'inclination de vous marquer a quel point je me repose sur l'attention dont vous m'avez honoré. D'ailleurs en ayant si bien circonstancié les choses, je m'ai fait naitre une espèce de droit d'esperance d'une confiance de votre part bien plus importante parceque tout ce qu'il a du rapport à milord me paroit telle. Je serais charmé d'apprendre que la vie reguliere que vous menez et les bains de la mer vous aient procures cette santé qui est si bien due à votre

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[1] William Pitt, created viscount Pitt and earl of Chatham in August, 1766.

[2] *Sec* p. 262.

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patience et au soin que vos amis souhaitent que vous en preniez. Je viens ici de vous offrir mon premier essai ('rudis indigestaque moles') dans une langue dont je ne connois presque les accidents, et je vous ai preferé à tout autre ami, pour une pareille confiance, puisque les critiques les plus sçavans sont toujours les plus indulgents."

86.—Rev. E. Murphy to Charlemont.

1767, April 24–25, [Dublin].—"Doctor Leland is the most charitable man alive. For, he no sooner received your lordship's letter (full of spirits, with a little nibbling satire on himself, 'come morde una pecora,' as de la Casa would have private raillery do) than he galloped with it from Dublin up to my cell. I had heard too much of the savage attack of the rheumatism on you; and I leave you to judge, what a cordial the good doctor administered to me. I wish he was made a bishop here, though he would not match our present set, who are all picked men. He has no prudence. He will never be worth a groat. Pray scold him. If your lordship be not a great philosopher, and particularly in fortitude, it is your own fault. For you have had for many years a better master than Cratippus, or even Socrates. I mean that same master, rheumatism, whom none can equal in teaching reflective philosophy. I find fair England agrees as ill with you as, I believe, it will with the purses of French marquisses: and I say with truth and vanity, that the suns and shades of Marino are fitter for you than those of Memphis, old Hesperia, or even old England. There is not on the globe a better climate than this of ours, if you take in all circumstances, except that of Scotland. I have burdened poor doctor Leland with a sackful of packets for some of the greatest men in Britain, which I beg your lordship will be so good as to get delivered by proper hands. Their answers will be to me criterions of their greatness, and if they send me no answers, I must consider those no-answerers as ignoramuses. Two of those packets contain somewhat that is particular, and I therefore leave them open for your lordship's perusal, that you may send or suppress them as you see fit, the rest are all equally circular, and contain no more than does the paper addressed to your lordship. I do not send this epistle a-fishing for a letter from you, for your very kind words are rendered very needless by your much kinder actions. I understand by your letter to doctor Leland that in the height of your rheumatism, and even during Lent, you have been gormandizing—in the bishop of Oxford's [1] company; and, I suppose, on all the other high messes of that kind you could procure in London. Pray, should not mental gluttony be prohibited as well as corporal? and if mortification be a duty, should it not be practised in our self-denial with regard to our highest pleasures. O tempora, O mores!—But none of you dare thus indulge yourselves in any polite company, where pious souls mortify, I may say plague each other with their chit-chat, which beats the bitterest herbs that hermit ever eat. I would recommend it to your lordship to hasten hither and atone for your late excesses by the company of our bishops here. I have swept out and properly decorated my cell and turret, and nothing is wanting to raise me in happiness above all other mortals, and even above myself, but a sight of your lordship in vigorous health. I wish you could drag hither Messrs. Johnson, Hume, Burke, Phelps, et ceteros, with a few smatterers for my use. As all men must die, should any thing happen in that way to our primate,[2] drag hither also

[1] Robert Lowth, bishop of Oxford, and subsequently of London; author of treatise "De sacra poesi Hebræorum," 1753, Life of William of Wykeham, etc.

[2] Richard Robinson, appointed primate of Ireland in 1765.

doctor Lowth to fill his place as well as he can. I would use these sorts of stopgaps till I could get men to, I will not presume to say, my mind, but to those of the usual judges.

". . Poor Leland! Yesterday calling to deliver him my great bundle and bid him adieu I found him lying on his back, having broken, in stepping out of a coach, the great tendon of his left leg; but he had no fever, and was much better than could be expected. I wish he may be able to see London in three months hence. What trifling animals are we! And yet how do we strut and swagger? There is not in the visible creation such ridiculous beings as men are; very few excepted. If Mr. Hume visits you, pray ask him and Messrs. [Samuel] Johnson and Burke to dinner, and after dinner, let a servant deliver him my packet, previously sealed up by your lordship, and pray make him open it before you."

87.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

i.—1767, August 25th, London.—" In obedience to your lordship's first letter I herewith send a design for the iron gates of the entrance to Marino, done in the manner your lordship desires. My clerk has misunderstood my sketch and committed a mistake or two in the drawing which I have endeavoured to correct in the margin as there is not time this post for drawing it more correctly. I fancy the smith will understand it sufficiently. If not, I have kept a sketch of it by me and can send a more correct drawing in sufficient time if your lordship thinks it necessary. With regard to the contents of your lordship's second letter from Dublin, I shall certainly do what I can to serve Mr. Sprowles, and procure him admittance if possible into our new furnished houses, though the task is by no means easy, as it begins to be the fashion for the ladies to lock up their rooms and carry the keys in their own pockets. I beg your lordship will present my most humble respects to her grace the duchess of Leinster and be so obliging to tell her that I shall with great pleasure obey her grace's commands on this and all other occasions on which she shall please to honor me with them. I am sorry to find your lordship so much distressed with your workmen. Give me leave to offer a piece of Italian advice: 'bisogna aver phlegma [flemma].' I am not sure that the spelling is right, but I am sure the prescription is the only efficacious one yet discovered. The pattern head and also the pattern for the cove, cornice, etc. of the casino were sent off a good while ago; they must be found to hand before this and, I hope, safe. I sent to Barret to tell him he must contrive to send by first opportunity the sample of the sky-blew as the things I had to send were already gone and therefore it could not go with them. I am sorry there is no person in Ireland to rely on for fixing the tints of the painting, as there is no possibility of sending patterns over unaltered, the want of air always making a very considerable alteration in the colours before they arrive at Dublin. I have inclosed the designs for the medal drawers. The poor man who had the bronzes in hand hath laid at the point of death for some time and there is no hope of his recovery; so that as soon as I can get the models I must employ some other person to do the work, both for the medal cases and the Tritons. Alken has carved one of the little heads for the corner of the doors of the medal cases. It is very fine, but as he tells me he cannot do them under three guineas and a half a head, I have stopped his further progress till I hear from your lordship, and I think antique patteras or nails which will cost but a trifle will answer the purpose almost as well. Be pleased to send me the inscriptions which are to be on the shields of the medal cases, for Mr. Anderson has lost the former ones."

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ii.—1767, September 12, Berners Street.—. . . "I feared myself you would not like the model of the head. I thought it dull when here, and I suppose it may have changed somewhat in the passage, but it is all they can do in green, and when it is in a quantity it looks much better than single. I am glad the painter is to be here. I have not seen him yet, but when I do I will get him all the information I possibly can relating to colours. Alken I have set about a head of Plato, to match that of Homer, and also about a pattera for to supply the places of the heads. The Hercules Musarum is boasted, but the wood being damp he has been obliged to kiln-dry it; when that is done he will set about the finishing and do it with all possible care. . I have sent here inclosed a border for the flat of the casino ceiling, but can send no design for the center till I have the dimensions of the flat exactly, and if I could have a tracing on this paper of the whole ceiling it would be still better. The designs for the French table-feet shall be sent very soon."

iii.—1767, September 15th, London.—"I wrote to your lordship two or three days ago, so that I have nothing now to say only to let you know that one of the Tritons for the candlesticks is cast; but as I find the pair will come to 36*l.* by the time they are finished, exclusive of the models, I have stopt farther proceedings till I hear from your lordship. For my own part, as these things are rather for show than use, I should recommend the wooden ones well bronzed, which, at the distance they are to stand will look full as well as real bronze. . ."

"Inclosed I send the design for the foot of the side-boards for the French room. I have made them 7 foot long 2–9 wide and about 3 feet high, that they may range with the top of the surbase which I suppose to be about that height. It is difficult if not impossible to make out all the twists and turns of these sorts of works by a design, but if your lordship's carver is able and a little acquainted with French contours he will easily comprehend my drawing."

iv.—1767, October 2nd.—"The bronze candlestieks shall be finished with all possible expedition and also all the other things ordered by your lordship of Anderson. He is dead, and his wife out of town; so that I know not exactly what was begun and what was not; but I find that the ornaments for the medal cases are cast and his man will finish them as well as he could have done himself. Herewith I send a design for the Apollo's head, and also one for a new galloss, as the one before sent cannot be reduced to $4\frac{5}{4}$ inches without being too trifling."

v.—1767, December 19th, Berner Street.—"I received your letter and in obedience to your lordship's commands have made a design for girandoles which I think may do for the ante-room to the library, and I believe they will do best of the size I have drawn them; though to be certain it will be best to have one drawn full size upon paper and set in the place where it is to be."

vi.—1768, February 9th, London.—"I think the looking-glass in the girandoles of the library anteroom will answer very well. . . I believe we shall be able to finish the ornaments for the medal-cases exactly, as we have found some figured sketches relating thereto. . . Cipriani and Wilton are both hard at it for your lordship. Inclosed I send Cipriani's drawing for the dragons of the gate at Marino. . . The vases were sent off some time ago for Chester, being 12 in number and the only tolerable forms I could meet with."

vii.—March 12, Berner Street.—"The ornaments for the medal cases and the Triton candle-branches are nearly finished and shall be soon sent. With regard to Cipriani and Wilton, I fear it must be a letter from your lordship that can induce them to be expeditious. The Tritons are finished all but the bronzing, and they are so finely executed that it would be a pity not to have them quite complete. I have therefore ordered them to be entirely gilded, for I feared that bronzing would make them appear dull, and partly gilding upon the bronze would look tawdry. This will encrease the expence of them, but I think it will answer when done."

88.—Joseph Baretti to Charlemont.

1768, April 5th, London.—"I thank your lordship for your kind letter, and am very glad to find that you are pleased with my work. Wilton and Cipriani have both read your postscript. Wilton says that your table had long been done, but that the man who was to make the frame is dead, and he flatters himself that another will have finished it within a fortnight. As to Cipriani, he is made almost desperate with too much business. The king has long employed him, and made him neglect the works of other people by sending every day to see how he went on with a ceiling for one of the queen's rooms. However, of your five pictures he has almost finished four, and promises to make an end of them all with all possible haste."

89.—G. B. Cipriani to [Sir William Chambers].

1768, Wednesday, April.—"I have this morning received the paragraph of the letter of lord Charlemont, which you was so kind to send me. His lordship must be very well informed that as soon as I have finished the queen's ceiling, many gentlemen that had honoured me with their commands has been upon me and every one wishing to be served first. My case is different to that of Mr. Wilton, for I have not help, nor health sufficient to satisfy all my engagements except a decent time is allowed to me. As to what his lordship pleases to call me tedious, you may assure him that the paintings in chiaro 'scuro which I have allready forwarded for him, are extremely more tedious than his lordship can imagine, as I am forced to paint them over and over again, to bring them to one even colour, and often after they are finished the white turn so much as to want to be covered entirely, so much that these pictures shall be the last that I will ever undertake in this kind of painting. You may, sir, assure his lordship that the four medallions for over the doors will be finished and ready in a fortnight's time, but I should chuse to send them all together with the basso rilievo for the chimney, for the reason above mentioned of keeping them of the same colour."

90.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

[1768, April 15, London.]—"I am honoured with your lordship's kind letter, and in obedience to your commands have forwarded the drawings with all possible expedition. The garden front will I hope please, and the plan of the ground floor is now much more convenient, the dining-room is of a fine size; but I have not drawn a cove, for I think it will do better without; the little apartment in the wing opposite the dining-room will, I think, answer your lordship's purpose for a private study and bedroom. The offices are underground; they are not numerous though

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sufficient, I apprehend, for a building of this kind. The stair A is necessary to serve the table without passing through the drawing-room or study ; the kitchen and butler's pantry are lighted by an area which I suppose may easily be made ; and the servants' hall, stair and pantry, must be lighted by openings in the ground covered with grates ; all the flues of the chimneys must be brought into the wall C and terminate in the stack D. As I am unacquainted with the exposition of the building, I may perhaps have placed some of the rooms improperly. The dining room should not have its principal light to the west nor the private study to the east. The larder and pantry should look north, and a south or east light will be rather inconvenient for the kitchen. These things I mention that they may be attended to in planting the building. With regard to the casino, the frize of the door will do best with oakleaves. I have sent a drawing for the plafond of the angular recesses and another for the pavement, composed of Portland and black marble, which I think will do better than dove. Some of the octagons are larger in my drawing than others, which I did to make them range with the bases of the columns, but it will be better to make them all of a size. The top of the casino may be flat; it will make a pleasant gazebo. Lead will be the best covering, at least seven pounds to the foot superficial; copper is more expensive than lead, poisons all the rain water, and cannot easily be made tight. The false doors in the saloon may safely be left out: it will even be best to leave them out. Your lordship's letter and another received by the same post from Verpyle make mention of some designs for parqueted floors for the casino. It is the first news I heard of them, but they require some thought ; therefore I cannot send them by this letter. In a post or two they shall be sent without fail and the designs for the boudoir shall be sent with all possible expedition. I have seen Muntz and pressed him to finish your lordship's designs several times. He says now your lordship shall have a sketch of it by next post. I have not had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Leland, nor have I the pleasure to be acquainted with him. However if he does me the honour to call I can easily get him introduced to the brute Johnson. I hope soon to see your lordship in London."

91. CHARLEMONT to MARY HICKMAN, subsequently LADY CHARLEMONT.

i.—1768, May 30, Dublin.—" The only channel through which I can possibly send this letter is by the means of our kind and dear friend, Miss Jephson. Having sufficiently prepared her with regard to the exact propriety of its contents, she chearfully consents to transmit it. Indeed with a degree of joy, which plainly shews her great friendship for both of us. It now remains that we should concert the manner in which, in case of acceptance, it will be best to proceed, and, if in this matter I may venture to give my opinion, I should think that the best and most unexceptionable method would be that, after having informed, under a promise of secrecy for the present, whatever friend or friends you may think necessary, which may be done effectually by shewing only a part of my letter, you should, as soon as you can with propriety, and oh, let that be speedily! return to Clontarf, where our former intimacy may be unaffectedly and naturally renewed, and in a few days afterwards I will terminate the important affair, which is to render my happiness, and oh, let me add, yours too, compleat. My reasons for this manner of acting are, in the first place, that my health will not permit me in its present state to venture an intermission of sea-bathing, so as to leave me at liberty to follow

you to the country, and besides any expedient, which might appear extraordinary, would necessarily become a subject of public discussion, and in affairs of this sort the more uniformly and naturally they appear to be conducted, certainly the better. Now I believe that you will be of opinion, that either my going down to the country, or even the cause of your return being publicly declared there, might probably give room for much conversation, which I believe you will conclude had better be avoided, and which, by the method I have hinted, will undoubtedly be prevented. But alas, all that I have now said is only provisional, perhaps, after all. But I will not think it. The idea is too dreadful. . . The more speedy your determination, the more its execution is accelerated, the more certain you will make me of that affection, which is my soul's warmest wish, and the more and greater obligation you will confer on him, whom, if you love him, as sure you do, you must ardently desire to oblige, and who wishes for nothing so warmly as to be still farther endeared to you by a perpetual and constant course of mutual obligations. . . Let me see you quickly, and pursue the method which I have taken the libertyto intimate, on which the more I reflect,the more strongly I am confirmed in thinking it for every reason the properest and the best. Your unexpected return, it is true, may probably create some suspicion at Clontarf, but those suspicions will be so speedily changed into a certainty, that they can be of no importance. I am sure your goodness would prompt you to be somewhat displeased if I should conclude this letter without giving you some account of my present state of health. I have indeed been extremely ill and am still much out of order, but am however a good deal better than I was. A violent nervous palpitation is what at present most affects me, but that is, I think, rather less troublesome. My spirits have been sadly oppressed, but the writing of this letter, and the dear enlivening hopes of its probable consequences, have in a great measure already relieved them. Had I but health, all other defects and imperfections would be indeed of little weight. My temper how singular soever it may be, is certainly not a bad one, and I plainly perceive that my affection for you would quickly bring it in all essentials to an exact conformity with yours; while your goodness would, I am certain, most chearfully meet it half way; nor should I in the least doubt that your love, when, instead of curbing it, reason would direct you to give it a loose rein, would be fully sufficient almost to satisfy even my sensibility. Nothing then remains but want of health, and even of this your affection may get the better. That alone indeed can prevail over it, and, if vanity has not made me much mistake your sentiments for me, I cannot help flattering myself that it will. But indeed I will write no more. Already I have given you a pamphlet to read. Conversing with you even at a distance and in this very imperfect mode is so pleasing to me that I know not how to stop. Four or five times already have I bid you adieu, and even now methinks, I have yet a thousand things to say, neither is what I have written at all as I could wish it. But no wonder. For where are the organs to be found that could possibly be equal to an explanation of what my heart feels. But no more. .

ii.—1768, June 1, Dublin.—"When you shall have discovered the important cause of my present presumption, you will, I trust, upon that account, freely pardon me, and kindly forgive a liberty which no other occasion could possibly have excused—you, who have received from nature a heart endowed with sensibility, and capable of every tender and exalted feeling, will easily be induced to allow that to such a heart no trial can possibly be more severe than a consciousness of having given any apparent reason to the person who

possesses our esteem and our affection, of thinking, though but for a moment, that we have not acted, with regard to that person, according to the exact and unerring rule of moral rectitude. Such is, I fear, at present my unhappy case, and so truly miserable does this reflection make me that it is utterly impossible for me to restrain myself from endeavouring in some sort to justify my conduct by thoroughly explaining it, to which I am the more warmly induced by the dear hope that such an explanation may produce effects far more delightful to me than a simple avowal of my innocence, and such as may perhaps render us both as happy as you deserve or I desire to be. A strong liking soon followed my first acquaintance with you. Your person pleased me; your manners charmed me. Nature, which always directs us to endeavour to please the person who pleases us, irresistibly impelled me to strive to make myself agreeable to you. Your situation too which I could not avoid being sensible of, so different from what your superior merit might have challenged, induced a tender pity, which, by softening my heart, fitted it to receive those impressions which you are so well adapted to make. Still, however, I either did not love you or at least I did not know that I loved you. I fondly imagined that all my endeavours to divert and to please you had no other source than a strong and certainly not unworthy desire of procuring proper amusements for one who deserved every happiness, yet seemed to be condemned to live a life barely not unhappy. My endeavours had the desired effect, and you seemed to take some pleasure in those trifling diversions which I had the happiness of providing. At length I began to perceive that I had gained even more than I had hoped for, and this perception first opened my eyes, and I then first discovered the real scope of my intentions, and found that, without knowing it, I had long loved you and had been labouring to procure a kind return of affection. I now neither could, nor desired to recede. I laid open my heart to you, and your dear unaffected candour, for which I dote on you, could not conceal the situation of yours. Experienced as I am in the business of making love, I found that this pursuit was totally different from any I had ever yet entered into, and now, for the first time, to my, shame be it spoken, I felt a passion whose purposes and designs were perfectly virtuous. Secure, however, of your heart, and certain of the frequent enjoyment of your company, I found myself so exceedingly happy, that, though it often occurred to me that there was yet a bliss far transcending any I had hitherto experienced, I still went on content with the present and enjoying the future in idea. Such was my situation when the late accident at once awakened me from my trance of tranquil pleasure and obliged me to look more narrowly into my own heart and to endeavour a strict investigation of its purposes and of its designs, having hitherto been solely occupied in the pleasing meditation of its feelings alone. And now I shall hasten to the more important part of this letter, and, without waiting to give you a detail of what has passed in my mind, shall at once proceed to the final conclusion of all its secret workings. For I have now the grand point so fully in view that my heart will not allow me to delay any longer. Know then, that now for the first time in my life the idea of matrimony offered itself to my mind, unattended by any sort of aversion—nay more, I now enjoyed the thought as much as I have hitherto avoided it. Yes, my heart has long been yours, and it is now in your power to possess my hand also; but first I must explain and lay open some particular circumstances of my situation, the knowledge of which may perhaps prove a fatal obstacle to my happiness, but of which however I must inform you, as every other degree of misery would seem light compared

to that of being united to you without making you compleatly happy. In the first place then, from a long and inveterate habit of living principally for myself, I have got into a course of life which it would be difficult, perhaps impossible for me to change, and though my love for you might make me, if I found you did not approve of it, endeavour to alter it, still I should be discontented, and of consequence you could not be thoroughly happy. In the next place, my fortune is not at present what it might have been, partly from misfortune, partly from a profusion, which the world honours me by calling generosity, and partly from a shameful want of economy, my circumstances are by no means such, as from the advantageous manner in which I seemed to enter into the world, they ought to have been. But this you, I am sure, will deem trifling. The third, and indeed, in my own opinion, the principal defect is want of constitution. From long, painful and repeated illnesses my constitution has been so exceedingly racked that my health has become extremely precarious; and there is nothing more possible than that you might begin your marriage state by becoming a nurse. . . Such are the defects which honour and affection have concurred in forcing me to mention, and a consciousness of these defects has been the cause of my having so often and so earnestly insisted upon knowing whether your love towards me was of the most ardent kind, since such an ardour alone can make you entirely happy with a man so circumstanced, by blinding you to all his imperfections. Consider then, and maturely reflect, and, if notwithstanding what I have now mentioned, you will accept of a husband who will for ever adore you, you will make me the happiest of men—if otherwise, which love avert, my future behaviour, let it cost me what it will, shall be such as to give you no farther uneasiness. I need not tell a person possessed of such a fund of native delicacy that this letter ought to be answered. Indeed, I am sure it will be speedily answered. . .

iii.—1768, June 25, Dublin.—"Was all my happiness then a delusion? Was it but a dream? Ah, why did I ever wake? The famished wretch thus dreams of nourishment—catches at the delicious cup, and wakens to languish in fresh torments. Why has happiness the power to shorten, and misery to prolong our time? How infinitely have these last few lingering days surpassed in tedious duration that happy time which flew with the wings of joy. If every day is to creep on as these have done, when will my misery have an end."

92.—Charlemont to Mrs. Charlotte O'Brien.[1]

[1768, July 1.]—"Among the many instances of happiness which I expect from the approaching union, that of being connected with you by so tender a tie is by no means the least. Why are you now absent? Why are you not here to compleat our happiness by your presence and by your approbation? But we are told that a state, where all our desires are so fully accomplished that we have nothing to wish for, is incompatible with human nature, and, were it possible, would be at best a state of insipidity—to this situation I fear that I should be shortly reduced if you were here, so that in that light perhaps all may be for the best. Farewell, my dearest madam, or rather give me leave to term you, my most dear sister, since such you will be before you receive this letter."

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[1] Sister of Mary Hickman, to whom lord Charlemont was married on July 2, 1768.

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93.—Leland to Lady Charlemont.

1768, July 4, Loughlinstown.—"As I have been long and very highly indebted to the friendship of lord Charlemont, I take the liberty of addressing my congratulations to your ladyship upon an event which gives me real and cordial satisfaction, because I ever considered it as essential to his happiness. You have now, madam, attained to a very rare degree of worldly felicity. I estimate it, as I am confident your ladyship does, not from the brilliant circumstances, but the intrinsic excellence of the union you have formed. Your rank and station have their value; for they will set your amiable qualities in a fair and advantageous point of view. But the singular and essential point, and what indeed distinguishes your ladyship from those we usually see ally themselves with rank and station, is, that you are united with a person whose attachment would be honourable were his station much less exalted, and who could not fail to make you truly happy in any state or condition whatever.

"Ladies sometimes find it difficult to confirm and perpetuate the passion they have raised, where their tenderest cares and attentions meet with some untowardness of temper, some defect of understanding, or some want of sensibility, to distress them. But this part will be easy and delightful to your ladyship, your affection will be received with full returns of tenderness—your good sense has a refined understanding to correspond with it; and your attentions will be repaid by the utmost delicacy of sentiment and most endearing sensibility. These are the circumstances on which I congratulate your ladyship. I am confident they must have made their full impression upon your mind and that you are deeply and tenderly affected by them.

"Your happiness is but now beginning. The sincere wishes of my heart are fixed on everything that may encrease it. I pray God to make you both happy, and very long and very happy in each other. I shall request the honour of presenting myself before you, as soon as I can go to Dublin."

94.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1768, November 16th, London.—"I heartily thank your lordship for the pains you have been so kind to take to procure me the making a design for the Dublin Exchange;[1] and, whether it succeeds or not, my obligation to you will be equally great. I shall not be surprised however if all your lordship's efforts should prove ineffectual, for a hundred guineas to a mercantile soul is an argument too powerful for oratory to remove. Nothing but another hundred guineas will bring it about."

95.—G. B. Cipriani to Charlemont.

"1768, 10 Dicembre, Londra.—Il pregiatissimo foglio onde vostra eccellenza si è compiaciuta onorarmi in data del primo di Novembre è ripieno di tanta gentilezza, che per parlare il linguaggio del più gentil dei poeti, cio é Messer Francesco Petrarca, e d'altri omeri soma che dà miei il rispondervi elegamente. Mi contenterò solamente per quello che spetta a me, di renderle umillissme grazie del benigno compatimento con cui s'e

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[1] Premiums were offered by the merchants of Dublin for the best and most suitable architectural design for an Exchange. The plans of Thomas Cooley were accepted, and the foundation was laid in 1769. *See* "History of City of Dublin," 1859, vol. ii., p. 56.

compiaciuta l'eccellenza vostra d'accogliere le povere mie fatiche le quali nel di lei gradimento incontrano quel premio maggiore a cui il loro fattore potesse mai aspirare.

"Nell' acclusa nota vostra eccellenza troverà il computo di quanto credo sufficiente per bilanciare quel tempo che ho impiegato nel consaputo lavoro. Il Bartolozzi lei rende le più distinte grazie dell' onore che vostra eccellenza si è compiaciuta comparcirgli ricordandosi tanto benignamente di lui, e starà meco in attenzione per prendere una opportunità onde farle pervenire le sue stampe.

"Mi rallegro poi sommamente della genial compagnia di cui ha vostra eccellenza fatto l'acquisto, e le auguro quelle felicità che dai mortali possono sperarsi da questo stato. Intanto la supplico di continuarmi la sua buona grazia e padronanza. Il Baretti è presso a un mese che partì per Madrid."

[Enclosure.] "Per 4 pittúre in chiaro scuro, di medaglie rappresentanti la Filosofia morale e naturale, l'Istoria, e la Poesia £40 40*s*. Per un bassorilievo grande rappresentante Minerva in Parnaso, £35 35*s*. Per 4 disegni di statue e per uno di Cupido e Psiche, e uno d'un dragone, altre spese, £5 5*s*.—In tutto, £80, 80*s*.

96.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

i.—1769, March 22nd, London.—"I received your lordship's letter of the 27th by which I find the gentlemen of the Exchange at Dublin have taken a month's time for consideration; which happens particularly lucky for me, as I absolutely could not find the time at present to consider it properly. I went to Stark's where there is the greatest choice of Indian paper and chose one which I think remarkably handsome. The ground is a fine blue and the flowers are very well painted, and of a small pattern as your lordship desired. Stark calculated the quantity requisite from my friend Vierpyl's confused dimensions, which neither he nor I could understand thoroughly. However we think we have sent enough, even some to spare, but if not, more may be had of exactly the same pattern. The price as your lordship will see is very reasonable. I have seen two guineas a sheet paid for paper not so good, but that commodity is cheap at present. Stark says the silver grounds are very apt to turn black and therefore, I would not take one. The paper goes away on Thursday next directed as usual to Chester. Zuccarelli's pictures are now finished and will be sent next week.

I had forgot the alterations in the colour of the room of the casino and it appears to me a difficult point to settle. I fear all that blue will look dull and heavy if the hangings be light blue; I would recommend that the entablature, doors, etc. of the room should be dead white touched with blue and that the cove parts of the ceiling be done with izinglass and flake-white to be of a more brilliant white than the entablature etc., etc., the coffers of the cove a light blue, as also the ground of the galoss running round the flat part of the ceiling in oil, and that the Apollo's head and rays be flake-white and the flat ground round it of as faint a blue flat in oil as it is possible to make. If your lordship should not approve of this method, the walls may be blue to the top of the entablature; but it should be a light blue and rich with gold upon the ornaments; and with regard to all the ceiling parts, the white must predominate, but the coffers and ground of the galloss may be blue, the mouldings gilt and the Apollo's head and rays white and only heightened or streaked with gold, for if it be solid gold it will look clumsy. I thank your lordship for your kind congratulations upon account of the academy. It will I

hope be a public good, and therefore I ought to rejoice heartily at having brought it about, but like most other patriots (I blush to own it) I find myself much more overjoyed at an accident which hath happened to myself within this fortnight, which is that an old gentleman who has kept me out of a very good place for these eight years past is at length advanced to sing hallelujah's in heaven and has resigned his earthly post of comptroller-general of the board of works to me.

ii.—"I received your lordship's letter and have in consequence thereof made the designs wanted and sent them to the gentleman that brought the letter in order to be forwarded for Dublin. I think any border of the shape of the table before the chimney of the saloon will have a bad effect, and therefore should advise to keep the slab square as at first intended, and make nothing under the table but let the floor be continued there as it is elsewhere. I cannot send a design for a pedestal for the Gladiator, as I do not know the dimensions nor can I find any cast of it in London."

97.—Flood to Charlemont.

1769, March 26.—"You have set me on fire. Would that I could accompany you. I know nothing in the world which would be so pleasant to me and nothing that is more impracticable. I am glad that you go to shake hands with your friends, though their Irish politics and ours are so repugnant. I sent enclosed a paper last night without examining it. I see now that it is incautious and wish it burned. Mr. Knapp writes to your lordship to night an authentic account which I entreat your lordship will make use of in England. The marquis of R[ockingha]m, duke of Bedford, Port[lan]d, lord Cl[ar]e, Rig[b]y, lord Shelb[ur]ne, Cust, the speaker,[1] lord Hill[sborou]gh, lord Br[ist]ol, lord Ch[ath]am had the anonymous letter. I beg that you will devise the best means of rectifying me that occurs and that can be followed with convenience. It is of the last moment."

"I hope you will see poor Griffith, because it will make him happy, and that if you do you will remember me to him. I need not say that I don't wish to be forgotten to Burke, etc., etc."

98.—Charlemont to Baretti.

[1769, March.]—"Last post brought me your very obliging letter, and yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving a still more kind and acceptable epistle from you in print, for both of which I am now to thank you; a task far too difficult and arduous for my weak abilities, and which I should scarcely venture to undertake, were I not certain that you are well enough acquainted with my heart to judge of and to determine it's feelings rather from your own knowledge of its sensibility, than from any idea which my weak words can communicate. The honour conferred on me by your dedication is extremely flattering to my vanity; and yet, though I by no means disclaim vanity as a part in my composition, I will venture to affirm that your kind remembrance of me as a friend gives me more real pleasure even than your compliments to me as a person worthy of such an address; and the part of your dedication which affords me the truest satisfaction is that where you do me the honour and justice to call me your friend. I have not as yet had leisure to read your performance [2]

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[1] Of the House of Commons, England, 1761–70.

[2] "An account of the manners and customs of Italy; with observations on the mistakes of some travellers with regard to that country." 2 vols., London: 1786.

through, but what I have read of it fully answers my most sanguine expectations, and affords me that sort of delight which a sensible heart must allways receive in finding the efforts of a dear friend crowned with deserved success. The subject also on which you write, and the side of the question, which you undertake to support, are, as you well know, so extremely interesting to me, as to add greatly to the pleasure which upon every occasion I should feel from your success. Italy must with justice always claim a great share in my regard and affection; many of the best years of my life most agreeably spent in that delicious country render it by one degree only less dear to me than my native soil—nay perhaps my affection to it may be even warmer, as it is not allayed or enforced by any mixture or tie of duty, and I may love Italy as a mistress, while my native country claims from me the proper and just regard due to a wedded wife. Judge then how greatly the matter of your book delights me, and how much I am pleased at finding my beloved mistress so ably vindicated, defended and supported against all the unjust and spiteful attacks of her injurious calumniators. If your book were not now lying upon the table by me, I should probably trouble you with a much longer letter, nor would I quit you upon any other account than in order to finish the perusal of it. Reading you ought indeed alone to take place of the pleasure of writing to you.

"Be so kind, my dear Baretti, as to hasten forward our friend Cipriani with my pictures. He was to have sent them to me in November last, and it is now late in March, and meanwhile my library remains unfinished—scold him a little upon my account."

99.—Edmund Burke to Charlemont.

1769, Tuesday, May 8, Charles Street.—"Luttrel duly elected: For the question 221.—Against 152.—I have obeyed your commands with regard to the numbers. But I cannot prevail on myself to leave the matter thus; though, like a good member of parliament, when I had settled the numbers, I ought to think every thing essential had been done. We got to business before two in the afternoon, and continued sitting until two in the morning. I never remember a debate in which the house was more disposed to patient hearing, though on the whole there was a faintness and langour, rather unusual, on a day of so much expectation. But the truth is, the matter was in a manner worn out. Wedderburn indeed relieved us, by one of the best speeches that I think I ever heard. It was indeed thoroughly able in every respect. He was against the question. Lee was counsel for the petition; he had not been much known to the house, but he made a great figure, and has established his reputation. Graham, on the other side, was below his usual par. The lawyers for the court were, as they have generally been for some time past, bold and profligate. The chief arguments which they insisted upon were, that, when a court having competent jurisdiction in a cause has determined, its determination is the law of the land until it is reversed; that we had jurisdiction in all causes relative to election; that we had already determined this point; it was therefore against order, to debate it again, and against law, to contradict the determination of a court from whence no appeal lay. That the house had a power to qualify or disqualify without any other rule than their own discretion; and Blackstone went so far as to say, that 'if he affirmed that we could make laws, he could support himself by respectable authorities.' Your lordship easily sees the miserable fallacy of these arguments which were supported solely by a confusion of the ideas of a supreme judicature and a legisla-

ture. All the minority (however composed) dines together to day at the Thatched House. We have even Grenville of the party. Will your lordship do me the honour of presenting my humble respects to lady Charlemont—and remember me to our friend, Leland.

"Speakers:—For the question: Stanley, Thurloe, Blackstone, Ellis, Powlet, Col. Onslow, Ch. Fox, Sir Fletcher Norton, Morton, Sir G. Osborn, Sir — Fox. Against:—lord John Cavendish, Dowdeswell, Wedderburn, Glynn, Cornewall, Seymour, Beckford, Barré, Grenville, sir G. Saville, E. Burke, Whitworth. I don't exactly remember the order in which they spoke."

100.—Lord Mountmorres to Charlemont.

1769, May 11, London.—"Hoping this will find your lordship safely arrived in Dublin, I write to you by lord Rockingham's desire to inform you of the proceedings of last Monday. At one o'clock the council (Lee and Adair for, and Whitaker and Graham against the petitioner) began. Graham performed wonders, and like the sage of old would have moved the world if they had given him but a place to stand upon; but Mr. Lee's rejoinder was unanimously admired as the most eloquent decisive composition that had been pronounced in that assembly. After a very curious, interesting but not over violent debate, they divided at two o'clock, the numbers 213 against, 154 for the question. Upon the subsequent day 74 of the minority dined at the Thatched house, agreeable to an invitation which Mr. Dowdesewell gave in the lobby to the whole number; among others Mr. G. Grenville, Dowdeswell, col. Barré, Sawbridge and Townsend expressed the greatest satisfaction. A similar club is proposed the day preceding the meeting next session, and it is to be hoped from the occurrences of the day that all the subdivisions of the minority will be consolidated into one grand constitutional party. Sir L. Dundas having expostulated with Mr. Wedderburn for supporting the petition, in a most eloquent and learned speech, he thought proper to request sir L. would permit him to resign his seat, which was accordingly done, if he did not think he had fulfilled the trust reposed in him. This transaction does Mr. Wedderburn great honor and has made a vast deal of noise here. Lord Rockingham would have wrote to your lordship but that I undertook it."

101.—G. P. Bushe to Charlemont.

[1769, August 26] Saturday, Kilfane, near Gowran.—"You will excuse my taking the liberty of informing you of the particulars of Mr. Agar[1] of Ringwood's death, and of our friend Flood's behaviour. The first part of the account is addressed only to your lordship, and such as you think worthy of confidence; the latter may be made as public as you please. On Thursday Mr. Agar sent Mr. Roth to Flood to demand a case of pistols, which one Keogh had lost at Burnchurch,[2] last October, and which Flood had frequently within these ten months declared that he had not. Flood returned the answer which he had so frequently made, and added that Mr. Agar might apply to George Hewetson, his mother's servant. This Mr. Agar would not do, but desired Mr. Flood to meet him, and to name time and

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[1] James Agar, of Ringwood, co. Kilkenny. Particulars in relation to this affair will be found in "Journal of Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. i. (third series) Dublin, 1873, p. 234.

[2] In county Kilkenny.

place. Flood answered Mr. Roth that he apprehended that was Mr. Agar the challenger's privilege, and that he would meet Mr. Agar when and where he pleased. We heard no more of it on that day, but the next day (yesterday) at one o'clock he received a message to meet Mr. Agar directly in Dunmore Park; we were there in an hour, and Mr. Agar just afterwards. Mr. Roth, a man of great worth, did all he could to persuade Mr. Agar to think better of it, and used every argument to persuade him that he was not bound in honour to send any challenge; but the unfortunate gentleman was so infatuated that he was even going to quarrel with his friend, for attempting to prevent him. Mr. Roth and I were not without hopes of reconciling them, even when at Dunmore, and I told Mr. Agar that he had brought the affair upon himself without any reason, and that his honour had not called upon him to send any message. Mr. Roth also did every thing to persuade him of his error; but he seemed to have an infatuated determination to fight. When the ground was measured, and they each had their pistols, Mr. Agar questioned Flood about the pistols again, and in a threatening and offensive manner. Flood very deliberately answered him to this purport: 'You know I will not answer you, whilst you ask in that manner.' I then said to Agar something to this purport:—'Why will you bring this upon yourself, why will not you ask in another manner.' But he went immediately to his ground and layed down one pistol, and rested the other on his arm to take his aim. Both Mr. Roth and I called to him loudly to fire fairly. He then took another posture. What follows is the purport of Mr. Roth's and my account to the coroner—in which no circumstance disagrees—and this is for the public:

"'They stood at about 14 yards. Mr. Agar fired first and missed. He then took up a second pistol, and said to Mr. Flood, 'Fire, you scoundrel.' Flood then presented his pistol (which he had held with the muzzle upwards) and instantly shot Mr. Agar above the left breast. The ball went through his body and he died in about five minutes, without speaking. N.B. Mr. Agar was left-handed.'

"Flood shewed the most amiable concern, and rode off for a surgeon. It is fortunate for him that such a man as Mr. Roth was concerned, as that gentleman does the most ample justice to Mr. Flood's character, and still acts, as he has done throughout, with the most entire honour and good sense. In justice to the living, both he and I have declared that no man could have sought his own death more than Mr. Agar. Indeed, nothing could equal his infatuation, for the cause of challenging, which he alleged, was wonderfully frivolous—and if it were an offence, it was precisely as much an offence any day these ten months, as it was at the moment of resenting it. The coroner's inquest brought their verdict, specially reciting that he was killed at Dunmore by a bullet, as appears more fully by the examination of Mr. Roth and Mr. B[ushe]. The matter was properly represented to Mr. Agar of Gowran,[1] who has made a proper declaration of his sense of it, and has disclaimed any unworthy rancour or resentment. But the case is the plainest in the world—no man ever was more compelled to defend his honour, and his person, and no man ever did it with more temper and steady courage than Mr. Flood. The offence is bailable, but I believe there will be no necessity, nor no warrant, as there is not a doubt about his conduct. I do not mention any of the previous circumstances, except with some caution, as they are not material to Flood's vindication, and as seconds should be careful not to bring an accusation upon themselves. I should

[1] In county of Kilkenny.

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be happy to receive a line to inform me that this letter has not miscarried, but hope you will not hurt your eyes by writing much, as I know it is both painful and ruinous to them."

102.—[Richard Griffith[1]] to Charlemont.

i.—1769, October 12th, London.—"The inclosures I trouble you with you'll be so good as to look into, seal, and send by some person unknown, to Mr. Wemys, along with the letter to him. He was the person I employed before, with regard to the Baratarian[2] letters. He is in no secret about them, except that he is not to own from whom he received them. This was part of the plan concerted between another person and me lately, previous to other manœuvres. I fear he may not be in town, therefore trouble your lordship with them. Your friend Baretti is in a distressed situation. He defended himself one night lately, in the street, against a strumpet and two of her bullies, who attacked him. They first knocked him down, and attempted to rob, and strangle him. He had neither stick or sword, but drew out a little silver pareing-knife, for fruit, and stabbed one of the assassins, who died of the wound. The others fled, and he was taken up. He has been admitted to bail with difficulty, from the idea of an Italian and a stiletto. He has a number of good friends, and the expense and irksomeness of the affair is all that can affect him. I came over to equip my son for India, who was to have gone out with the first ship, but the difficulty of raising money upon this occasion has delayed his going. I am exerting all my powers to prevent his further disappointment, upon so happy a crisis in his fortunes. Tria juncta in uno."

[Enclosure :] "This letter will, I know, be highly acceptable to you, as it will give you an opportunity of indulging your own goodness by highly obliging me, of which truth I am so thoroughly persuaded that without any further preface or apology I will proceed to make my request. Let me know whether Lord R——has received my letter concerning a commission which he gave me on my leaving England."

ii.—1769, October 20, London.—"I have the pleasure to inform you that our friend, Baretti, has been honourably acquitted this day. He had the benefit of the sentimental toast—'Many friends, and no need of them.' I expect the same paragraph, from your lordship, with regard to our amiable and worthy friend, and I expect it from your lordship, as he is but a negligent correspondent, at best, and that, in the present circumstance, it would not be proper for him to write anything upon the subject. Our 'Tria juncta' is happily advancing in its pregnancy, as I hope another 'publica cura' is, under your own roof. Several of the sheets have been struck off since I came to London, and I am raising money upon the work already, toward dispatching my son off to India. 'Junius' has attacked the d[uke] of Bedford. Sir W[illiam] D[raper] has defended him. In reply 'Junius' challenges him to mention any one act of benevolence, liberality, etc., which could be imputed to his grace. 'Frances'[3] tells the story of his patronage to me. 'Junius' pays her great

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[1] Author of "Variety," a comedy performed at Drury Lane, 1782.

[2] "Baratariana," a collection of political pieces, published at Dublin, 1768–1771.

[3] The letter above referred to, signed 'Frances,' dated 17th October, 1769, appeared in the 'Public Advertiser.' It was written by Griffith's wife, Elizabeth. In it she stated that the duke of Bedford had given her husband a government employment, with a view to relieving their necessities, which were described in her publication entitled "Letters of Henry and Frances.' Elizabeth Griffith published a work on the "Morality of Shakespeare's Dramas," and also produced novels, plays, and translations from the French.

compliments upon her gratitude, etc., but makes a poor distinction in the same person, between a lord lieutenant of Ireland, and a duke of England."

103.—Baretti to Charlemont.

1769, October 25, London.—"Doubtless the public papers have apprized your lordship of the dreadful adventure I met with on the 6th instant; the very day, I think, that I received your kind letter. During a fortnight, you may well imagine, my lord, that I could not easily turn my thoughts to any other thing but the danger of losing by a jury that life which had wonderfully escaped a gang of ruffians. Yet, however, great my apprehensions, I think that my friends had no fault to find with my fortitude. Your lordship must know by this time that my confidence was not frustrated in the least, and that I have been honourably acquitted after a tryal of near five hours. The audience was so perfectly satisfied with my innocence, that the verdict was echoed with a general shout of approbation. Immediately after the tryal, I would have given due thanks to your lordship for your friendly expressions; but the agitation of my mind had not yet subsided enough to permit me the free use of my pen. I am sure you will easily pardon this dilatoriness. I thank you now with all my heart, and ardently wish to see your lordship on this side the water, to talk a while over this subject, which you will own to have been much more interesting to me than my or Mr. Sharp's[1] nonsense about Italian customs and manners. What would I have given to see lord Charlemont amongst my friends upon this occasion? A great deal indeed! However, those I had about me did their part so well that they have made me an Englishman for ever. I am sure I will be buried in due time under that very ground which is trod by so many generous men."

104.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1769, November 9th, London.—"I received your lordship's orders relating to Baretti and executed them with great pleasure. His friends had already paid the expences of his tryal, which were considerable; however, a little ready money was very acceptable to him, as I believe his imprisonment though short had rather thrown him behind-hand. I endorsed your draught to him and he gave me a receipt which I keep with others belonging to your lordship. I am going to be very impertinent but the view I have in it must excuse me. As your lordship so seldom visits London, would it not be better to give up your house in Hertford-street. It must stand you one way or another in at least £200 a year, whereas you might at any time upon eight days warning get a ready-furnished house fit for your reception in any part of the town, which as your stays are short would never stand you in fifty pounds a year."

105.—Richard Griffith to Charlemont.

1770, January 8, London.—"I received your kind letter of the 25th of November but yesterday, inclosed by H. Flood. You have condescended to make an apology for not writing sooner, and he has done the same for not sending it before, so that he has but 'procrastinated

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[1] "A View of the Customs, Manners, Drama, etc., of Italy." By Samuel Sharp. London: 1768.

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delay.' Is there not such a sentence in one of your public speeches in Ireland? You seem to be big with political events at present in Ireland, as appears from Sancho's manifesto, in print, and your dissentient,[1] which latter I this day received from Flood, and shall prepare for the press the moment I seal this letter. There is great spirit and good sense in it. I am heartily sorry that I am not among you, at this time. I love a scene of action as much as any man ever did, who enjoys retirement so acquiescently. I have ventured but one paper here in the political warfare. It was a stricture on 'Junius,' in defence of the duke of B[edford]. I should not have troubled myself, if it had not been in favour of my friend and patron. I must have a call, I cannot make politics a calling, as pastors do religion. It was in the 'Public Advertiser,' and signed 'Senex.' I have not acquainted the Duke that I was the author of that letter. Is there not something rather too negligent in this reserve? But I am even a better politician than a courtier. Perhaps his grace's not having taken any notice of 'Frances's' letter in defence of him might have been one reason for my coldness in this particular. The Yorkshire tale is printed off, but not yet published. I shall send you a set of the two volumes, by next pacquets, under covers, for your own present reading, and shall send you over the books properly bound, for your library, by the first safe hand. I have sold the copy for half what I might have made of it, if I had taken proper time and measures to dispose of it, but my son's going off to India obliged me to make the best of every fund I was master of."

106.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1770, February 4th.—"It is the fate of all builders to meet with disappointments. Your lordship is not exempt from them, and for my part they come in such abundance upon me that I begin seriously to think of sending architecture to the devil, as we say abroad. . Cipriani says the chiaro 'scuros are in forwarding and will soon be done. I will from time to time remind him about them. The dilettanti[2] book is published, and a cursed book it is, between friends, being composed of some of the worst architecture I ever saw; there is a degree of madness in sending people abroad to fetch home such stuff. I am told this curious performance has cost the society near three thousand pounds; such a sum well applied would be of great use and advance the arts considerably, but to expend so much in order to introduce a bad taste is abominable. However, not a word of all this to any dilettante living. I want them to establish a fellowship in the royal academy for sending a person abroad annually to study the arts, and if this can be brought about it will be useful; your lordship may be instrumental and I hope you will. I will get the two copies of the dilettanti book and send them as usual.

107.—Baretti to Charlemont.

1770, August 3rd, London.—"I hope your lordship has by this time received my 'Journey from London to Genoa.'[3] Mr. Wm. Burke has charged himself with the sending of it, and has told me, that it went several

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[1] *See* account by lord Charlemont, at p. 29. Lord Townshend was satirized by his opponents in Ireland as "Sancho, governor of the island of Barataria."

[2] "Ionian Antiquities." By the Society of Dilettanti. Edited by R. Chandler, N. Revett, and William Pars. London: 1769.

[3] "Through England, Portugal, Spain and France"; 4 vols., London: 1770.

days ago. I hope it will deserve your approbation. I am setting out for Turin, where I should be proud of being reached by your lordship's commands. It is my present intention to be back in three months."

108.—Marlay and Charlemont.

i.—Marlay to Charlemont.

1770, 8th August, Gorey.[1]—"Your letter, dated the 24th July, I did not receive till last Saturday, on which day I came to Gorey from Kilfane,[2] at which place and at Farmly [3] I passed twelve days. When you know this, you will not be surprised at not hearing from me sooner. I shall candidly confess the true reason why I did not write to you upon my arrival in this country, though by this confession I may perhaps appear of a jealous and capricious temper. When I last saw you in Dublin and at Celbridge, I told you I was going to settle at Gorey for a great part of the summer. You did not then desire me to write to you, you did not even hint that you wished to hear from me. Formerly when we used to part for any time you always requested me with zeal and earnestness to write to you soon and often. This neglect, attended by a degree of coldness uncommon to you, made a stronger impression on me, when I compared it with the restraint and formality which appeared in your behaviour to me last winter. I saw with very great concern a friendship, which had taken root in our infancy, and had been growing to maturity for thirty years, verging to a decline. When I examined my own heart I found it firm, sincere, and disinterested. When I considered yours, I found in it many virtues that mine had not. I saw even its 'frailties lean to virtue's side.' I knew our friendship took its rise from the purest principles and commenced at that early season of life, when dissimulation and ambition could have no influence on our conduct. When I considered all these things, I imagined that accident, mistake, or caprice, had in some degree loosened and weakened that connection which had remained firm so many years. How I felt on this occasion, I shall not say. I have lately discovered (to my great misfortune) that I have an heart, and nerves. But no more on this subject. I am extremely sorry to hear that lady Charlemont is not perfectly recovered. I had lately an account (and I thought from good authority) that she was returned to Marino in great health and spirits. I was sincerely rejoiced to hear this, as, I knew it must give you infinite pleasure, and as I have the highest esteem for her numberless good qualities, which have gained her most deservedly the love of all your friends, and the regard of all who are acquainted with her. I have always observed that trivial accidents, and immaterial disappointments, affect you more strongly than real misfortunes. You do not make use of your fortitude on trifling occasions, but when a serious calamity threatens you, you summon all your resolution to your aid, combat with your afflictions, and conquer them. Your illusion is very just, but you ought to be prepared for a summer shower. In fine weather you should have your great coat near you, though you do not wear it till the clouds gather and the wind rises. If the love and esteem of your friends can make you happy, your happiness is very secure. The establishment of lady Charlemont's health will, I hope, soon give that calmness and tranquillity to your heart, which it so well deserves. I agree with you that many unpleasing circumstances have embarrassed and distressed you, and that your quick feelings have given you more pain than pleasure. They have rendered

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[1] In county of Wexford. [2, 3] County Kilkenny.

you more amiable, but less happy. You say that the generality of mankind think that fortune has dealt unkindly by them. For my own part, I can not accuse fortune for contributing to my unhappiness, but I can accuse myself. All I have suffered I have suffered from my own folly. All the uneasiness I ever felt (to use the softest words) has proceeded from my obtaining what I anxiously wished, and what I thought must contribute to, nay secure, my happiness. But here I am growing unintelligible, like lady Moira; and on this subject I shall probably continue so. Therefore I shall leave it, and give you some account of my present situation. I live in the town of Gorey, in the 'worst inn's worst room.' I dine every day with Ram,[1] who is a person of very great worth. He is an 'Allworthy' in his actions, humane and charitable in the highest degree. He must be esteemed, but his company cannot afford the least amusement to the greatest admirers of his virtues. Lord and lady Courtown live near this town. I see them very frequently. He improves upon acquaintance; she is extremely civil and unaffected. I passed last week with Flood and Bushe. They are both well."

ii.—Charlemont to Marlay.

[1770, August 10.]—"Your letter, which I most impatiently desired, has not, I must confess, in all respects answered my sanguine expectations, nor does the manner of it seem to me to be exactly that which my heart wished, or which my letter deserved, as I believe upon a second perusal of it you yourself will allow. My expectations may, however, have been too sanguine. Indeed they generally are so, and that I believe to be one of my constitutional defects. Consider, however, the difference that is between us in our manner of acting upon the delicate occasion. How much deceived soever I may have been in matters of fact, it is impossible that I should have been mistaken in the nature of my own feelings. I felt myself aggrieved, and thought myself so. In this we were equal, and you had the same feelings with regard to me. I have already confessed that upon many occasions I put on a degree of coldness; but how, and for what reason? In order that you might desire an explanation, which I should instantly have afforded you. In this I was disappointed."

iii.—Marlay to Charlemont.

1770, 26th August, Calverstown.—"Your letter, which I received last Sunday, surprised, pleased, and at the same time, grieved me not a little. I was much surprised at the long bill of complaints you drew up against me. I was surprised at the strength of your memory, or rather your imagination (for I flatter myself that many of my errors took their rise there). I was pleased to find you so kindly and affectionately desired the renewal of our former friendship, the ardour of which you confess was damped by a mutual coldness, in me constitutional, in you occasional. I was sincerely grieved to observe that you, first by your manner, by etc., etc., seemed determined to remain for the future an agreeable acquaintance, and to cease to be an intimate friend, yet at the same time were offended with me for not forcing myself into that intimacy, which you had resolved to withdraw from me. I may have been mistaken, I may have behaved to you in a careless and negligent manner, and may have therefore merited that coldness which (you

[1] Abel Ram and Stephen Ram, members for borough of Gorey, co. Wexford.

allow) you have shown to me of late very frequently; but as I was totally ignorant of the smallest demerit with respect to you, your altered conduct must appear to me very unkind and unaccountable. In some of your charges against me, you wrong me much. When you were ill in London, I passed some part of every day with you; in the evenings you had generally company; when you had not, I remained with you till near ten o'clock; at that hour or near it, I frequently perhaps, looked at my watch, that I might be at the appointed hour at the place to which I was engaged. As you constantly retired to your chamber before eleven o'clock, surely my leaving you a quarter of an hour before that time could not have the appearance of coldness or negligence. When lady Charlemont was lately ill, and when you were in the sincere affliction which your tenderness must feel on that melancholy occasion, did I not constantly see you? Certainly I never missed a single day. You always came down stairs to me. Had I then made you long visits, I saw clearly, they would not have been pleasant, for long before that period, I had lost the talent of being agreeable to you, though I still preserved your esteem. This being then my opinion (how happy am I now to find my mistake), could I suppose I could then afford you comfort? Could I suppose myself qualified to pour the balm of friendship into your wounds? I considered my company not as a cordial for your drooping spirit, but an insipid draught, which you thought yourself obliged to swallow in compliance to a long established custom and to your natural politeness. Such I confess were my thoughts, and yet when they had the greatest power over me, in my heart I not only esteemed (for your enemies must esteem your virtues) but I loved you with the warmest sincerity. I could now conjure up against you a long catalogue of grievances, but why should I recall to your memory and to mine, ideas that may give pain. My faults I shall not endeavour to justify; your errors I shall not permit myself to consider minutely. I have only attempted to show you in what facts I think you were mistaken. I have strong hopes that this fine season will recover lady Charlemont, and that the south of France will not be necessary to the re-establishment of her health. I can well conceive how you must be at present agitated. Your good-nature and tenderness I well know, and when I reflect on the person who causes those feelings, I can easily imagine how strong they must be. I cannot understand what you mean by my enigmatical sentence. I do not recollect it. Sure I am, that when I wrote last to you, I was not in a disposition to write riddles. I think I said 'that the gratification of my wishes generally disappointed me, and that I have often, by possessing what I ardently desired, felt great agony.' I spoke in general terms, I had no particular fact in my mind at the time I wrote that sentence."

iv.—Charlemont to Marlay.

[1770, September.] "Why now, matters have turned out exactly as they ought—an éclaircissement has been produced, which was all I desired. Thus will it ever happen between real friends, whose little distastes must allways proceed from misunderstanding and from a want of communicating their thoughts. We have both been to blame, and I am glad of it; for offences are easiest pardoned where there have been faults on both sides; nor, in a matter where our friendship was concerned, should I desire to be guiltless when you were faulty. Nothing now remains but that, as you have candidly and kindly declared the cause of your altered behaviour, so I, on my side, should fairly lay open the occasion of that discontent, which has too plainly appeared in my

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

conduct towards you, and which, indeed, I never intended to conceal from you and here I am not sorry to observe that, even in our mutual complaints, we sympathize—you complain of coldness and reserve on my part—coldness and the appearance of neglect are the subjects of my complaints against you; yes, I thought myself neglected by you. Nor are these all my offences. My conscience would readily furnish me with many more, but I have cunningly spent so much time and tired myself so thoroughly in expatiating upon your's that I have left myself neither leisure nor ability to enlarge any farther upon my faults. Here then I will conclude with an ardent and sincere wish."

109.—HORACE WALPOLE to CHARLEMONT.

1770, October 20, Arlington Street.—"I am very glad your lordship resisted your disposition to make me an apology for doing me a great honour; for, if you had not, the Lord knows where I should have found words to have made a proper return. Still you have left me greatly in your debt. It is very kind to remember me, and kinder to honour me with your commands; they shall be zealously obeyed to the utmost of my little credit, which will probably appear much greater than it is, for an artist that your lordship patronizes, will, I imagine, want little recommendation besides his own talents. It does not look indeed like very prompt obedience, when I am yet guessing only at Mr. Jervais's merit; but though he has lodged himself within a few doors of me, I have not been able to get to him, having been confined, my lord, near two months with the gout, and still keeping my house. My first visit shall be to gratify my duty and curiosity. I am sorry to say, and beg your lordship's pardon for the confession, that, however high an opinion I have of your taste in the arts, I do not equally respect your judgment in books. It is in truth a defect you have in common with the two great men who are the respective models of our present parties,—'the hero William and the martyr Charles'—you know what happened[1] to them after patronizing Kneller and Bernini—[2]. 'One knighted Blackmore[3] and one pension'd Quarles.'[4] After so saucy an attack, my lord, it is time to produce my proofs. It lies in your own postscript, where you express a curiosity to see a certain tragedy,[5] with a hint that other works of the same author have found favour in your sight, and that the piece ought to have been sent to you. But, my lord, even your approbation has not made that author vain, and for the play in question, it has so many perils to encounter, that it never thinks of producing itself. It peeped out of its lurking corner once or twice, and one of those times by the negligence of a friend had like to have been, what is often pretended in prefaces, stolen and consigned to the press. Whenever your lordship comes to England, which, for every reason but that, I hope will be soon, you shall certainly see it, and will then allow I am sure how improper it would be for the author to risk its appearance in public. However, unworthy as that author may be, from his talents, of your lordship's favour, do not let his demerits be confounded with the esteem and attachment with which he has the honour to be, etc."

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[1] "Imitations of Horace," by Alexander Pope.
[2] Giovanni Francesco Bernini, painter, sculptor and architect.
[3] Sir Richard Blackmore, knighted in 1697.
[4] Francis Quarles.
[5] "The Mysterious Mother," by Horace Walpole, first printed at his press, Strawberry Hill, 1768.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

110.—Charlemont to Sir Lucius O'Brien.[1]

1770, Dec. 31, Dublin.—"The satisfaction I received from your letter has been somewhat allayed by the probability which I have found but too apparent that difficulties, impediments and opposition will be thrown in the way of a scheme which appears to me useful and necessary, and which might, I think, if properly and judiciously executed tend more to extricate us out of our present wretched circumstances than any that could be devised. It must indeed be confessed that the present situation of affairs on the other side of the water is of all others the most compromising, and that while it continues as it now is there can be little liklihood of pursuing our plan either with credit or with success. The event which has happened since you left town has put matters upon a still worse footing than ever, since the loss of Lord W[eymou]th certainly the most creditable name in the ministry and the accession of Lord S[andwic]h must assuredly put an end to all the rights of negociating with those who now disgrace a[dministratio]n and who are besides by the late change rendered if possible more dependent than ever upon that very party with which you yourself have allowed that all negociation was impossible. Yet still I must hope that there is little probability of the permanency of this strange system. We are apt to conclude of the man who is daily increasing in wickedness that he advances towards perdition; and surely we infer the same with regard to a body of men who seem hourly to grow more and more depraved, and who from their late accession of wickedness have, one would imagine, arrived at the last stage of depravity, and of consequence seem now to be ripe for destruction. A circumstance, also, which I have lately heard with the greatest pleasure and from very good authority, gives me still more encouragement to hope for a speedy change. Lord R[ockingha]m is now, beyond my expectations, I must confess, firmly united with lord Ch[atha]m and they have reciprocally declared that neither will come into administration without the other, which union not only renders a change highly probable, but such a change also as would, I flatter myself, be most for the advantage of our scheme.

"But now to communicate to you the steps which I have taken in pursuance of our last conversation: a night or two after you left town, I met the s[peake]r [2] at the constitutional club and had the good fortune to find an opportunity for a long and undisturbed conversation. Without entering into any particulars I just hinted to him the necessity of proper representation and the great advantage which would accrue from having some person on whom we could depend at the scene of action. Instead of catching at the hint, as I should have expected, he seemed rather averse and even alarmed at the idea, as he ever is at anything which deviates from the beaten track. He urged the difficulty of such a measure and the great danger that might ensue from the art of those who might be able to turn the scheme against ourselves by perverting and by torturing the sense of whatever might be said and by misrepresenting the nature and purport of the negotiation. This did not encourage me to open myself any farther to him, and the next day I went to C[arton] [3] when I explained matters rather more fully, but found the d[uke], though less unwilling, still doubtful about the success of any such measure. It would, said he, be impossible, to prevail on

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[1] Member for county of Clare in Parliament of Ireland.
[2] John Ponsonby.
[3] Seat of the duke of Leinster, co. Kildare.

the minister to listen, and the negotiators would be, upon the first mention of any information with regard to the affairs of Ireland, desired to apply to the lord l[ieutenan]t as to the only proper department. This he endeavoured to prove by a narrative of what happened to himself in the year 1753, when, notwithstanding his intimacy with Mr. Pelham, he could never contrive to obtain a minute's attention but was constantly referred to the d[uke] of Dorset;[1] and this, continued he, was what drove him into the necessity of presenting the memorial. His other argument was, I fear, a strong one, that people here would never consent to any such deputation which could only be effectual in proportion to the heartiness with which it was seconded at home and to the choice that was made of proper negotiators. Thus have I informed you of the ill success with which my endeavours have been hitherto attended, yet still I will not totally despair; for though I think it highly improbable that our scheme should ever be carried into execution in the formal and authentic manner in which it was planned, still, I flatter myself that when we meet and converse something may yet be struck out by which nearly the same purpose may be obtained, though in a manner which may appear more careless and accidental, and of consequence less binding upon the parties. For it is clear to me that one set among us will ever be alarmed at any measure which carries with it the most distant idea of formally pledging themselves. With such miserable tools and materials are we to work! And upon such an uncertain sandy foundation is the prosperity of this country to be constructed? The idea is certainly discouraging. Yet must we not give way to that basest of all political sins, a listless despondency, but rather be roused to activity by reflecting that by how much the worse the situation of affairs may be, so much the more it behoves every honest man to exert himself, still remembering that nations have for the most part been rescued from destruction, not by the multitude, but by the virtue of a few, and frequently by the heroism of single men. And here with this ray of comfort will I conclude, leaving the small remains of my paper for whatever important news the packet which we expect to night may possibly bring with it. No packets and consequently no news. . For heaven's sake, come to us as soon as you possibly can. I know you have much to do. 'Verum pone moras et studium lucri,' and remember that here there is still more to be done, and without you, even with lord Loftus[2] and a majority at his heels, 'Nos numerus sumus.' Flood also will be in town in three or four days. Let us endeavour—let us labour—let us strain every nerve and strive by all possible methods to prevent the foundering of our shattered, weather-beaten, forsaken and unpiloted vessel—

'Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
'Si patriæ volumus, si nobis vivere cari.'"

111.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1771, January 30, London.—"Herewith I send a drawing for the chimney vases of the casino, which I think will look well and leave room for the smoke to pass as the funnels may be reduced to 9° diameter without making them too narrow. These vases will do best of lead or some sort of metal painted and sanded to look like the stone. I am not sure of the measure, as I cannot find any figured copies of the casino. They must therefore be drawn correctly on board to the full size, then cut out, and put in the

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[1] Lord lieutenant of Ireland.
[2] Henry Loftus, created earl of Ely in 1771.

place, by which means you will be able to judge of the proportion. With regard to the statues, they are proportioned to the columns, and cannot be made less; their heads now reach to the underside of the attic cornice and they will when seen from below, particularly if the spectator be near, appear higher than the attic, but that will have no bad effect. However the plinth on which they stand may be made a little lower, making its top to level with the plain part of the cove of the attic instead of levelling with the top of its mouldings as it doth in the design. Sir Joshua Reynolds is now with me; the chevalier begs to be respectfully remembered to your lordship. He purposes sending you a copy of his dissertations or discourses[1] as he calls them, delivered in the royal academy of which he is president. I have also an intention of making discourses on architecture. One I have finished, which I have shown to a friend or two who tell me it is very well and encourage me to go on; but I am going on so many ways at once that God knows when I shall get to the end of any of them."

112.—Sir Lucius O'Brien to Charlemont.

1771, March 22nd, Athlone.—"I wrote to your lordship from this very spot some time last December, and although that letter proved ineffectual, again I am tempted to renew the correspondence. On a journey, my mind, finding itself emancipated from that multiplicity of little business which at all other times too much engages it, endeavours to apply itself to some subject which may be of service to its country, and if it chances to touch on anything which it thinks may be useful, it at once suggests to me that I ought to communicate with my dear lord Charlemont, whom on every occasion I have observed the most disinterested friend to this kingdom. If I should be mistaken and hereafter find one more worthy, your lordship will be freed at least from this trouble. On the present subject, however, I have a double inducement, as it relates to our coal trade, and your lordship having been appointed governor of the colliery company,[2] there seems a peculiar propriety that every thing which relates to them should owe its rise in the first instance to your lordship (I mean out of the house of commons, for there the people's sturdy representatives will, I hope, ever insist on their right of originating, if matter of money be any how connected with the subject); but as our coal bill, through ministerial influence, has been defeated, what I would propose in the place of it is, that your lordship should propose at the Dublin society that that body should give a præmium of one shilling a ton for the first 10,000 ton of Irish coal brought to Dublin by water for each of the three succeeding years. I really think that this with the encouragements now subsisting would be sufficient inducement to merchants to buy ships and go into this trade. English coals pay a duty of seven pence a ton which is saved on our own, the Parliamentary præmium now subsisting is two shillings a ton, and this additional shilling would thus give our merchants 3*s.* 7*d.* advantage over the Whitehaven merchant. I am sure after some time the 2*s.* 7*d.* would be sufficient advantage, but if it should be necessary to continue this shilling longer than three years it would be easy to enlarge the term hereafter. And if this be not enough we might easily procure all

[1] On painting; quarto, London, 1771.

[2] The Tyrone collieries, incorporated by charter in 1765. The lowest subscription was fifty pounds, which entitled the subscriber to one vote.

the public buildings whose firing is provided at the public charge to burn these coals, let the expence be what it might: I mean the Parliament House, the Castle, the College, the Mayoralty House, the Lying-in Hospital, Blue Coat Hospital, Foundling Hospital, Marine and Military Schools, Dublin Society House, Navigation House, etc. These and a few public spirited individuals would easily take off all that could be brought to us. The society are at present more rich than ever they were, and I think would not scruple to agree to this proposal if your lordship was to move it and you had previously communicated your design to Mr. Lehunte,[1] Morres and two or three others who take a lead in the society. But if, contrary to my expectation, they should raise any difficulties, the whole sum is but £500 a year and it would be easy to raise a separate subscription for them in aid of this undertaking. I will if necessary give £5 a year towards it, and your lordship will find ninety-nine others equally well inclined, if by giving too much yourself you do not throw us in too strong a shade of inferiority, which is to be avoided. If this scheme strikes you and you are not averse from disobliging sir James Lowther, send for Colvill and he will bring you some of the mercantile gentlemen particularly versed in the shipping business, who, I think, upon a certainty of at least three years employment, may be prevailed on to provide proper vessels for this trade. In about three weeks on my return to Dublin I shall hope to give you joy on your success in this affair."

113.—Charlemont to Sir Lucius O'Brien.

1771, August 20th, Marino.—"As there is no one that needs a 'flapper'[2] more than I do, so can there not possibly be any man more exactly formed in every particular to answer that useful purpose with regard to me than my dearest sir Lucius. Indolence natural and acquired increased at present by that kind of nervous complaint which is of all others the greatest foe to activity of mind, has rendered me a most wretched man of business and has obtained so strong a dominion over me, that even my public spirit, which I have the vanity to hope is one of my ruling passions, though it cannot I trust be entirely extinguished, is however at times so oppressed under this chilling load that though it does not cease to burn, its useful heat is for a while wholly suspended. But your breath is at any time sufficient to blow it into a flame, as I have well experienced by the salutary effects of our last conference. No sooner was I parted from you than I began to reproach myself, reflecting how shameful it was at such a period, at a crisis so very alarming, to have passed so much time without seriously considering what measures it were best to pursue in the approaching session. And though self-love under the specious disguise of humility stepped in to excuse me, alledging that it would be impertinent in me to deem myself an individual of such consequence as that the weight of this important matter should lie upon me, yet my reason speedily baffled that specious argument by urging that in affairs of this sort every individual might be and ought to be of use; that zeal alone, an ingredient with which I perceived myself amply provided, was in these inactive times a quality by no means to be neglected; and that though I was certainly not a proper person to lay down rules by which the conduct of others should be directed, yet

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[1] Thomas Lehunte and Redmond Morres, vice-presidents of the Dublin Society.

[2] "They forgot several times what they were about, until their memories were again roused by their flappers." Gulliver's "Voyage to Laputa."

that I ought at least to render myself in some degree useful by exciting men of more abilities to do their part; in short, that though I could not preach, I might, however, like Swift's sexton, be of some service by ringing the bell. In consequence of these reflections I immediately wrote to Flood, intreating him, with all the rhetoric of which I was master, to be at the scene of action before the middle of September; and now for the very same reasons I take the liberty to make the same request to my dear sir Lucius. I am but too sensible that you may with great shew of reason alledge in your excuse the small probability of our being able with all our endeavours to effect any useful concert. Our party, if such it can be called, is so miserably constructed, and we have such wretched materials to work upon, that it is too probable a meeting may be impracticable, or, if possible, ineffectual. But as it has ever been my favourite maxim that every man ought to endeavour to deserve success though he cannot command it, and that when there is a possibility of doing good no improbability should induce us to leave the means untried, if they who love their country are at their post, willing and ready to serve her, they at least will have nothing wherewith to reproach themselves and let matters turn out as they may they will have done their duty. With regard to the h[ous]e of l[or]ds, which is my more immediate sphere, I have already done something. Lord B[essborough] and I have met and he has acquiesced in my proposal of opening the session by a decent but firm and strong address of grievance, setting forth the distresses of this country under the present administration, and humbly praying for redress, ending perhaps by a prayer that our c[hie]f g[overno]r,[1] as one principal cause, may be forthwith recalled. Now as it is probable that the drawing up of this address may fall upon me, who, to my shame be it spoken, am too little acquainted with the extent of this very important subject, and as it is of the utmost consequence that the matter as well as the manner of such a memorial should be most maturely considered, and all its articles duly and considerately weighed, in order that nothing may be inserted which cannot be maintained, I must beg of you, my dear sir Lucius, than whom I know of none both by nature and from a close application to the subject more fitted for such a task, to turn this business in your thoughts, and as soon as you conveniently can to send me an abstract of such articles as you may think most proper and most important. Were it not an affair of this kind and of this magnitude, I should perhaps have hazarded my own feeble unassisted efforts. But this is a matter far above my reach and of such high import that I find myself forced to call in my friends to my assistance. This address must be calculated to make the people of England thoroughly acquainted with our condition and with those real grievances under which we labour, as well as with the fatal consequences which may be dreaded from a continuance of the measures whereof we are forced to complain; and as, though lost in the house, it will certainly be printed, it may be no ineffectual means of conveying proper information to those who in all probability act as they do, partly from ignorance of our real situation. And indeed one principal reason which induced me to think that such an address would be the best measure which we could pursue was that by this means the great purpose upon which you and I have been so long meditating will be in some sort effectuated. I mean that the ruling people on the other side of the water should be thoroughly informed of our real condition, and made sensible of the absolute necessity, for the sake of both countries, of doing something for our immediate relief. Nay, so fond am I of this

[1] Lord Townshend.

project that I am almost tempted to believe that a measure of the same kind or indeed the very same address moved and debated in the H[ous]e of C[ommon]s, in conjunction with us, might be as good and as useful an opening as could be given to the session in that house also; but of this yourselves must judge. And now after tiring you with this long tedious epistle, I ought to regale you with a little news; and I think I can give you one piece of intelligence which if you have not already heard it, even in this surprising age, will have the merit of surprising you—Mason [1] is made a Commissioner.[2] This I think needs no comment, as you readily perceive through what channel this wonderful preferment has passed. Neville,[3] too, is now upon full pay, and so are all but Agar. Lord F. Cavendish is now in Ireland. I have seen him often, as we are old acquaintances. I find by him that the opposition in England proceeds much as we do. The same want of concert and rather more idleness. He talks big, however, of next session, and thinks they may, if people can be prevailed on to attend, bring into the field 180 good men; with perseverance, he thinks, all must come right. With regard to our politics he is of opinion that our strongest ground will be to attack the new board if such should be appointed, in which measure he assures us of every assistance in England. He thinks that we begun our opposition too late, as we were already sufficiently warned of what was intended in the time of lord Bristol.[4] I fear that his ideas and those of his particular party, though in the main honest, are a little too aristocratic. Here is also lord Palmerstown [5] another friend of mine, on the other side of the question, who seems to make light of the minority and thinks that ministers will carry all before them. I have had several opportunities of talking with P——y. To give you a detail of our conversation would be superflous, as you know the man well enough to form an exact idea of all he said, without any assistance from me. I think however I could perceive that he has some fears with regard to lord J——n, neither do I believe them by any means groundless; he has, I know, been assailed and that too on his weakest side—his county interest. How he will hold out I know not; but perhaps an open enemy may be more eligible than a warning friend, particularly if his trimming should effect others."

1771, August 26, Marino.—"You will easily perceive from some parts of the inclosed letter that it was written when I thought you in the country. I have hitherto kept it in hopes of seeing you; but, having been told that you intend leaving town to morrow, I now send it as it is, being much too long to think of writing another. Carry it with you to the country and answer it when you have leisure."

114.—Charlemont to Sir Lucius O'Brien.

1771, September 21, 22nd, Marino.—"I have again leisure to torment you by reiterating my impertinent solicitation for your return to Dublin. In little more than a fortnight parliament will meet and surely it will be absolutely necessary that they who wish to act together upon honest principles should have an opportunity of seeing each other some few days before the opening of the session. But I need say no more; you will I am sure act as you ought, and therefore I expect and hope to see

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[1] John Monck Mason; M.P. for Blessinton, co. Wicklow.

[2] Of barracks and public works, Dublin.

[3] *See* p. 203.

[4] George Augustus John Hervey, earl of Bristol, appointed viceroy of Ireland in October 1766, as successor to lord Hertford.

[5] Henry Temple, second viscount Palmerston.

you soon. Since you left town I have been endeavouring, though a good deal hindered by the alarms[1] aforesaid, to sketch out something of that which I mentioned to you in my last letter. But indeed I find myself very unequal to the task. However I wish to shew you what I have done, as, with some addition, much correction and still more erasure, part of it may possibly answer, or at least some hint may perhaps be drawn from it."

115.—Baretti to Charlemont.

1772, February 25, London.—"I thank you for your kind condescension in apologizing, when there was not the shadow of a necessity for any apology; and I forbear making a necessary one for my delay in telling your lordship that I have executed your commissions, least I should be thought so confident as to presume to repay you in kind, and give you tit for tat, as the saying is. However, it is an indisputable fact, that I have a deal of work to dispatch every day; that is, a couple of devils (printer's devils) to deliver myself from very regularly twice a day, Sundays excepted; and twelve pages of Don Quixote, if not fourteen, to translate every day; and almost every day many letters to write in many languages; so that, your lordship would certainly commiserate the poor drudge, could you form a just idea of my incessant fatigues. See here, my lord, what callosities I have upon this thumb of mine, and got by my continual squeezing of a pen! But, quoth lord Charlemont, why do you, my old friend, work so very hard? A pretty question indeed, my good lord, why I work? Faith, for no other reason, but because I hate work, and want to be idle. What other motive could I have, since idleness is the very blank at which diligence and industry are for ever aiming? I have shown Dr. Johnson your lordship's letter, and he charges me to give you a thousand thanks for your kind words, yet wonders how you seem to think him of any party but yours, knowing as he does, that yours is that of philosophy and virtue. Sir Joshua [Reynolds] and Mr. Cipriani have likewise seen the contents of your letter. Cipriani told me, that he would answer for himself, and sir Joshua says that Bartolozzi would fain engrave the picture before it is sent; so that, if your lordship has no objection, Bartolozzi shall have it first; otherwise, it will be sent forthwith.

"Coming now back to speak of my dear self, I must for once, and very gravely expostulate with your lordship as to that oblique, but degrading occupation, of my being little less than apathetically indifferent about politics. Jesus, Jesus! how wrong and unjust these lords are apt to be, when they take it into their head so to be! Is such an accusation to be brought against a man, who has for these four months past been impairing his sight, wearing out his thumbs, and exhausting his patience, in diligently collating half a dozen editions of Machiavel's works, in order to strike out a new one in three enormous quartos?[2] Come forth of thy back shop, thou, Tom Davies,[3] bookseller de mios pecados, thou who hast paid me so very few guineas for so great a labour! Come forth to bear witness against this lord, as how I have been, and am still, sunk into the very deepest abyss of politics Machiavelian. Was not Machiavel the identical bell-wether of all and every one

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[1] In relation to health of lady Charlemont.

[2] "Tutte le opere di Niccolo Machiavelli, con una prefazione di Giuseppe Baretti." Londra: 1772. 3 vols., 4to.

[3] Successively actor, bookseller, theatrical manager, and publisher. Davies was author of "Dramatic Miscellanies" and a "Life of Garrick."

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of the political flock? The first, the best, the damnedest of them all? and how can I be taxed with indifference about politics, who am now invested, by bookseller's authority, with the power of supervising, ushering, and kicking the chief code of that science into a new edition, and am actually doing it? However, though a thorough politician, I will be so far honest as to own that there was a time, when I was somewhat tainted with doctrines unsound. For instance, there was a time, when my notion of liberty (and liberty is the axis, round which all manners of polities turn) when my notion of liberty was, that any native of any land was a freeman, provided he had wherewithal to fill his guts after his own taste, together with a tolerable share of prudence. There was a time, when I thought the French to be no slaves but when actually tugging at the oar in the gallies at Marseilles, and when hindered from walking in the Tuilleries, arm in arm with their doxies; when I held for sure, that men of wit and learning, provided a young woman was at hand, could be begotten within the districts of Monsieur Lewis the great, full as fast as within those of Madam Ann the little; when I was persuaded it was matter of indifference whether rogues were hanged by a dozen of shopkeepers, or a dozen of senators; when I thought it beastly that some hundred of hot-headed rascals should presume to turn a thief into a legislator, and to bring him amongst some honest custard-eaters, that he might grow as fat as a pig, when he deserved to be kept as lean as a lizzard. There was a time, my Lord, when I thought that a bastard kind of liberty, that did permit a multitude of Catos, Brutuses, Senecas, and Socrates's, to call Johnson [1] a hireling, Warburton [2] an atheist, Burke [3] a Jesuit, Mansfield [4] an ass, Wilkes [5] a saint, and 'Junius' the saviour of his country: a time, when I thought it hard not to be permitted cuffing a strumpet that tears your sleeve, or caning a fellow that picks your pockets, without incurring the indignation of the mob: a time, when I could even have wished to see people kept at home to dance hornpipes and fandangos, rather than to let them loose abroad, and turn them over then to cut the throats of naked caciques, and defenceless nabobs. A multitude of such erroneous notions I own to have once fostered in my foolish pate. But my long meditations upon Machiavel, together with a careful perusal of Algernon Sidney's works, and Molesworth's Account of Denmark, have turned me into so genuine a liberty-man, that I now think it very pretty to curse a king's mother when dead, after having poured upon her all kind of abuse when alive. I push even so far the liberality of my new notions, that though I know nothing of any queen, I am vastly pleased when I listen to a ballad, as I go along, in which a fair queen is called a damned . . . without the least ceremony. Huzza, my boys! Wilkes and liberty for ever! and a plague upon my former apathy about politics!"

116.—James Stewart[6] to Charlemont.

1772, July 23rd, Killymoon.[7]—"Many thanks to you, my dear lord, for your obliging letter, the intelligence it contains is very alarming. I have communicated it to most of the gentlemen in this neighbour-

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[1] Samuel Johnson.
[2] William Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, 1759–1779.
[3] Edmund Burke.
[4] Chief justice, king's bench, England.
[5] John Wilkes.
[6] Member of parliament for county of Tyrone.
[7] Near Cookstown, Tyrone.

hood and to some who live in a distant part of this county. We have no reason to think that any meetings have yet been held near us for the purposes you mention, but we shall be diligent and attentive to the motions of our Roman Catholic neighbours. Those friends whom I have consulted are of opinion that it would be imprudent to express any apprehensions or distrust of the people at present, for in this part of Tyrone, at least, they are quiet and disposed to live on the most friendly terms with the Protestants, and they are so poor and ignorant that they are not likely to be consulted on any business by their more wealthy brethren. The richest and most respectable Catholics in this county are about Omagh and Strabane. Mr. Hamilton, who lives in Strabane, has promised me to be particularly attentive and to acquaint me if he observes any thing of consequence passing in that quarter. As the circuits are just now beginning I suppose government will communicate to the sheriffs and grand juries in the different counties such information as they are possessed of on the subject of the intended elections, and also instructions in what manner they would wish gentlemen should act in order to prevent the danger which may justly be apprehended from them. Our assizes are to be at Omagh the 7th of August. I mean to attend there and shall be particularly obliged to you if, with your usual kindness, you will assist me with your instruction or advice. Should you think any public declaration at this time necessary respecting the Catholic business, and if you meet with one of the printed requisitions to the titular bishops, I shall be thankful to you if you will send it to me. Yours is the only answer I have yet received to the resolution of thanks from the synod, and I shall observe your instructions on the subject. George Ponsonby, or rather lady Mary for him, wrote to enquire if an answer was expected, and if it was to be published. I could not answer this, but advised him to consult with you and the other friends of the synod included in the resolution."

117.—Edmund Burke to Charlemont.

1772, September 4, Beaconsfield.—"I spoke to Mr. Sullivan, deputy chairman of the East India Company, on the subject of captain O'Bryen. He told me that so much discontent had prevailed among the Company's troops upon sending out officers hence to supersede in their promotion those who had long served there, that the directors had come to a resolution not to send out any more captains. If this rule should be at all broke into, Mr. Sullivan has shewn very good dispositions to oblige captain O'Bryen. I shall look again into the matter, being extremely solicitous that every thing that can be done, should be done for so worthy a friend of your lordship. I don't find that your lordship has written to lord Rockingham, according to the hint I took the liberty of giving you. I mention that, as I think he has rather more interest with Colebrooke than any of our friends. I hope you don't forget the obliging engagement which your lordship and lady Charlemont made to take us on your return. Though your lordship has not answered my letter (neither indeed did it require any answer) I take it for granted you have received it."

118.—William Browne to Charlemont.

1772, September 28, Coppice Row, Cold Bath Fields, London.—"Your character being established here for your fine taste in the polite arts, and your generous encouragement of the professors of them,

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emboldens me to take the liberty to address your lordship upon some hints that were given me of the practicability of establishing a porcelain manufactory in Dublin, of which I respectfully crave your lordship's opinion, and with the greater freedom as I am well informed that from your great affability and condescension I may hope at least not to be thought presuming, but expect your lordship's candid advice when I inform your lordship of my design. It will be perhaps necessary as the basis of my pretensions, to let your lordship know, that I served an apprenticeship to Mr. Sprimont of Chelsea whom I believe I need hardly inform your lordship, was the first person who brought English china to the perfection it now has arrived at. Under him I was made master of the various branches of this art, and though painting was my particular department in his manufactory, yet with attention I have obtained a thorough practical knowledge of the whole process. Upon leaving Mr. Sprimont, being unable to carry on the china business in such a manner as I could wish, I turned to the enamel painting branch. This has lately fallen off which has revived a thought I have long had of establishing a manufactory of china. In order to this I have for a tryal built some kilns etc., these I rather designed for proofs in the ornament way, of which I have produced a great quantity, such as figures, vases, groupes etc., that for colour and fineness are equal to any and superior to abundance that are for sale in the shops. The approbation these productions have met with from judges encouraged me to hope a great deal from a more extensive plan for making all kinds of useful china, but there are some very particular objections against an attempt of this sort in London. Wood and coal, two capital materials, are here very dear—besides the dearness of provision. These would always enable a country manufactory to undersell a London one. In this difficulty, I happened into conversation with a person who informed me nothing of this kind had yet been attempted in Ireland. That for several years past the Dublin society[1] had been generous encouragers of all those arts which have a tendency to improve, enrich and embellish their country. That this manufacture, properly encouraged and carried on with propriety bid fair to save money to the kingdom and be an ornament to it beside—that as I had some credit in London, with an extensive knowledge of the art, some capital of my own and a great variety of proofs that I am equal to the undertaking, I ought by all means look out for a patron and attempt an establishment in Dublin if practicable. Several ingenious artists named your lordship upon this occasion, and amongst the rest Mr. Pingo who is my very good friend. He passed these encomiums on your lordship's character that encouraged me to apply to your lordship upon this occasion. Now, my lord, I can make it clear much may be done in this way in Dublin both in the finely ornamental way and the useful, as well as in the coarser; that a sort may be made after the manner of the common India to come cheap, to please, and be of general sale. In the ornamental way I have on hands a vast variety, finished and unfinished, which are open to the inspection of any person willing to see how far my abilities may be depended upon. As this is wrote chiefly with submission to your lordship's opinion as to the general undertaking, it will be unnecessary to enter into particulars of the plan I should propose for its establishment, in which I shall risque a reasonable part of my own property, and shall mention to your lordship that the sum wanted upon this occasion to carry the work into immediate execution (and to produce a quantity quickly for sale) will not be a great one. —I shall beside give proofs in Dublin before the society how imme-

[1] *See* "History of city of Dublin," vol. ii.

diately the work can be set forward, by moulding, painting and burning some figures in a very short process, leaving the whole to your lordship's judgment and kind opinion, and begging your lordship's kind encouragement as you may think well of the undertaking."

119.—Charlemont to Flood.

1772, December 30th, London.—"An affair has lately happened in which I have been intimately concerned, and which by its very proper termination has amply repaid whatever uneasiness I may have suffered during its transaction—lord Bellamont in consequence of an improper message delivered to him by lord Townshend's aid-de-camp, of which you probably may have heard, found himself obliged to desire satisfaction of lord Townshend; in order to which, having previously resigned his military employments, he did me the honour to chuse me to carry his message, which was put into writing. The offence was stated, and the satisfaction required was, that Lord T[ownshend] should ask pardon. Lord T[ownshend] declared that he had not meant to offend lord B[ellamont], but refused to ask pardon, as that would be to acknowledge an offence of which he did not think himself guilty. My directions were to bring back no answer but that required, and, in case of his refusal, after begging him maturely to consider the matter, to read to him a paragraph in which lord B[ellamont] declares that he looks upon him as void of the principles of a man of honour. This, with great reluctance, and after long interruption and much hesitation, I read to him; for I was particularly instructed not to admit of any negotiation previous to the reading of this paragraph. In consequence of this message, lord Ligonier waited on lord B[ellamont] from lord T[ownshend], and lord Ancrum was called in as friend to lord B[ellamont], some circumstances, too tedious now to mention, having rendered it improper that I should be the second. I now read to lord Ligonier the message which I had delivered, and he said that he also had a paper in his pocket, but desired to return to lord T[ownshend] for farther instructions before he should proceed. He went and returned, and, after some farther negotiation, the affair was happily finished by a declaration from lord T[ownshend] that he does acknowledge the message delivered by his aid de camp to be improper and offensive both in matter and in manner, and declares upon his honour that he had not the least intention of offending lord B[ellamont]: in consequence of which declaration lord B. cancelled his message. Thus was this very disagreeable business happily settled, I think to the honour of all parties; and I cannot help adding, in justice to the lords Ancrum and Ligonier, that its being so well adjusted was in a great measure owing to their good sense and goodness of heart.

"This affair has occasioned me much anxiety, yet I have been amply repaid by the opportunity it has afforded me of intimately knowing lord Bellamont, whose character can only be sufficiently admired by being intimately known. I thought it right, and indeed lord Bellamont desired me, to inform you of this matter, in order that you may be able to confute any misrepresentations which may possibly be made with regard to any of the parties.

"Lord Ancrum desires to add a postscript:—'I am happy to have it in my power to wish you a very happy new year. I have seen that part of lord Charlemont's letter which concerns the lords Bellamont and Townshend, and can vouch for its exactness as well as propriety. The affair I hope you will think has been well and happily settled.'"

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120.—FLOOD to CHARLEMONT, at London.

1773, February 5.—"Your letter to-day has given me infinite pain. I hope, however, it is your solicitude for our valuable friend rather than his danger that awakens your apprehensions. I entreat that you will remember me to him as one who takes the most real part in what concerns him, and feels the most anxious wishes for his safety. His honour needs no guardian; and yet, since there is to be a narrative, I think it is right and manly in lord Ancrum to put his name to it. The world is the tribunal of honour, and our friend may appeal to it with security. I am glad, for the sake of soldiership, that lord Townshend has acted properly. Would that he had been as meritorious without being so successful a combatant!

"You will have heard before this of a duel here between secretary Blaquiere and Mr. Bagenall, in which both behaved very bravely, and the former won with peculiar gallantry as the account goes.

"I have not been in the same but almost equal dangers by becoming an huntsman and have got a wound without any honour even to console me for it. However, it does not signify, and I dismiss my bandage to-morrow and return to the chase again. I beg to hear from you and that you will be so good as to remember me particularly to lord Ancrum."

121.—JOSEPH WILTON to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1773, May 17, London.—"I have, according to your lordship's desire, made out my account for the lapis-lazuli table and one of green jasper, etc., sent formerly to Ireland. I have charged the different articles as low as I can afford them. I have remaining of the lapis which I furnished, and also of that of your lordship's, six ounces weight of small fragments fit to make ultramarine of; and eighteen ounces of the outside crusts or matrix containing some blue, but of little use. I have allowed on an average for the whole ten ounces' value 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to be deducted from my bill. I wish it had been in my power to have made the table come less expensive, as it has far exceeded my first computation, wherein I was greatly deceived, both in the quantity and waste. I hope nevertheless your lordship will think I have acted fairly in the case, for no benefit has accrued to me in the lapis-lazuli part but the usual charge on the day work. Allowing the above deductions, there remains a balance in my favour of 146*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*"

ii.—[Enclosure.]

"The right honourable Earl of Charlemont to Joseph Wilton, Dr.—1768, February.—To a new peduccio of statuary marble made for lord Chesterfield's busto with inscription on do., etc., 2*l.* 14*s.*,—package of do. bust and carriage to the inn, 3*s.* 6*d.*,—2*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*—To a table slab veneered with hard Sicilian green jasper, containing 13 feet 8 inches superficial at 20*s.* per foot, 13*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*,—10 feet 11 inches run of groove for brass moulding, 10*s.* 11*d.*,—cutting the model in wood for casting do. upon, 10*s.*,—paid for do. moulding and water gilding do., 8*l.* 12*s.*,—fitting do. into the groove, and casing up the table, 3*s.* 6*d.*,—paid carpenter for the case for do., 12*s.* 2*d.*,—paid cartage and attendance with do. to the inn, 7*s.* 6*d.*,—24*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*—1773, February.—Paid carriage of a fragment, bought by his lordship at Adams sale, to Hertford Street, 3*s.*—To making a very rich pier table veneered with lapis-

lazuli carved scolloped border, workmanship and material to do., viz.: 9 feet 8 inches superficial of chosen statuary, 2 inches thick, from saw, at 10*s.* per foot, 4*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*,—7 feet 6 inches run of molded scolloped border to do. at 4*s.* 6*d.* per foot, 1*l.* 13*s.* 9d.,—7 feet 6 inches run of enriched godroon and hushs to do. at 2*l.* 5*s.* do., 16*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*,—7 feet run of goloss, inlaid with giallo antico, at 1*l.* 5*s.* do., 8*l.* 15*s.*,—furnished lapis-lazuli, weight 6 lb. 11 oz., value 35*l.* 15*s.*,—paid lapidary's bill for slitting do. for use, 10*l.* 7*s.*,—day work in jointing, inlaying and polishing the lapis-lazuli panzetta, 150 days at 3*s.* 8*d.* per day, 27*l.* 10*s.*,—emerys and other materials used to do., 1*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*,—carving in wood and fitting to the marble the pattern for casting the brass moulding, 1*l.* 10*s.*,—for executing and water-gilding do. moulding and fixing pins to do., 10*l.* 10*s.*,—adding a piece to finish the back under-jointing and fixing do., 1*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* Paid cases for the table and abovesaid fragment, and packing do. with carriage of table to Hungerford stairs, 1*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*,—paper shavings and cloth to pack the table in, 2*s.* 6*d.*,—122*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*,—149*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*—N.B. Allowance for 10 ounces offals, at 6*s.* 8*d.* per ounce, makes 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Balance to J. W. is, errors excepted, 146*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*

122.—Rev. George Calcott to Charlemont.

1773, November 5, Bristol.—"I hope your lordship will excuse my presuming to trouble you with this unexpected epistle, for which the best apology I can make, is begging your lordship's kind acceptance of the two enclosed manuscripts, the former of which your lordship expressed a great desire of being possessed of, when I had the honour of seeing you at Bristol; and the latter I met with among the remarks made on Rowley's writings, by the learned and ingenious Dr. Thomas Fry, late president of St. John's, Oxford, which I have been so fortunate as to get into my possession. Besides the reasons above mentioned, I had another inducement to write to your lordship, which I hope will of itself be considered as sufficient apology for giving your lordship this trouble; especially as your lordship (being the only person in the world besides myself that possesses the tragedy of Ella) is more immediately concerned than any other person whatever, Mr. Barrett[1] and myself excepted, namely, to inform your lordship that gentleman has been, by frequent sollicitations, prevailed upon at last to send two of the original manuscripts, viz. the 'Ode to Ella,' and the yellow rowl, the latter of which mentions the contents of Mr. Canyngs's folio ledger, to lord Dacre, that he might transmit them to Dr. Percy for his inspection, and I am sorry to acquaint your lordship that gentleman in a letter to lord Dacre, which his lordship was so very obliging to transmit to Mr. Barrett and me, inclosed in one of his own, for our inspection, has, together with his friend Thomas Butler, esq., clerk of the peace for the county of Middlesex, (who was at that time on a visit with him at Alnwick castle,) pronounced them to be spurious, and positively asserts they were forged by Chatterton, and even goes so far as to doubt of Rowley's existence, though he does them the justice to say, they are highly deserving publication, on account of their great poetical merit, and that for his own part, he would subscribe to such a publication with great pleasure, and lend all the assistance in his power to promote the sale and formation of such a work. I should have thought the sight of the originals sent by Mr. Barrett would have settled their authenticity

[1] William Barrett, author of "History of Bristol."

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beyond the possibility of a doubt. It is, as I observed in a letter I lately wrote to lord Camden, rather difficult to conceive, how a lad of fifteen, educated at a Blue School, afterwards hackney writer to an attorney, could even have had time enough to transcribe, much less to compose, the voluminous works of Rowley, both in prose and verse, and I am really astonished that such sensible men as lord Camden, and lord Dacre, both of whom assured me, when I saw them last autumn at Bath, that they had not the least doubt of the authenticity of any of Rowley's writings except sir Charles Banden should (pardon the liberty of the expression) so entirely give up their reason as to acquiesce in every respect to the opinions of the two gentlemen above mentioned. I have the satisfaction however to acquaint your lordship that Dr. Jeremiah Milles, the learned and ingenious dean of Exeter, president of the Antiquarian Society, who has seen and minutely examined all Mr. Barrett's originals when he was at Bristol, is as much convinced of their authenticity as Dr. Percy and his friend Mr. Butler are of their being spurious. How then is it possible to reconcile such very different opinions? No person in the world, perhaps, Mr. Barrett excepted, had so many opportunitys of knowing Chatterton's abilities as myself. I have at this time in my possession some hundred lines of his writing, and although it appears by them [that] he had great natural abilities, yet I am as certain as I am of my own existence, that he was not the author of those attributed to Rowley; he had neither capacity nor leisure to do it. But if the manuscripts are to be condemned as spurious, and are to fall by the sentence passed upon them by Dr. Percy and his friend Mr. Butler, in opposition to the opinions of many others, who have seen and examined the originals, and who are perhaps as competent judges as themselves of those sort of writings, just when I fondly imagined they were on the eve of publication, I shall say of them as the great sir Walter Rawley of his excellent history, the world is not worthy of them, and I can with great truth assure your lordship, that I am so chagrined at this very unexpected disappointment, that I am quite indifferent about the future fate of the manuscripts, and am sometimes strongly tempted to destroy them all without reserve, together with Dr. Fry's remarks and my own introduction. For, if they cannot be published as Rowley's, I can never think of palming such an imposition on the public, as to send them into the world, as the composition of a boy of 15, who, if he really did compose them, might, considering his very early youth and the disadvantages of his education, be very justly considered as one of the greatest geniuses that ever existed in the world.

"I hope your lordship will excuse the unusual length of this letter as also my expressing my sentiments so freely, for which your lordship's candor is the best plea I can offer."

"P.S.—I don't find that they bring any other proof to invalidate the authenticity of the manuscripts, but that the letters are not precisely admissible either to the era of the poems or any other, either preceding or subsequent to them. I believe your lordship has the 'Ode to Ella' with John Lydgate's answer, already in your possession; if not, (and your lordship desires it) I will send them the first opportunity. The former begins thus, 'O! thou, orr whatte remayned of thee,' etc. Mr. Barrett knows nothing of my writing to your lordship. I shall be glad to know your lordship's sentiments."

123.—Topham Beauclerk to Charlemont.

1773, December 24, Adelphi, London.—"Enclosed I send you the drawing of Mr. Walpole's frames, which I did not receive till last night.

I hope you received a letter from me some time ago. I mention this, that I may not appear worse than I am, and likewise to hint to you that when you receive this you will be two letters in my debt. I hope your parliament has finished all its absurdities, and that you will be at leisure to come over here to attend your club, where you will do much more good than all the patriots in the world ever did to any body, viz. you will make very many of your friends extremely happy, and you know Goldsmith has informed us, that no form of government ever contributed either to the happiness or misery of any one. I saw a letter from Foote[1] with an account of an Irish tragedy. The subject is Manlius, and the last speech, which he makes when he is pushed off from the Tarpeian rock is, 'Sweet Jesus, where am I going?' Pray send me word if this is true. We have a new comedy here, which is good for nothing. Bad as it is, however, it succeeds very well, and has almost killed Goldsmith with envy. I have no news, either literary or political, to send you. Every body, except myself and about a million of vulgars, are in the country. I am closely confined."

124.—Richard Chandler, D.D.[2] to Charlemont.

1774, January 31, Magdalen College, Oxford.—"I took the liberty to trouble your lordship with a letter in autumn last, informing you that my volume of inscriptions was so far advanced as to enable me to publish in the ensuing spring, and requesting your lordship to forward to me any inscriptions, which you might think proper to communicate with that copied by your lordship at Halicarnassus. Not having had the honour of a line from your lordship since, I am apprehensive my letter may have miscarried, especially as it was directed for [your lordship][3] in London, at a time when as I [am since] informed, you was at or near Du[blin, I] beg leave to repeat the substance [of it] as above, and to acquaint your lordship that I have delayed the finishing my w[ork] till favoured with a copy of your lordship's inscriptions, for which a place is reserved. Your lordship's condescension in complying with my request will always be considered by me as an obligation."

125.—Topham Beauclerk to Charlemont.

1774, February 12, Adelphi, London.—"I can now give you a better reason for not writing sooner to you than for any other thing that I ever did in my life. When sir C. Bingham came from Ireland, I, as you may easily imagine, immediately enquired after you. He told me that you was very well, but in great affliction, having just lost your child. You cannot conceive how I was shocked with this news, not only by considering what you suffered upon this occasion, but I recollected that a foolish letter of mine, laughing at your Irish politics would arrive just at that point of time. A bad joke at any time is a bad thing, but when any attempt at pleasantry happens, when a person is in great affliction, it certainly is the most odious thing in the world. I could not write to comfort you; you will not wonder therefore that I did not write at all. I must now entreat you to lay aside your politics for some time, and to consider that the taking care of your health is one of the most public spirited things that you can possibly do, for,

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[1] Samuel Foote. *See* "History of city of Dublin," 1859, vol. ii. p. 39.
[2] Author of Travels in Asia Minor and Greece; "Inscriptiones Antiquæ," etc.
[3] MS. torn.

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notwithstanding your vapour about Ireland, I do not believe that you can very well spare one honest man. . . . Our politicians on this side of the water are all asleep, but I hear they are to be awakened next Monday by a printer who is ordered to attend the bar of the house, for having abused sir Fletcher Norton. They have already passed a vote, nem. con., that sir Fletcher's character is immaculate, and will most certainly punish the printer very severely, if a trifling circumstance does not prevent them, viz. that the printer should, as he most probably will, refuse to attend.

"Our club has dwindled away to nothing; nobody attends but Mr. Chambers, and he is going to the East Indies. Sir Joshua and Goldsmith have got into such a round of pleasures that they have no time. And now, my lord, let me set you right as to the use of a friend. It is not, as you express it, to tire him with morality, but, when he perceives that his friend is got into a scrape, to inform him of the great inconveniences that he is likely to suffer from it, and of the comfortable situation that he would have been in, had he left undone those things, which had brought him into those disagreable circumstances. I remember that is well put off in one of Dancourt's farces called 'Le gallant viscomte.' A man there is introduced making love to a dyer's wife. The husband detects him, and orders his men to dye him green. His friends come about him, and one of them after upbraiding him for some time, tells him that he may thank himself, for had he not followed other men's wives, but staid at home and minded his business, he would never have been dyed green. His answer is the only one that ought to be made to all such advisers. What? Voilà des morales bien placées! I do not mean to hint by this that some advice may be of service, but I believe you will agree with me, that the generality of friends are of this sort. You deserve this for saying that your letters tire me. In my next I will send you a long history of all our friends, and particularly an account how twelve hundred thousand pounds may be paid without advancing one shilling. This is certainly very convenient, and, if you can [get] rid of all your feeling and morality before my next letter arrives, you may put it in practice, as probably it has not yet been introduced into Ireland."

126.—Richard Levinge to Charlemont.

1774, July 7, Calverstown.—"My good son-in-law[1] occasions my giving your lordship this trouble on his account. He hath already declared himself a candidate for the county of Mayo, and among others hath sollicited Mr. Browne's vote and interest, who agrees to give him one of his voices provided the measure meets with your lordship's approbation. Cuff hath requested me to intercede with your lordship for your recommendation of him to Mr. B[rowne]. I cannot avoid wishing and interesting myself in Cuff's success, though I must ingenuously own he engaged in this contest contrary to my inclination and certainly went against my advice; it had been asked early enough. I have always considered county elections as the most troublesome and expensive hobby horses that any man ever kept for the amusement of his youth or old age, and I much fear that a disappointment of Cuff's hopes is something more than problematical. There is one circumstance in this

[1] James Cuff, M.P. for Mayo, member of privy council, Ireland, created baron of Tyrawly in 1797. He married in 1770, Mary, only child of Richard Levinge, of Calverstown, co. Kildare.

case which the prudence of lord Hertford and the ministerial candour of lord Harcourt would direct me to conceal from your lordship upon this application. But as I am not ambitious of emulating the political virtues of either of these noblemen, especially in a correspondence with your lordship, I think it necessary to acquaint you that there is a junction between lords Altamont[1] and Arran,[2] and that lord Westport[3] and Cuff are candidates upon that united interest. I suppose that Granby[4] coffee-house is now become a deserted room and fit for Vesey's[5] genius in architecture to operate upon in its full force, and that your lordship hath retired to Marino."

127.—Lord Bruce to Charlemont.

1774, July 14, Stourhead.—"I should be glad to know your thoughts on lord Chesterfield's Letters, particularly as you was acquainted with the object of them. 'Sketches of the history of man'[6] is a very entertaining book. The duchess of Kingston[7] upon her return lately from Italy, was only one night at her house at Knightsbridge, being seized with a panic on hearing the duke[8] of Kingston's will is disputed by Mr. Meadows and his eldest son who are supposed to have secured in their favour a woman who was present at her grace's marriage[9] with Mr. Hervey; she is gone back to the Continent, and her return (if ever) uncertain; Russia is mentioned as a country she is likely to go to: when she waited on the pope at Rome, where she was going to buy a villa and dig for antiquities, she told his holiness that there was no coming to Jerusalem without adoration: the villa Negroni is I believe what she was in treaty for."

128.—Charlemont to Topham Beauclerk.—Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin.

[1774, July —.]—"The dean of Derry[10] has brought me a most excellent piece of news—am I to believe it? or is it too good to be true? He tells me that you intend to redeem your character by shewing that, however you may delay fulfilling your promise, you are incapable of breaking it. This summer, he assures me, you propose to visit Ireland and me. Are these things so? But why have I not heard it from yourself? Why do you not double my pleasure by giving me that of expectation, as well as that of enjoyment—L'un, comme vous le scavez, vaut bien l'autre. The summer, too, is wasting away, and I hear no tidings of you. My last letter yet remains unanswered. This last circumstance however may perhaps promise well. Who knows but that you may intend to answer my letter in person! In this hope I will at least indulge myself, and will daily expect the happiness of seeing you. I send you enclosed a paper, which I beg you would communicate

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[1] John Browne, earl of Altamont, co. Mayo.
[2] Arthur Saunders Gore, earl of Arran, co. Galway.
[3] Peter Browne, lord Westport, son of earl of Altamont.
[4] In Dublin.
[5] Agmondisham Vesey, of Lucan, co. Dublin.
[6] By Henry Home, lord Kames.
[7] Elizabeth Chudleigh.
[8] The duke died in 1773.
[9] The duchess of Kingston was found guilty of bigamy, after trial in the house of lords in 1776, on the ground of her previous marriage with Augustus John Hervey, above mentioned.
[10] *See* p. 321.

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to your friends, as I wish that the contents of it should be known, and especially by people of consequence and of erudition. They are going to undo us, and to take away from us that small quantity of morals and of learning which yet remains among us—we have been long fleeced and plundered of our money, but a tax is now in agitation upon our virtues. The provost or head of our university is, as you may have heard, lately deceased, and, if fame says true, they are going to give us for provost one who is at once a professed lawyer and a professed politician—id est. The inclosed paper contains a few of the many reasons against such a nomination, and I wish it to be shewn, though by no means published, in order that thinking people, and they who value literature, and wish well to their sister country, may be apprised of the dangerous predicament in which we now stand. The opinions of such men may possibly be of weight, enough to make even Cæsar ashamed. Johnson, among others, should exert himself and exclaim against this horror. He is a member of our university, and ought not silently to see it ruined. The fact is, that the intended nomination is no other than a parliamentary job, and you will easily conceive that, if once an office of this nature and importance be disposed of in this manner, it will become a perpetual precedent for future times. The place of provost will be a sinecure, and it will be for ever hereafter regarded and held out as a lure or a gratification for apostate patriots or for needy courtiers. The university meanwhile, which at this instant requires all the vigilance, diligence and abilities of the wisest and most experienced head to reinstate it in that situation from which it is already fallen during the incumbency of the late heedless provost, will be totally undone, and the kingdom will essentially suffer, not only by the loss of such a seminary, but by the money which will be spent out of it in Scotch universities; for we are not rich enough to send our sons to Oxford or to Cambridge. The next step will probably be to find out some quirk by which fellowships also, which are now the reward of intense study, and only to be got by answering well on the strictest examination, may be given away at the will of the minister; and thus we shall lose the only incitement to learning which yet remains amongst us; for it is now long since Irishmen have lost all hopes of preferment in the learned professions. Sensible of our national incapacity and studious of our welfare, it has long been the charitable practice of England kindly to send us her attorneys for judges, and her country schoolmasters and shabby curates for bishops and archbishops. I write this in order that thinking people, and they who value L[eland]. . The cause of morals, the cause of learning, is his cause, and ought to be the cause of every good man.

"But I have prolonged my letter to an unconscionable length, and that too upon a subject perhaps not very interesting to you—you however, as a literary man and a citizen of the world, can not be indifferent to the cause of literature and the welfare of a nation. Besides, when I write to you I always put down whatever is uppermost in my mind, and I do confess myself interested even to agitation in the matter, which has been the principal subject of this letter. . . . Charles Fox a member of the Turk's head [club][1]!"

129.—Topham Beauclerk to Charlemont.

1774, July 18, Muswell Hill.—"That it was my full intention to visit you in Ireland, and that it still remains so, is as true, as that I

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[1] In Gerrard Street, Soho. The club was subsequently known as the "Literary club." *See* Boswell's life of Johnson, ed. Napier, 1884, i. 391; and ed. Hill, 1887, i. 479.

love and esteem you more than any man upon the earth, but various accidents have hitherto hindered me, the last of which has been a violent disorder, which obliges me to a very severe discipline, and a constant attendance upon doctor Turton, but in spight of him, or Nature itself, I will very soon pay you a visit. Business, it is true, I have none to keep me here, but you forget that I have business in Lancashire, and that I must go there, when I come to you. Now you will please to recollect, that there is nothing in this world, I so entirely hate, as business of any kind, and that I pay you the greatest compliment, I can do, when I risk the meeting with my own confounded affairs, in order to have the pleasure of seeing you, but this I am resolved to do. The dean[1] of Derry is quite a new acquaintance; he says he is a scholar and I believed him to be so. He seemed a good natured man, and a man of parts, and one proof I am sure he gave of his understanding, by expressing a strong desire to be acquainted with you. I had recollection enough, however, not to give him a letter to you, as I suspected that a certain thing called politics might be the cause of a difference between you, particularly as he told me that he was an intimate friend of Rigby's;[2] and if the old proverb is true, 'Noscitur a socio,' I guessed, that he was not a man after your own heart. His wife, I never saw but once, and that was at the play, and then the dean and I seemed to be both of a mind in trying to avoid her company and conversation as much as possible. I agree with you, that there never was a more scandalous thing than making the man[3] provost, that is made. Your last,[4] however, I believe, from what I have heard, was not much better. But why should you be vexed to find that mankind are fools and knaves? I have known it so long that every fresh instance of it amuses me, provided it does not immediately affect my friends or myself. Politicians do not seem to me to be much greater rogues than other people, and as their actions affect individuals less than other kinds of villainy do, I cannot find that I am so angry with them. It is true, that the leading men in both the countrys at present are, I believe, the most corrupt, abandoned people in the nation, but that being the case, is it not better that Rigby should be employed in making a provost, than in . . . or in betraying his friend by the meanest and blackest ingratitude? But, now I am on this worthy subject of human nature, I will inform you of a few particulars relating to the glorious discovery of Otaheite which Dr. Hawksworth said placed the king above all the conquerors in the world, and if the glory is to be estimated by the mischief, I do not know whether he is not right. When Wallis first anchored off the island two natives came alongside of the ship, without fear or distrust, to barter their goods with our people. A man called the boat keeper, who was in a boat, that was tied to the ship, attempted to get the things from them without payment. The savages resisted and he struck one of them with the boat hook, upon which they immediately paddled away. All night the people upon the island were in motion, lights were seen, and drums were heard beating, and in the morning great numbers came in canoes

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[1] Thomas Barnard, dean of Derry, 1769; appointed bishop of Killaloe in 1780; translated to Limerick in 1794.

[2] *See* p. 10.

[3] John Hely Hutchinson, appointed provost of Trinity College, Dublin, by letters patent, 15 July 1774.

[4] Francis Andrews, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, 1758–74. In contemporary satires, Andrews was referred to as "Don Francesco Andrea Bumperoso." Letters of provost Andrews will be found in Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS., 1881, part i., p. 192.

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of all sizes about the ship. They behaved, however, in the most peaceable manner, still offering to exchange their commodities for anything that they could obtain from us. The same trick was played them by attempting to take away their things by force. This enraged them and as they had come prepared to defend themselves with such weapons as they had, they immediately began to fling stones, one of which went into the cabbin window. Wallis upon this ordered the centinel to fire, and the guns loaded with grape shot to be fired. This as you may imagine immediately dispersed them. Some were drowned, many killed, and some few got on shore, where a great number of the natives were assembled. Wallis then ordered the great guns to be played, according to his phrase, upon them. This drove them to the hills, where he still ordered the same pastime to be continued in order to convince them, as he says, that our arms could reach them at such a distance. If you add to this, that the inhabitants at all these islands are eat up with . . . , you will find, that men may be much worse employed, than by doing the dirtiest job that ever was undertaken by the lowest of our clerk ministers. These particulars I had from a man, who went the last voyage, and had them from the gunner of Wallis's ship. We have one of the natives here, who was wounded in that infernal massacre. There is another curiosity here, Mr. Bruce[1]; his drawings are the most beautiful things you ever saw, and his adventures more wonderful than those of Sinbad the sailor and perhaps as true.

"I am much more afflicted with the account you send me of your health, than I am at the corruption of your ministers. I always hated politicks, and I now hate them ten times worse, as I have reason to think, that they contribute to your ill health, and then I will allow them to be perfectly pernicious. You do me great justice in thinking, that whatever concerns you, must interest me, but as I wish you most sincerely to be perfectly happy, I cannot bear to think that the villainous proceedings of others should make you miserable, for in that case undoubtedly you will never be happy.

"Charles Fox is a member of the Turk's head, but not till he was a patriot, and you know the song: More joy in Heaven if one repent.

"There is nothing new, but Goldsmith's 'Retaliation,' which you certainly have seen."

130.—Rev. Edward Murphy and Simon Vierpyl, statuary and architect, Dublin.—Roman statues and busts.

i.—Murphy to Vierpyl.

1774, July 25, Newtown, near the Black Rock [Dublin].—"As the time approaches when I must leave to some body else my imperial series of 78 busts,[2] with my 22 statues, making in all 100 figures, modelled for me at Rome from the true antique originals by your most masterly hands; and as the greatest connoisseurs then in Rome declared to me, when they saw them finished, that they thought them rather duplicates than copies; I am naturally become very desirous to know, 'what may be the real value of the whole collection.' Wherefore, I shall take it as an act of great friendship, if you will be so good as to consider all those works; and to let me know, 'what you really think them worth.'"

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[1] "Travels to discover the source of the Nile, 1768–1773." By James Bruce.

[2] These busts are now preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, to which they were presented by the present earl of Charlemont in 1868.

ii.—Vierpyl to Murphy.

1774, August 15, Dublin.—"If I have finished your busts and statues as perfectly as the best judges of our day at Rome have been pleased to declare, they must be worth a sum far exceeding what any common valuation would rate them at. For, to form a just estimate of things so very rare and curious requires a clear knowledge of many facts and circumstances which very few know anything of. Wherefore I shall here endeavour to give a detail of those matters; not to inform you, but such as may hereafter be interested to know them.

"First, the original series treasured up in the Capitoline museum at Rome consists of real antique busts of the Roman emperors, empresses and their nearest relations.

"Secondly, all those busts have been allowed by the greatest modern sculptors and connoisseurs to be the works of antient Greek and Roman masters of the first class.

"Thirdly, all those original busts agree perfectly in point of features, attitudes, etc., with the heads struck on the best respective medals of those emperors, empresses, etc., and therefore are all those antient busts held as done from life, as the heads on those coins certainly were; and therefore are they all true originals justly reckoned perfect effigies of those great personages.

"Fourthly, if I have been so fortunate as to copy all those original antient busts as perfectly as the greatest judges of our day in Rome have been pleased to declare; then must your busts also be a series of perfect effigies of all those great personages: which circumstance must render them all most inestimable.

"Fifthly, your happy, and, I believe, singular thought (of getting the whole original series copied, and this by one artist only) has never before, nor to this day been executed by any sculptor, except me. So that your imperial series is the only one of the kind now in the world: which gives it an immense additional value, especially as it is probable in the highest degree that an equal series will never again be made; for,

"Sixthly, I am certain, that no eminent artist will hereafter stand four years, winter and summer (as I have done) in the chilling Capitoline museum to model so many busts and statues with his own hand; except he be tempted with such a reward as none but a monarch, or other man of vast superfluous wealth, can conveniently pay. And as for any series made by a great number of different hands (most of which must be very unequal to such an undertaking) I hope I may without vanity say, that it can stand in no comparison with yours. So that as yours now is, so it most probably ever will remain, the only series of the kind in the world.

"Seventhly, the substance (terra cotta) of which your busts and statues are made is such that they will last in their original perfection for thousands of years, if preserved from such violence as would deface or break the same figures done in marble, and I think, their colour is much more natural than that of marble.

"Eighthly, they are all safe from the great danger of sea and land carriage from Rome hither, and they are safe out of the red-hot kilns in which they were burnt; where had any of them cracked to pieces (as it often happens) you must have been at the expence of getting them made over again.

"Now, sir, I shall not hesitate to affirm, that, if all the above particulars be duly weighed, your series [of busts] and statues must be worth such a sum of money as far exceeds all common estimation. You

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would have me name this sum, but this I can not venture to do, for, who can say, what money they would bring, if offered to the highest bidder of the monarchs of Europe—in the greatest royal museum of which they would cut the first figure.

"But this I can assure you of, that if any monarch, or other great personage did me the honour of an offer to employ me to model such another series and so many statues with my own hands in the Capitoline Museum I would not take less than five hundred a year for ever, well ensured to me, finishing them all as yours are finished, and I further assure you, that were I master of your imperial series and statues I would not part with them less than such an estate."

131.—CHARLEMONT to LORD BRUCE.—Trinity College, Dublin.—Earl of Chesterfield and his son.

"To the right honourable lord Bruce, now earl of Ailesbury: in answer to his letter of 17 July 1774."

i.—"When I sent you the commission, which you so kindly executed for me, I was not sufficiently aware of the delicacy of the task I had imposed on you. My ardour to serve one friend made me for a moment forget the duty I owed to another. But I had scarcely sent off my letter, when your situation and that of the duke immediately occurred to me and, when it was too late, I heartily repented what I had done. I comforted myself however with the hope that you were well enough acquainted with my heart to be be assured that no advantage to myself, or even to a friend, could ever compensate my having been the occasion of your doing anything which you might deem improper, and of consequence that you would leave my commission unexecuted rather than hazard the smallest impropriety. I hope however that your goodness to me has not in this case made you do anything disagreeable to yourself—if it had, this would be the only one of ten thousand good offices, which you have done me, for which my heart could not sincerely thank you.

"With regard to the affair in question, it is now over, and our university [1] is undone—a precedent is made for giving away the office of provost in the political line, which will, in all future times, be invariably followed, and consequently that important office will for the future become, at best, a sinecure. I say at best, since it is far more eligible that it should not be executed at all, than that it should be ill executed. In the former case there is still some small chance that the inferior officers may do their duty, and then the sum of our misfortune will be that the university will have lost its head, and will have been robbed of its revenue to the value of 2,000 pounds a year; but in the latter it must inevitably be ruined. Believe me it was not any particular dislike to Mr. Hutchinson, though I cannot say he is by any means my favourite, nor even my friendship for Leland,[2] which made me interest myself so warmly in this affair; for had any person in the academical line been appointed I should have been thoroughly satisfied. It was merely my warm wishes for the welfare of the university, and in consequence for that of my country. What would you Oxford men think if Mr. Thurlow [3] should be appointed dean of Christ Church; ridiculous and inadmissible as the idea may appear to you, the cases do not greatly differ. But I

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[1] Trinity College, Dublin. Arthur Young wrote in 1776, that this college swarmed "with lads who ought to be educated to the loom and the counting house."

[2] Thomas Leland, senior fellow and professor of oratory. *See* pp. 195, 278, 290, 320.

[3] Edward Thurlow, attorney-general, England, 1771; chancellor, 1778.

will tire you no longer with this subject, which can now only administer regret, but will pass on to something less disagreeable, and more interesting to you.

"You ask me my opinion with regard to lord Chesterfield's 'Letters.' The question is delicate, and it may appear presumptuous in me to hazard any opinion in a matter which I can easily conceive to be a subject of controversy in the literary world; but whatever you ask of me you must have.

"In point of composition I think these letters, though in many parts inaccurately written, and in some few, notwithstanding the writer's aversion to vulgarisms, not perfectly free from that defect, most excellent performances, and indeed the very best model for familiar epistolary writing now extant in our language. This sort of composition is certainly not that in which we have succeeded best, and many of our most celebrated authors, who have done excellently in every other way, have, for the most part, failed in this; perhaps from having taken too much pains, and from endeavouring to write too well; neither do I believe that any letters written expressly for publication are ever likely to succeed—an easy, natural, amusing manner, a flowing style, not too accurate, or at least not laboriously so, a legèreté d'esprit, and the ton de la bonne compagnie, seem essentially necessary to form a good letter writer, and in all these points our author, in my opinion, greatly excels. His diction is unaffected, and unlaboured. His wit is natural, and without effort, nay, even his most profound remarks upon human nature, of which he has many, seem rather to spring spontaneously from his subject, and to have arisen from the conception of the moment, than to be the consequence of preconsideration or of study. Our author's education, his rank and consequent associates, his peculiar talent for conversation, the very best ingredient which can possibly enter into the epistolary style, and indeed the whole colour of his life, seem to have formed him expressly for this sort of composition, and, as this is perhaps the only species of writing in which it may be confessed that we are surpassed by our neighbours the French, it is not improbable that his predilection to the manners of that superficially ingenious people may have contributed not a little to his success.

"And now with respect to the more important point, the matter which these letters contain, and the tendency of the doctrine therein inculcated, I am not much surprised to find a considerable difference of opinion, and that, while the vicious applaud and laugh, men of virtue, for the most part, disapprove and condemn—yet even here I cannot help doubting that they who criticise and blame the most, do so from having totally mistaken the author's plan, and the design with which he wrote. They, who suppose them to have been intended for a system of education, in my opinion, do the author the greatest injustice. They were written to a particular point, and for the use and improvement of a very particular person. You, my dear lord, were well enough acquainted with Stanhope to know that his great and real deficiency was an ungraceful demeanour, and a total want of good breeding; a natural and stubborn disease, which even these medicaments, though administered with the utmost skill, could never cure; and all the efforts of the paternal physician were levelled against this radical vice of his son's nature—a vice which, if we consider lord Chesterfield's character, punctiliously well bred, and the vocation for which he intended his son, that of a foreign minister, we shall not be surprised at the anxiety with which he labours its cure. To remedy then, these constitutional defects, and to fit his pupil for that station to which he proposed to raise him, by communicating a perfect knowledge of the world, and by teaching him that

mode of behaviour by which alone he could insure success, seems to have been the principal, if not the sole, object of the writer, who frequently repeats that he on purpose abstains from inculcating the greater and more important duties of life, which, as he often expressly says, do not lie within that province of instruction he had assigned to himself, but in which he supposes his pupil already sufficiently grounded —neither can we with justice blame him for omitting such points as were foreign to his subject. If a physician should write upon a particular case, it would seem hard and unfair to criticize his work under the idea that he had intended it for a complete system of physic—and indeed when we reflect that these letters were most undoubtedly never intended for publication, but were unjustifiably forced into the world by the poverty and resentment of Mrs. Stanhope, our old and singular acquaintance Eugenia Peters, we shall the more easily believe that they were solely meant for the inspection of the patient himself, to whose cure their contents were exclusively appropriated, and not by any means for the general use of mankind. Even poisons are successfully employed as remedies for certain maladies, but he would be indeed a quack who should recommend arsenic as an universal panacea. Thus we have, I may venture to suppose, answered one principal objection to these letters, namely, that in a work written for the instruction of a son the father has omitted to inculcate the more important duties of life, and has dwelt upon those which in comparison are to be esteemed trifling. There remains however another accusation of a still more grievous nature, and, I fear, not so easily obviated—that in some instances the moral is too relaxed, and the doctrine derived rather from the contaminated source of worldly wisdom than from the clear and wholesome fountain of virtue. And here I must confess that the high respect I bear to lord Chesterfield's memory induces me ardently to wish that some few pages of the book had remained unprinted. They are however, but very few, and their tendency is corrected and much over balanced by the many virtuous and noble sentiments which shine in other parts of the work. Much also might possibly be said in excuse, even of these too apparently criminal passages, if we had leisure to examine them singly—at present I shall only urge one general consideration, which, though it certainly can not excuse, may serve in some degree to palliate and extenuate the offence. Lord Chesterfield intended his son for a foreign minister. How far this designation may have been wise I shall not presume to question, but, for my own part, I would as soon breed my son an attorney. Be that, however, as it may, there is nothing more certain than that instructions to a person meant to fill that character must not come from the school of Zeno. There are moreover many sentiments, and even pieces of advice, interspersed through these letters which border too much upon libertinism. These, though not in my estimation quite so bad as the worldly maxims, are perhaps still more indecorous in the letters of a father. As such I will by no means attempt to excuse them but shall only say that the old man had never been a saint, that, however injudiciously, he perhaps wished to preserve his son from vulgar and infamous debauchery by shewing no disapprobation to the more refined and delicate, though certainly more mischievous, allurements of elegant vice, that, not without reason, he thought gallantry the best means to correct and reform the distorted manners of his awkward pupil, and that he wrote to a very young man, constitutionally addicted to pleasure, and of whom he wished to make a confidential friend. These are however but paltry excuses, and I can only wish that all such passages had also been suppressed—yet will I try to counterbalance these sins against decency by referring you to the 132d letter of the first volume, where, if you have not already

observed it, you will find with surprise the noble author in a few plain words anticipating the great principle upon which the excellent Doctor Beattie[1] has founded his argument against modern metaphysicians and sceptics, in his incomparable treatise on the nature and immutability of truth.—I say anticipating, since that treatise was written long since the writing of these letters, though before they were made public.

"Upon the whole, then, when we view these letters in the light in which I have placed them, in my opinion the only fair one, we shall, I believe, find them in every respect adequate to the purpose for which they were written—perhaps the only true criterion of literary merit. Wit, good sense, and a thorough knowledge of the world are to be found in almost every page, and, with some necessary restrictions, I scarcely know of any publication which a young man may read with more advantage; neither have I ever seen in any language so perfect a system of good breeding. And yet, after all, this publication, of which the author however is perfectly innocent, may perhaps do the world more harm than good. The age is, I fear, already much too refined, and our manners even too polished. Essential good qualities, and solid endowments seem to be far less sought after than trifling accomplishments and superficial ornament. Too much polishing, I speak to you as to an artist, has, I fear, well nigh effaced and worn out the great strokes, the characteristic touches of the master.

"And now my dear lord, I am ashamed of what I have written,—first, for its enormous length, and next for its presumption and insufficiency."

ii.—"Some anecdotes of [Philip] Stanhope, illustrative of his character and of his father's disappointment.

"Stanhope, with all his awkwardness, had certainly good parts, and a great share of clumsy livelyness. When a mere boy he was comically unlucky, a defect pardonable and even laughable at that time of life, but which in him lasted much too long. He was, in effect, even in his riper days, a perfect Tony Lumpkin. When at Berne, where he passed some of his boyhood, in company with Harte,[2] and the excellent Mr., now lord, Eliott,[3] he was one evening invited to a party, where, together with some ladies, there happened to be a considerable number of Bernese senators, a dignified set of elderly gentlemen, aristocratically proud, and perfect strangers to fun. These most potent, grave, and reverend signors were set down to whist, and were so studiously attentive to the game, that the unlucky brat found little difficulty in fastening to the backs of their chairs the flowing tails of their ample periwigs, and in cutting, unobserved by them, the tyes of their breeches. This done, he left the room, and presently re-entered crying out—Fire! Fire! The affrighted burgomasters suddenly bounced up, and exhibited to the amazed spectators their senatorial heads and backs totally deprived of ornament or covering. This certainly comical, but wonderfully impudent, frolic was carefully concealed from lord Chesterfield, who would scarcely have pardoned it even to the childhood of his son and pupil.

"The following anecdote, which, as well as the foregoing, was related to me by lord Eliott, an eye witness, will serve to shew how totally all

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[1] James Beattie, author of "Essay on Truth," 1770; "The Minstrel," 1771; "Elements of Moral Science," 1790.

[2] Walter Harte, author of "History of Gustavus Adolphus," and other works.

[3] George Augustus Eliott, created in 1787 lord Heathfield, of Gibraltar, for his defence of that fortress.

the anxious father's pains were thrown away on the utterly incurable son. Among others of his uncouth qualities Stanhope was both an epicure and a glutton—a lover of good things, and a gross feeder upon them. One day, not long after his return from abroad, he dined with lord Chesterfield in a large and polite company. The table, which was always elegant, was covered with delicacies, but of all others that which attracted most our hero's notice was an oval silver dish containing a quantity of excellent baked gooseberries, then a rarity, snowed over with a rich covering of whipped cream. Lady Chesterfield, who at all times piqued herself upon shewing the greatest and kindest attention towards her husband's son, and who knew Stanhope's predilection for this his favourite dish, had already helped him most copiously to its delicious contents, all of which he had greedily devoured, when, the service being changed, he, with much regret, observed a servant carrying away a very considerable remnant of his darling food. Unable to resist the temptation, he beckoned to the servant, who presently put him in possession of his heart's desire; when, impatient either from appetite, or from a wish not to delay the change of courses, from which a change of delights might be expected, he hastily placed under his chin the oval dish, still foaming with rich cream, and began with all possible celerity to lap it up in hasty spoonfuls. Lord Chesterfield, who with grief of heart beheld the mortifying operation, but whose humour and good humour were not to be altered, and whose politeness towards his company smothered that rage, which almost choked him, called out to the valet who stood behind the chair of his graceless son, in these words: 'John, why do you not fetch the strop and the razors? you see your master is going to shave himself.' Another of Stanhope's failings was an insatiable curiosity, the gratification of which, even upon the slightest occasions, he could never resist. At dinner with his father, and a select company in a front parlour, while he was voraciously indulging his appetite for good things, another of his appetites was roused to exertion by an unusual noise in the courtyard. Up he bounced with an intention of gaining the window, but unfortunately forgetting that he had, with admirable grace, stuck the table cloth into his buttonhole, by the effort he exerted in rising the dishes were displaced, and the soup overturned to the amazement and annoyance of the guests, and to the utter consternation of his distressed father.

"Sir William Stanhope, who with less good breeding, and more satire, had perhaps as much wit as his brother, though of a kind rough and unpolished, upon hearing of the earl's bitter disappointment in his son, made the following not very brotherly remark—Why what could Chesterfield expect from him? His mother was a Dutch woman, he sent him to Leipsic to learn manners, and that too under the direction of an Oxford pedant! This pedant was doctor Harte, a good man, of considerable erudition, but certainly inelegant, both of which qualities are clearly discernible in his writings.

"While I was at Rome together with my friend lord Bruce, Stanhope and several other Englishmen, there arrived in that metropolis an elderly gentlewoman calling herself Mrs. Peters, with a young person, supposed to be her daughter, and named Miss Eugenia Peters. The difference between the mother and the daughter was obvious and striking even to our uninterested eyes. The former was a true English goody, vulgar and unbred; while the latter though plain almost to ugliness, had apparently received the most careful education, and was accordingly endowed with all the choicest accomplishments of her sex. She sang well, was perfect mistress of her harpsichord, and was in a word as elegant

as her mother was vulgar. This unnatural contrast was however with us only the talk of an hour. As [they were] Englishwomen we frequented their lodgings, while some of the unoccupied among us, of which number Stanhope, in spite of his father's earnest and galant exhortations, was one, persuaded themselves that they were smitten by the accomplishments of the amiable Eugenia. The ladies, having passed some months at Rome, set out for England, where, as I have been informed, the younger was owned by Mr. Domville, a well known and wealthy gentleman of Ireland, for his natural daughter. At what time Stanhope made her his wife, or whether they had been contracted during their intimacy at Rome, I can not say, but it is certain upon his being appointed, through the interest of his father, minister at Hamburgh they were generally supposed to be married, and the lady accompanied her husband to the place of his destination—a circumstance which wholly alienated the already vexed and disappointed father, from his son, by defeating his few remaining hopes, and utterly disconcerting all his plans. Upon the death of Stanhope, which happened about eight years after, the widow returned to England, where she was cooly, though civilly, received by her father-in-law; and afterward upon the demise of lord Chesterfield, her treatment from the remaining family, both in point of attention and of emolument, not being by any means equal to her expectations, and to what she deemed her deserts, partly out of resentment, because she well knew their dislike to publication, and partly for the sake of pecuniary advantage, which was certain, and now become necessary, in spite of remonstrances, threats, and promises, she gratified, if not improved, the world by publishing those curious letters,[1] of which she was the sole depositary, and which have been the subject of so much discussion, and difference of opinion.

"I have said that Mrs. Stanhope accompanied her husband to the place of his destination. Of this however I am by no means certain, but rather believe that the marriage, though suspected, was not publicly known till some years after Stanhope's departure from England. From the tenour of his letters one would, at least, suppose that it had not been authenticated to lord Ch[esterfield].

"I forgot to mention in its proper place that vanity was not the least among Stanhope's failings, a foolish quality which principally turned, as well it might, upon his close connexion with lord Chesterfield, of which great and honourable advantage he was much too apt continually to remind his hearers. Vanity usually brings on itself its own chastizement. The master of the manège at Lausanne was a man of sense, and a gentleman, and had been much too frequently teazed by Stanhope, who rode at the academy, with the perpetual repetition of his favourite expression—mon père, milord Chesterfield. To this childish folly a period was however at length put, to the mutual advantage of Stanhope and of his audience; neither were these foolish words ever more repeated after the gentleman had made the following sharp observation: 'Comment, monsieur, milord Chesterfield est votre père'—apparemment, donc, miladi Chesterfield est votre mère.'

"With all these failings Stanhope was however what is usually called a pleasant fellow. He was good humoured, though perfectly inattentive—not unendowed with sense, though his talent was obscured by a naturally

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[1] "Letters written by the late right honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield to his son, Philip Stanhope, esq., late envoy extraordinary at the court of Dresden, together with several other pieces on various subjects. Published from the originals by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope." The ninth edition was published in four volumes at London in 1787.

bad enunciation—a good scholar and well versed in many of the modern languages, though the same defect attended him through them all. His face was rather handsome but his person was Dutch-built, thick, short, and clumsy, and the very reverse of grace seemed to be the essence of his whole demeanour. Yet might he have passed well enough through life, if his father had not insisted upon making him a fine gentleman; and however the memory of lord Chesterfield may have been affected by the publication of his letters, certainly Mrs. Stanhope has thereby most essentially injured the memory of her husband whose obvious deficiencies have been rendered more glaring by our knowledge of the unavailing pains that were taken to obviate them. So true it is that the first principle of education is the discovery of that for which nature has fitted our pupil, and that which she has rendered it impossible for him to attain:

'Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam.'

But where there there is no vis insita of the sort you wish to promote, education, with all its powers, will, I fear, never be able to impart it.

"Mrs. Stanhope had two sons by her husband, of whom lord Chesterfield, from his letters to her, appears to have taken care. His coolness towards the mother is however also apparent from these same letters, where he never styles her daughter, or even dear madam, but simply madam."

132.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1775, April 19, London.—"The designs that are now wanted I have sent off this day in two covers directed to your lordship in Dublin. I hope they will arrive in time, and answer the purpose. They consist of cornice, frieze and necking for the drawing-room, with a door entablature, base and surbase for the same room, all drawn of the full size, also a design for a chimney-piece. Besides these there is a cornice for the gallery, a fret for its ceiling, with sketches of the form of the room figured. A design of the decoration of the niches in my dining-room, I have also sent according to your lordship's desire."

133.—Sir Lucius O'Brien to Charlemont, at Dublin.

1775, June 2, London.—"With a grateful heart I receive every mark of my dear lord Charlemont's friendship and attention to my interests and to him I cannot scruple to lay open those sentiments which I have not thought it necessary or indeed expedient to explain to any other person. The county of Clare I know I could secure to myself with moderate trouble and solicitation if I could persuade myself to undertake again the office of its representative; but I must confess (perhaps my weakness) that to this I find objections which I cannot conquer. To you I may venture to say (without the imputation of boasting) that there is no man who has laboured more to serve his country than I have done, and to this object I have sacrificed my time, my profession,[1] no inconsiderable part of my fortune, the means of gratifying many friends and relations who stand in need of my assistance, and what has been my return? In the year 1768, an opposed election that cost me 2,000*l.* and now opponents raised up against me who scarcely know whether our constitution can be safer trusted to a militia or a standing army, or whether taxes can be better raised by the representatives of the people or by a privy councell money bill. In such a case

[1] He was called to the bar in Ireland in 1758. *See* pp. 119, 305.

have I not a right to say I will not wade to this boasted honour through a sea of new expense and of personal obligations, for where the spirit of liberty prevails not, every man who assists you thinks he confers a favour for which he is intitled to call upon you through life in public and in private.

"I feel myself in short so disgusted that I do not think of becoming a candidate for the county, though it by no means suits my convenience to let this be known until I am myself upon the spot to settle the consequences of such a measure; neither is it necessary that I should tye myself down to such an opinion. If I saw it might be in any considerable degree useful to the public I would not; but I do not see that it can, and I feel at this time I have particular reason to complain, for never was there a winter in which Irish affairs have taken up more of my time or in which I think I have been able to do my country so much service.

"Government have not yet received any account from America of that affair of which you will see so much in the paper. Lord Clare[1] continues to refuse surrendering his place[2] to Flood, so I suppose you will see the latter clerk of the pells, if he will accept it during pleasure only."

134.—Flood to Charlemont.

1775, June 8.—"A thousand thanks for your excellent lines. I wish them a better theme however. Your last letter was not necessary to make your ideas known to me upon another subject with respect to which I will write with that frankness that becomes us both. I told you my present situation exactly I had nothing to add on it. I hoped that you could have told me something concerning other persons, particularly one, about whom I wrote to you from England. Without union nothing can be done, and union is not to be obtained merely by wishing it; or by its being right. Human means must be taken. 'The gods take care of Cato' sounds well, but it ended very ill. Rectitude in the end, without activity and practical wisdom or policy in the means, will almost always fail. Here has been the cause of every thing that has gone wrong and I fear the cause does not diminish.

"A declaration such as your lordship alludes to unless made by a sufficient number is unwise. It lessens the influence of those who make it, as the world goes. And made by an individual with reference to a particular object, it implies a condition and engagement as incompatible in my mind with fame as with interest. It would be said to be a bartering of a possible change in a man's sentiments as to what would be best for the public, and a selling of the freedom of a man's mind for that which an inconsiderable sum could purchase. You have not seen it in this light I well know; possibly you never may. But it is evidently so to me.

"I would to God you would pay us a visit here. You can spare time now better than ever, and I could then enter minutely into the state of men which is the first thing to be considered upon the head of practicability, which is no small point in public measures . . . I have not sent this directly to you by post, because I am sure it would be opened."

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[1] Robert Nugent, viscount Clare, created earl Nugent in 1776. Goldsmith's "Haunch of Venison" was addressed to him.

[2] As a vice-treasurer in Ireland.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

135.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1775, August 2, London.—"I am glad the designs sent gave your lordship satisfaction, and hope the ceiling enclosed will do the same. The ornaments must have very little relief, from quarter to half an inch will be sufficient, and as the design is large they cannot well go wrong, provided the workmen be good. I have coloured a part to show how it might be done, but it will look very well all white. I know not how the chimney came to be sent only 3 feet 8 inches, it will do better four feet, but the ornaments which surround it need not be altered; they will do equally well.

"I do not in the least recollect the niche which your lordship mentions, but as it was not figured, it has probably a scale which may be attended to.

"Mr. Vesey's new method of slating I am a stranger to, but the Adams have purchased a secret and obtained a patent for a stucco which seems to promise well; they even cover buildings with it on tiles. It looks like stone, and some used to cover the lodges at Zion stood the last winter very well. There is likewise another sort of mixture used for covering terraces and also for walls, made by one Loriol or Floriol, of which there is a printed account both in French and English, and if the experiments therein cited are true it must be a good thing. A gentleman whose name is Hartley has also invented a method of securing houses from fire, and is so sure of his affair, that he always celebrates his majesty's birthday in the midst of flames. I have advised him to give his feast on the queen's birthday when the weather is not so hot, and rather in town than in the country, as fire engines are there more easily obtained, to extinguish his guests should the fire prove rebellious; but he declares there is no danger, and that bating a little smoke which is bad for sore eyes, there is no inconveniency attending these festivals.

"Building here goes on as usual, plentifully every where. Several public buildings are now in agitation, some, such as do not occur above once in five centuries; and the buildings are such as are never mentioned above once in an age . . . Mr. Vesey's friend Stephens, a very ingenious pupil of mine, died at Rome about two months ago, which is a loss to the arts, as he was very promising."

136.—Flood to Charlemont.

"1775, August 16.—You have convinced me that even lyric poetry would be better for blank verse. At least I see that there is something in the turn of the ancients that rhyme cannot give,—a certain grace,—and like all grace, it lies in motion. Now rhyme constrains the poet in the movement of his numbers, and for so much is destructive of grace. The motions of a child tolerably made are more graceful than those of the best dancing-master. I am afraid rhyme is a dancing-master, and with that smart observation I will make my bow."

137.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1775, September 7th, London.—"I am glad the ceiling pleased your lordship. With regard to the projections, the ornaments as I said before should not project above half an inch in the highest parts, but some of the mouldings must project more, else they would have no

effect. The common rule is to make their projection about ¾ of their width excepting in astragals which need not project more than the half, and reed mouldings which should not project above a third; the rose must project about an inch in the highest parts. There will be no difficulty in the junction of the cornice and ceiling, as to the best of my recollection there is a plain space all round. . . . The room your lordship wants to paint will I apprehend do best pea-green in oil, with white mouldings, cornice, door and window ornaments, etc. Perhaps a little purple may be introduced in some parts, which if well disposed mixes well with green and white.

"I am sorry your lordship should think it necessary to apologize for any trouble you can give me; the pleasure of hearing from your lordship fully compensates for any thing I can do to serve you.

"I find your lordship has seen that strange fellow Strange's strange book;[1] it is strange it should have found its way to Dublin. Some answers to it have appeared in the papers but none I believe by any of the Academicians, nor doth it seem to me worth answering. It is the production of a crazy head, an effusion of pride and malevolence so much the more unpardonable as the author ought to have been hanged anno forty-five,[2] and only lives to tell his tale by the clemency of the king's family, whom he now attempts to traduce.

"I must beg pardon for not answering this letter sooner, but have been some time past at Southampton with one of my daughters who went there in a very weak state but is now in a fair way of recovery . . . Sir Joshua [Reynolds] presents his respects. Baretti lives out of town in the midst of the mud; the place is inaccessible at present as we have had much rain, but I will call upon him very soon and deliver your lordship's message."

138.—Brownlow to Charlemont.

1776, March 8, Montpellier.—"I beg leave to assure you that I feel very sensibly the honour you do me by considering me as your first object for the county of Armagh. The principles upon which your lordship is known to act must add considerably to your natural weight, and influence strongly in favour of any candidate you are pleased to espouse. I should have been happy to have been in time apprized of your lordship's sentiments, but my situation did not allow it: I was to grope in the dark, and it appeared to me that circumstanced as I was the most sensible and respectful part I could act was to throw myself on the favour of the county and interfere no further. Whether right or wrong, I am now bound to abide by it; all the letters I have written to my friends, all the answers I have received confirm that declaration, so that if the candidates remain unconnected I shall observe the strictest neutrality. From the strong support sir Capel [Molyneux] receives there seems to be little doubt of his success. We, who are practised in elections, know the difficulty of collecting a straggling, and what is called an independent interest, and how deceitful it generally is in the end. Sir Capel has very obligingly promised me his support in a letter I received by the same post with your lordship's. Mr. Dawson

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[1] "An inquiry into the rise and establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts, to which is prefixed a letter to the earl of Bute by Robert Strange." London, 1775.

[2] Strange took part in the movement in Scotland for prince Charles Edward Stuart in 1745. He attained high eminence as an engraver, was knighted in 1787, and died in 1792.

assured me a good while ago of the same from his friends, which was all he had to offer. I repeated to them both my determination. The risk of standing single upon a double election is obvious, but whatever may be the prospect I can not depart from the engagement I have entered into.

"I propose to leave this town when the roads are more practicable, which from the usual dryness of this month I may expect will be before the end of it, and I hope to be in Ireland at the end of April or beginning of May."

139.—Lord Bruce to Charlemont.

1776, May 28, London.—"You cannot be more surprised than I am at the king's most gracious intentions to create me earl of Ailesbury, and to appoint me governor to the prince of Wales and his brothers, for which honours I am to kiss his majesty's hand next Friday when I am to be sworn, as is usual for that post, of the privy council. Nothing could have determined me to engage in so great an undertaking for which I feel myself very unequal, except the king's commands, and the assistance I am to have from Dr. Hurd, bishop of Lichfield, who succeeds the bishop of Chester, whose continuance as preceptor is thought incompatible with the appointment of a new governor, on lord Holderness's retiring, whose health has long been in a bad state. I have enquired after your nephew of whom I hear in general a favourable account . . . I flatter myself that the above particulars will be interesting to you."

140.—Edmund Burke to Charlemont.—Arthur Young.

1776, June 4, Westminster.—"Permit me to make Mr. Young acquainted with you. To his works and his reputation you can be no stranger. I may add, that in conversing with this gentleman you will find, that he is very far from having exhausted his stock of useful and pleasing ideas, in the numerous publications with which he has favoured the world. He goes into our country to learn, if any thing valuable can be learned, concerning the state of agriculture, and to communicate his knowledge to such gentlemen as wish to improve their estates by such methods of enlightened culture as none but people of good fortune can employ, especially in the beginning. But examples may be given, that hereafter will be useful, when you can prevail on yourselves to let the body of your people into an interest in the prosperity of their country. Your lordship will think it odd, that I can conclude a letter to you without saying a word on the state of public affairs. But what can I say, that will be pleasing to a mind formed like yours? Ireland has missed the most glorious opportunity ever indulged by heaven to a subordinate state, that of being the safe and certain mediatrix in the quarrels of a great empire. She has chosen instead of being the arbiter of peace, to be a feeble party in the war waged against the principle of her own liberties. But I beg pardon for censuring or seeming to censure what I perhaps so little comprehend. It certainly is much above me. Here we are as we are. We have our little dejections for disappointments, our little triumphs for advantages, our little palliations for disgraces, in a contest that no good fortune can make less than ruinous.

"I return to Mr. Young, whom I am sure you will receive with the hospitality [1] which you always shew to men of merit."

141.—ARTHUR YOUNG to SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN.

"1776, December 4, North Minns.—Upon arranging and looking over my papers I am able to mention to you nearly the size of the book which they will form, a circumstance I was ignorant of when I took the liberty of speaking to you at Dromoland[2] upon the mode of my publication. The materials will make a quarto volume of 15*s.* or 20*s.* price, according to plates, paper, etc. Suppose the former. May I beg your assistance to speak to some bookseller of reputation to know if the state of literary property in Ireland will enable them to purchase the copyright at such a price as will be a compensation to me for my trouble and expenses. They know the object, the probable sale etc., and can name what sum they can afford for such a work.

"The subject is not interesting enough in England (as I was informed indeed before I set out) to make it an object with a London bookseller, though several are desirous of printing it; I must therefore look to the Irish sale for my reimbursement; and am in doubt only whether I should publish by subscription or otherwise. That is a mode I should not have thought of if the same property existed in Ireland as in England. May I also beg the favour of you to name a bookseller (in case I chose that method) who would receive subscriptions, on what terms, and with whom the money would be safe, for I remember what you mentioned at Dromoland upon that head.

"My tour ended unfortunately, for besides a raging storm of 36 hours, and being driven from Milford haven almost to Arklow, I was robbed of a trunk with all my specimens of soils etc., some papers (though none of my journals) with other things, and, though I have advertised considerable rewards, can get none of them again."

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[1] Under date of 23 June, 1776, Young entered the following particulars:—"Lord Charlemont's house in Dublin is equally elegant and convenient, the apartments large, handsome, and well disposed, containing some good pictures, particularly one, by Rembrandt, of Judas throwing the money on the floor, with a strong expression of guilt and remorse; the whole group fine. In the same room is a portrait of Cæsar Borgia by Titian. The library is a most elegant apartment of about 40 by 30, and of such a height as to form a pleasing proportion, the light is well managed, coming in from the cove of the ceiling, and has an exceeding good effect; at one end is a pretty ante-room, with a fine copy of the Venus de Medicis, and at the other, two small rooms, one a cabinet of pictures and antiquities, the other medals. . . . Drove to lord Charlemont's villa at Marino, near the city, where his lordship has formed a pleasing lawn, margined in the higher part by a well-planted thriving shrubbery, and on a rising ground a banqueting room, which ranks very high among the most beautiful edifices I have anywhere seen; it has much elegance, lightness, and effect, and commands a fine prospect; the rising ground on which it stands slopes off to an agreeable accompaniment of wood, beyond which, on one side, is Dublin harbour, which has the appearance of a noble river crowded with ships moving to and from the capital. On the other side is a shore spotted with white buildings, and beyond it the hills of Wicklow, presenting an outline extremely various. The other part of the view (it would be more perfect if the city was planted out) is varied, in some places nothing but wood, in others breaks of prospect. The lawn, which is extensive, is new grass, and appears to be excellently laid down, the herbage a fine crop of white clover (trifolium repens), trefoil, rib-grass (plantago lanceolata), and other good plants."—"Tour in Ireland." Dublin: 1780, i. p. 3.

[2] The seat of sir Lucius O'Brien, in county of Clare. Young mentioned that sir Lucius was assiduous in procuring him every information for his work. It was published at Dublin in 1780, in two vols., with the following title: "A Tour in Ireland: with general observations on the present state of that kingdom, made in the years 1776, 1777, and 1778, and brought down to the end of the year 1779."

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

142.—Sir John Browne to Charlemont.

1776, December 19, The Neale.[1]—"The pleasure we receive on hearing of the health and welfare of your family will I hope apologize for my too frequent correspondence. The present subject of this letter, however, is a matter of some consequence, as I am about to take upon me an old title of baronet of Scotland, which had been granted by patent by king Charles the First upwards of 149 years ago to my family; and this I could not with propriety do without consulting with your lordship, for most certainly my young family will be ever reckoned and deemed a branch of yours.[2]

"Enclosed I send you a letter from the clerk of the Scots baronets to our king of arms,[3] by which you will see there is a necessity of my sending over an authentic genealogy of my family, which I have by the post sent up to Hawkins, who will wait on your lordship with it. It has been already certified and signed by the earls of Louth and Altamont, and as your lordship's and lord Farnham's names are mentioned in it as my allies, I request the honour of your signature. My ancestors were heretofore proud people, and they preferred the honour of being reckoned ancient gentlemen than be deemed new baronets. Besides, I really do not think the order was then so honourable as it now is. This is the only account I can give for their disuse of the title and order, and this by tradition. My father, about 30 years ago, took up the title and had his patent registered in the Lyon office in Edinburgh; but with shame I tell it, he did not pay the fees and other expences attending it, though the whole amount is not over sixty pounds. I am likewise obliged to disclose the poverty of my eldest brother, who for a few weeks after my father's death took upon him the title; but on receiving a dunning letter from the lord Lyon, who threatened to sue and expose him, he dropt it, so that the burthen falls on my shoulders and I must for some time have the mortification of running the gauntlet and be sir John'd out of all temper.

"After great trouble and some expence I have at length ascertained my patent in the Scots office, and have found a note of its registry before the union, and have nothing new to do but to prove myself the lawfull heir to the original patentee who was my namesake and great grandson to lord visconnt Montagu of England. The date of my patent is June 21 1632, so that I shall be pretty forward on the bench of baronets, if any there be. I enclose you, in this and another packet, the proceedings of my brethren the Scots baronets previous to their renewal of the order, the correspondence they had on that occasion with the earl of Suffolk previous to their appearance before their sovereign at St. James's; all which I should be be glad your lordship will read and let me know your thoughts thereon. I had almost forgotten to tell you that lord Suffolk gave up the point of consulting the crown lawyers previous to the appearance at St. James's, and the king received them most graciously. Upon the whole, my lord, as there is no one upon whose integrity and abilities I would sooner depend my life and fortune than yourself, I now give you full power to put a negative upon my aspiring dignities if you think proper."

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[1] In the county of Mayo.

[2] Browne married lord Charlemont's sister, Alicia Caulfeild, in 1764. The title of lord Kilmaine of the Neale was conferred on Browne in 1790.

[3] William Hawkins, Ulster king of arms, Dublin.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

143.—Charlemont to Edmond Malone.[1]

1777, January 11, Dublin.—"A thousand thanks, my dear Edmond, for your kind remembrance, and for the great pains you have taken to gratifie my desire for rare books, a passion, which the spleen of wisdom may brand with the title of folly, but which I will boldly avow and boast of, since I possess it in common with you. The tracts you have procured for me are more acceptable than even those of which I had given you a list, and I beg that you would seize the first opportunity of sending them, and that you would add to them the best and most complete edition of the 'Histoire philosophique des établissements' etc.; mine, which is one of the earliest, being consequently very incomplete. This last I would wish to have in decent binding. You see I make no scruple of adding trouble to trouble, but I know you well enough to be confident that in so doing I shall not transgress upon your patience as I have every reason to be persuaded that your passion for obliging your friends is stronger even than that for old books or for Shakespeare. I long greatly to see the new septuagint, which will, I doubt not, at length put our first of classicks upon such a footing as to need no farther comment. À propos, be so good as to send me two copies of a pamphlet not long since published, entitled, an 'Essay on the dramatic character of sir John Falstaff,' a tract,[2] which, though possibly written with a ludicrous intent, possesses, in my opinion, as much sound and beautiful criticism as any I have ever met with. I should be glad to know who is the author.

"I have little news to send you. Dublin goes on as usual with the important addition however of a very good opera.[3] Politics are gone to the country for the holydays, but will soon come back with increased vigour. The fame of Grattan goes on increasing, and your friend Daly [4] has lately outdone himself. I never heard in any house of parliament a better speech than his upon the embargo. We have gotten abundance of new members, one or two of whom do well, and promise more. I suppose you speak ironically when you say that lord B. is supported by no party. He is on the contrary supported by every party, one only excepted, which is, not only in Ireland, but in every country in Christendom, by much the least numerous of all others.

"The nineteenth of this instant is to be presented at the new theatre in the park[5] the tragedy of Macbeth,—the part of Macbeth by Jephson;[6] Lady, by Mrs. Gardiner; Macduff, by Mr. Gardiner, etc., etc.; with 'The Citizen' for a farce,—Maria by Miss Flora Gardiner. Here your assistance will be much wanting . . . Remember me to all those of your acquaintance with whom I am acquainted. Thank you for your jeu d'esprit. How could the author contrive to write French so accurately? You would much oblige me by sending such pamphlets as you may deem worth the reading."

144.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1777, January 18, London,—"It is a great while since I had the honour of hearing from your lordship, whence I conclude you have done little of late in the building way. For my own part, I have

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[1] Editor of Shakespeare. Malone was born at Dublin in 1741.
[2] Published at London in 1777—ascribed to Maurice Morgan.
[3] *See* "History of city of Dublin," 1859, vol. ii., p. 198.
[4] Denis Daly, M.P. for Galway.
[5] Phœnix Park, Dublin.
[6] Robert Jephson.

done nothing for these fifteen months past but labour at the works of Somerset house, which are so extensive and complicated that they require all my attention, and have reduced me to the necessity of declining all private employment; at least for some time to come. I am therefore to return your lordship many thanks for former favours, and if, while I am so much occupied, your lordship should be in want of any designs, Mr. Gandon,[1] of Broad-street, an old pupil of mine, and very ingenious, would I dare say do them to your lordship's satisfaction. He knows nothing of this recommendation, nor have I seen him these seven years but in the street. Yet, from various designs of his which have appeared in the exhibitions, I think he merits encouragement, and wonder he has been so little employed. Your lordship's protection would probably make him more known than he now is, and more valued according to his deserts. I have taken the liberty to enclose a small bill for designs done at different times for your lordship."

[Enclosure.] "Dr. the right hon. lord Charlemont in account with W. Chambers.

1773, January 30th,—Various designs for flower stands with a pavilion in the centre, 8*l.* 8*s.*,—two sections of the library, coloured, being patterns for the painter, 4*l.* 4*s.*—May 14th. Drawings and directions for painting the vestibule of the casino, 2*l.* 2*s.*,—ditto for the ante-room of the library, 2*l.* 2*s.*,—design of a pedestal for an antique bas relief, 10*s.* 6*d.*,—a new design for a flower-stand, 3*l.* 3*s.*—May 15. A design of a theous chimney-piece, sent by letter to Mr. Vierpyl, 3*l.* 3*s.*,—23*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

"1775, April 19th.—Designs for finishing a drawing-room cornice, frieze and door and window architraves, frieze and cornice, base, surbase and chimney-piece, 6*l.* 6*s.*,—cornice galoss, etc. for a gallery, sketches of the room, designs for a theos and other ornaments of a niche, 2*l.* 2*s.*,—August 2nd. A design for a ceiling for a drawing-room, party-coloured, 5*l.* 5*s.*,—13*l.* 13*s.*—37*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*"

145.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1777, August 18, Marino,—"I cannot give you a stronger proof of my approbation of the subject which procured me the pleasure of your letter than by thus sitting down to answer it, though scarcely able to write from the disagreeable effects of a nervous complaint in my head and eyes. That some wise ones may smile at your lucubrations I doubt not. But let them smile, there is nothing more despicable than their censure. For surely that wisdom may be accounted folly which would cut off one principal source of innocent amusement from a state which seems to stand in need of every such assistance to render it tolerable. One of the Roman emperors is said to have offered a reward to anyone who should invent a new pleasure, and, if to pleasure he had added the epithet innocent, I should highly approve of his design, certain as I am that such invention would do more real service, and much less injury, to mankind than all the wise speculations of philosophers from Epicurus down to Voltaire. For my own part, I will never be laughed out of my amusements till they shall be proved hurtful to society, but will boldly

[1] James Gandon, architect.

proceed in those pursuits which though they cannot be deemed the fruits of literature, may at least be stiled its flowers. Such is my opinion of the more trifling literary amusements, but your undertaking, my dear Ned, needs not any such apology. The history of man is on all hands allowed to be the most important study of the human mind, and what is your chronological account of the writings of Shakspeare other than the history of the progress of the greatest genius that ever honoured and delighted human nature?

"And now to proceed in answer to your queries. Allured by the title-page, I long since read Greene's play [1] with the view you mention, but could not find in it the most distant resemblance to the fairy part of the Midsummer Night's Dream. The plan of it in brief is this. Bohan, a Scot, disgusted with the world, has retired to a tomb where he has fixed his dwelling, and here he is met by Aster Oberon, king of the fairies, who entertains him with an antic, or dance by his subjects. These two personages, after some moral conversation, determine to listen to a tragedy, which is acted before them—and to which they make a kind of chorus by moralising at the end of each act, a circumstance which, so early in the English drama, may perhaps be curious.

"The edition which I possess of sir David Lyndsay's works, though printed so early as 1581, is not the original,[2] but is said in the title-page to be turned and made perfect English from poems compiled in the Scottish tongue. In this collection there is but one poem with the title you mention, viz. the Tragedy of David Beton, late cardinal and archbishop of Santandrons, so written for St. Andrews.

"I received by Dick Marlay the King John in two parts, and return you many thanks for your goodness to me. In order to render my old edition of Spenser complete, I wish you could procure the first quartos of the following pieces:—Two cantos of mutability.—Amoretti or sonnets.—Prothalamion and epithalamion.—Four hymns.—Daphnaida, an Elegy on Douglas Howard.—Britain's Ida—though not by Spenser, yet bound with his books.—'A view of the state of Ireland.'—Some letters between the author and Mr. [Gabriel] Harvey.

"Quere: Did Upton [3] ever publish his third volume of Spenser's works in quarto? I wish also that you could procure for me the collection of lord Essex's letters. You see what it is to encourage a troublesome correspondent . . .

"Don't forget to send me a copy of your Shakspeare, for such I love to call it, as soon as it shall be published. Remember me to all friends—and, if your friend Mr. Steevens[4] should recollect a person who had once the pleasure of dining in his company, at poor Goldsmith's entertainment, please to present my compliments to him. Has Percy [5] published his new edition of Surrey's poems? Don't let Sunning Hill seclude you too much from the world. Retirement is a good thing, but certainly too large a dose of it is not suited to your constitution. It is very possible that I may be able to see you in spring. I should like it much, but it depends on many circumstances. Adieu."

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[1] "The Scottish historie of James the Fourth, slaine at Flodden. Intermixed with a pleasant comedie presented by Oboram [Oberon], king of fayeries, as it hath bene sundrie times publikely plaiede. By Robert Greene, maister of arts, London, 1598."

[2] Printed at Paris (Rouen), 1558. The first complete edition appeared at Edinburgh in 1568.

[3] Spenser's "Faerie Queene," edited by John Upton, 2 vols. quarto, London, 1758.

[4] George Steevens, an editor of Shakespeare.

[5] Thomas Percy, dean of Carlisle, 1778, bishop of Dromore, 1782. Surrey's poems edited by Percy and George Steevens were published in 1807.

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146.—RICHARD GRIFFITH to CHARLEMONT.

1778, May 19th, Bloomsbury, London.—"Go to, ye par nobile of good scholars, ye. You and Flood are errant truants--but in all trades, they say, the best workmen are generally the idlest fellows, while I, who never had the least genius or pretence for idleness, should have gone through the whole work, before now, if I had not been kept back, forsooth, to draw with my class. However, such diligence might have appeared, perhaps, but an invidious task, and after what ye have both performed of it, I should only have exposed myself as Pope did, 'magna parvis,' when he attempted to rival Dryden's Ode, or, to make an humbler comparison, as poor Shenstone, when he emulated Boileau's 'Voici les lieux charmants.'

"But, after all, I confess that I am grown almost out of conceit with this plan of writing. These versions—I pronounce only on my own—can afford but little pleasure to the reader, in themselves, as their only merit lies in the mere 'fidus interpres,' and which Horace himself has so justly objected to; and on comparing them with the original, the parody-ody, as ye say in Ireland, too strongly appears. So that their only use can be to save pedagogues the expense of birch, which is, in truth, to spare the rod, etc.

"Flood tells me you have translated some of Petrarch's sonnets most happily—I should be glad to see them. It might perhaps make me alter my opinion, that the canzona innamorata cannot be well rendered in our language. I never saw it yet done with success. An Italian sigh is but a flatulency in English. Do, pray, convince me of my error.

"We are doing great matters for ye, here, unworthy as ye are—for your Oak-boys, your White-boys, your riotous weavers, and your vile Papishes, agrah. One may as well live there as here, shortly—and if as well, I think much better. They have lost an empire, alas! beyond the Atlantic, but they may find an emporium beyond the herring-brook, if they please. Necessity, they say, is the mother of invention.

"I give them little flagellations, now and then—old sinners, the girls say, require it. I am sometimes detected by my stile. I wish the Ministry would make a turnstile of it. They keep a set of sad scribblers in pay here, but they deserve it, in the Scripture sense, at least, as the labourer, you know, etc., and they have an Augean task of it, God knows. Even you, I think, could have no objection to my getting a pension on Ireland, provided I should spend it there—which I certainly would. No—I scorn to sell my country—all I want, you see, is to be able to purchase it.

"I see Flood but seldom. Whether he is come over on public or private business, how long he stays or whither he goes, to Bath, to Spa, or back again to Ireland, are all equally secrets to me. Were I to characterize him, according to the modern wit of the times, it should be under this line of Horace: 'scilicet egregii mortalem altique silentii.'"

147.—FRANCIS WOODWARD to CHARLEMONT.—THOMAS CHATTERTON.

i.—1778, 21 July, Bristol Wells.—"As Mr. Warton and the editor himself have not only decided against poor Rowley, but declare the poem to be the work of Chatterton only, it may be some amusement to your lordship to have an exact account of his life, and in what manner his time was filled. These minutes are strictly true, and were communicated to me by Dr. Glynn, of Cambridge, who came to Bristol on purpose to investigate this matter, and has bestowed indefatigable

pains in collecting evidences of every kind. The dean of Exeter[1] has been here on the same errand—with (as I believe) an intent to take a very active part in the defense of our bard.

"Warton's criticism[2] makes no impression on the minds of the people hereabouts. It is a wretched performance, and proves nothing but that he did not himself understand in the least degree the subject in which he so peremptorily decides. I make no doubt, but this will be fully proved—and it will unquestionably discredit the other parts of his work."

ii.—"Thomas Chatterton, the younger, was born Nov. 20, 1752; christened Jan. 1st, 1753.

"In his early years, he had no instruction but from a Mr. Love, who succeeded old Chatterton, as master of the charity school of St. Mary Redcliff. He was admitted into Colston's Bluecoat school (where nothing is taught but writing and accounts) Aug. 3rd 1760. The school hours are in summer—mornings, from 7 till 12; afternoons from 1 till 5. In the winter—from 8 till 12 mornings; afternoons from 1 till 4. Bedtime 8 in the evening all the year. Allowed to be out of school, Saturdays and Saints' days, in the afternoon from 1 till 7 in the evening. Never on Sundays, which whole day is spent in publick and private religious exercises.

"He left this school, Aug. 1st, 1767, and went into Mr. Lambert, the attorney's office, immediately. The office hours are from 7 in the morning till 8 in the evening. He continued in Mr. Lambert's till April 1770,—when he went to London and died there August 22nd following. In this short period he was engaged to write in several magazines, etc., as appears from his letters to his sister, now extant.

"He was a posthumous child, and the few books his father had, were sold immediately upon his death. The two booksellers from whom he borrowed books, during his stay with Lambert, declare he never had any but plays and romances.

"When he brought the MS. first to Mr. Barret, (at fifteen years of age) he actually could not read them and Mr. Barret assisted him in explaining the old writing.

"He did know who sir C. Bawdin and sir T. Gorges were, but asked Mr. Barret if he had ever heard of any such people.

"The will which proves the connection between Mr. Cannyngs and sir T. Gorges, is to be found only in the commons or in the chamber of Bristol, which it was not in the power of a poor charity boy of 15 years old without friends or connections to have come at.

"Mrs. Chatterton told Dr. Glynn,—that her husband had the parchments from his uncle, who was sexton of Redcliff church, that he kept them locked up in a cupboard in the school room. That upon his death she removed them to her house. That her son, when he discovered them, enquired from whence his father got them, and on being told, he was continually (when he had leisure) searching in the chest where he actually found some still remaining which he gave to Mr. Barret, as Mr. Barret informed Dr. Glynn.

"Young Chatterton's sister and several of his acquaintance attest their having seen these MSS. in his possession, when he was with Mr. Lambert, and that they had likewise seen him copying them in Mr. Lambert's office.

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[1] Jeremiah Milles, president of society of antiquaries, London.

[2] "An enquiry into the authenticity of the poems attributed to Thomas Rowley," by Thomas Warton, author of "History of English Poetry."

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"Chatterton, when he went to London, left behind him at Mr. Lambert's—two MS. books, in one of which there is this extraordinary memorandum:

'Plays were not so irregular in this age (Rowley's) as we imagine, 'as will be seen when I have leisure to copy some of Rowley's and one 'of John Stowe's.'

"Mention is made in Rowley's MS. of a visitation appointed to inspect the deposit in the chest.

"Mr. Barret has a deed in Latin, which verifies this, likewise specifies certain parts of Cannyngs estates appointed to defray the expenses of an entertainment for the visitors on this occasion. In this deed, the chest itself is exactly described. This deed the boy could not possibly have seen, it being in Mr. Barret's hands only among the many collected by him as materials for his history of the antiquities of Bristol."

148.—Charlemont to Francis Lumm.

[1778, December, Dublin.]—"The distress of this country is indeed beyond conception, and is equally felt by every rank of people. No rents are received, and the common, though sometimes cruel, method of recovering them by distraining, is now of no avail, as the cattle, when seized upon, cannot be sold. You may however be assured that your rent shall be paid as soon as it shall be possible, and that your bills for the future will be accepted, provided no such impossibility as the present should unluckily intervene. When rents are not received, and money cannot be borrowed, you cannot, my dear sir, but be sensible that prompt payment becomes impossible, and such is unfortunately the present condition of this unhappy country, a situation of affairs which however it is to be hoped cannot last."

149.—Malone to Charlemont.

1779, April 5, London.—"You will, I am afraid, think me a very negligent fellow for not having in all this time given you any account of the commissions with which you charged me, but, I assure you, though you have not heard from me, I have not neglected them, and have also been engaged in other business with which I think you will be pleased, and which will I hope plead my excuse. At all the different sales of books here this winter, I have purchased whatever old plays I could light on for you—and have already procured near 120 of rare old quartos. I mean to bind them them up in volumes immediately and send them over to you by the first opportunity. They will make 18 or 20 volumes. Among them are one half of Shirley's,[1] Massinger almost complete, and about half of Beaumont and Fletcher's quartos. This is a very handsome stock to set up with. But you must not be angry at the price—you cannot imagine how exorbitant the demands of booksellers are for these things. There is hardly an old play of any rarity now to be got under four or five shillings—and some they even ask half a guinea for. I paid, a few days ago, two guineas for the old 'Taming of the Shrew,'[2] (not Shakspeare's) and Mr. Capel[3] was so miserable about it, that he wrote three letters to the bookseller that sold it, requesting to let him have a sight of it, a circumstance which, you know, adds a

[1] James Shirley.

[2] "The Taming of a Shrew, a pleasant conceited historie; as it hath beene sundry times acted by the right hon. the earle of Pembroke his servants." London, 1596, 1607.

[3] Edward Capell, author of "Notes and various readings to Shakespeare."

great value to these sort of things. I really now begin to consider it as a very useful and necessary piece of furniture, and wonder how I did without it so long. Shakspeare's sonnets, printed in 1609—and the first edition of his 'Rape of Lucrece,' cost me lately two guineas—and I thought myself, for a particular reason that I shall mention presently, very lucky in meeting with them. All this history of prices bodes you no good, for it is only a prelude to a draught for 20 guineas, which I shall call on Nesbit for, tomorrow, and, according to your desire, give him an order on you. I do not know whether that sum will do, but as I shall probably make more purchases for you, I can draw a second time. I wish to know from you whether you chuse to have the plays bound without any selection—or to place the three principal authors that I have mentioned, by themselves. I have in my own collection in general followed this latter method—but there is this inconvenience in it—that, by waiting till you have all the works of each author complete you lose the use, or at least the commodious use, of those you really have for a long while. The best method I think will be to bind them all up in volumes, numbered 1, 2, etc., and to place those three authors last—you can then, if you chuse it, when you get the remainder of their plays, take them out of the set and letter those volumes anew, without breaking the series. I called at Elmsly's soon after I came to London. Nothing could be more civil than he was. He says he will send you a perfect set of the book you complained of as defective—and when you receive it, you can return him the imperfect volumes instead. At Payne's I got for you Grafton's Chronicle and some Italian books, that cost near five pounds—and I made him pack them up in a parcel of Daly's books, which went from hence near a month ago, so that I hope you will soon receive them.

"My Shakspearomania still continues strong upon me, and has now engaged me in a work with which I think you will be pleased. I mentioned, I believe, to you that I intended to publish a supplement to the late edition—but I have now enlarged my scheme, and mean to print, at the same time, the sonnets—the 'Tarquin and Lucrece'—the 'Venus and Adonis'—and the seven spurious plays. The whole will make two volumes octavo. These last, let the determination about their authenticity be what it may, as they bear the name of Shakspeare, may be fairly tacked to his works, even if it were only to gratify curiosity—and even as contemporary plays, though not his, they are not entirely without their use. With respect to 'Pericles,' which I have lately read over very attentively, I have not the least doubt that every line of it was his, except the choruses. The rest I have not yet read, except the Yorkshire Tragedy[1]—this I can hardly believe was his, because it must have been written between the year 1605 and 1608—and is it credible that 'King Lear' and such a piece should be written by the same man, at the same period of his life? When I come to print 'Pericles,' I shall avail myself of your conjecture in the last act, and I hope you will allow me to have the credit of mentioning to whom I am indebted for so happy an illustration. With respect to my Supplemental Notes—which will I believe make a volume (the poems and plays I hope to include in another) I have lately got some very honourable and able coadjutors. Sir W. Blackstone[2] has written many notes, which were too late for the last edition, and some new ones since—and though he

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[1] Printed in 1608, 1619.

[2] Malone mentioned that the notes which sir William Blackstone gave him on Shakespeare showed him to have been "a man of excellent taste and accuracy, and a good critic."

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will not allow his name to be affixed to them, he has consented to let them be printed with a particular mark. He is so very clear and judicious a writer, that I expect much from his observations. Mr. Whalley, the editor of Ben Jonson, has also furnished me with some very good notes,—and I expect some assistance also from Mr. Tyrwhitt. These you see are all great names—with respect to my own, I claim no other merit but industry. I have lately, by what in commentatorship may be called a singular piece of good fortune, procured two pieces on which Shakspeare founded two of his plays—which are very rare and curious; and these I mean to print along with the rest. Your friend Mr. Beauclerk is a most formidable antagonist,—and stands much in my way and yours also—in the purchase of old trumpery. He sends his servant by six or seven in the morning to the booksellers on the day their sales commence—and runs away with every thing rare—this is not, I imagine, the least inconvenience either to him or his valet de chambre, for I believe that is his usual time of coming home and going to bed—so that his servant has no other trouble except lying down half an hour later than ordinary. I have lately made two or three attempts to get into your club, but have not yet been able to succeed—though I have some friends there—Johnson, Burke, Steevens, sir J. Reynolds and Marlay—which in so small a society is a good number. At first they said, I think, they thought it a respect to Garrick's[1] memory, not to elect any one for some time in his room—which (in anyone's case but my own I should say) was a strange kind of motive—for the more agreable he was, the more need there is of supplying the want, by some substitute or other. But as I have no pretensions to ground even a hope upon, of being a succedaneum to such a man—the argument was decisive and I could say nothing to it. "Anticipation" Tickell[2] and J. Townshend are candidates as well as myself—and they have some thoughts of enlarging their numbers; so perhaps we may be all elected together. I am not quite so anxious as Agmondisham Vesey was, who I am told, had couriers stationed to bring him the quickest intelligence of his success;—yet I should be glad to be a member—and I assure you the hope of seeing you some time or other in London, is no small inducement to me to wish it.

"Before I quit Shakspeare, let me ask you, do you know how to 'fillip a toad'? How can you be ignorant of such a common thing? It is a diversion in Warwickshire to place a toad at the lower end of a board about three foot long. This board is placed over a stick at right angles, in an inclosed position, and they strike the elevated end of the board with a large bat or stick which throws the poor animal about 40 feet high, and in the fall he is generally killed. This they call filliping the toad. A 'beetle' is a heavy log of wood, with three handles, used in driving down piles, and managed by three men. And now I hope you understand perfectly what Falstaff means when he says in 2 Hen. 4: 'Fillip me with a three-man beetle,' an instrument which would certainly be very proper for sending the fat knight up into the air. This very singular illustration I got last week from a Mr. Johnson who lives in this town. It presents a very laughable idea. I advise you not to be an infidel about this matter, for, if you should, I shall come down upon you with a delineation[3] of the whole operation, which is now cutting in wood, from a very neat drawing sent by this gentleman.

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[1] Garrick died on 20th January, 1779.

[2] Richard Tickell, author of "Anticipation," a political pamphlet, published in 1778, and other works.

[3] The substance of the above observations was embodied in Malone's notes to Shakespeare.

"This is grown into a most unreasonable long letter. I send you no politics, because you probably have better intelligence than I could give you, from other quarters. Good news is every day expected from the West Indies. Lord Sandwich still keeps his place, notwithstanding the unanswerable charges brought him. Opposition have not I think these five years past had such ground to stand on, as they have had, since Keppel's trial. It is wonderful how the people of England can tamely suffer such a man to remain at the head of the admiralty.

"Johnson's edition of the poets is just published. The only lives of any value that now appear, are those of Cowley, Waller, Milton and Dryden. The critical parts of this are very amusing and instructive—but in the biographical part, he has, I think, been less amusing than he might have been, from a want of industry. He hates much trouble. A man of infinitely inferior parts (Horace Walpole, for instance,) would have collected a great many anecdotes, and made a more entertaining work. Johnson complains, in his preface to Shakspeare, that he did not find the possessors of the old quartos very communicative of them. Yet every one knew that Garrick allowed every person that asked it, to have access to his valuable collection; and nothing would have displeased Johnson so much as to have had a cart-load of them laid down in his study. He has written the life of Dryden, of whom he was always a great admirer, con amore, and has, I think, done him ample justice. His political principles break out in all his compositions. In his life of Waller, having occassion to mention Hampden, his uncle, he has no other epithet for him than 'the zealot of rebellion.' I have not seen his Milton, but he told me, 'we have had too many honey-suckle lives of Milton, and that his should be in another strain.' These prejudices, however, do not appear to affect his criticisms, which are in general in my opinion extremely just. The lives of Addison, Prior, Pope, etc. are not yet written, and probably will not appear this year to come.

"I am afraid you will not be able to read one half of this hasty scrawl; and if I don't conclude soon I shall exceed the post office two ounce allowance. . . Don't blow upon my toad,—that I may have it fresh and blooming for the Supplement. Be so good as to send me a list of the old plays contained in your volumes that did belong to king Charles, that I may not purchase duplicates for you."

150.—Woodward to Charlemont.—Thomas Chatterton.

1779, April 8, Bath.—"Much illness in my own family, and a variety of engagements, have obliged me from time to time, to postpone acknowledging the honour of your lordship's friendly letter—indeed I was in some expectation, that it might have been in my power to have conveyed to you some information with respect to the publication in favour of poor Rowley. I can say nothing as to the time when it will appear, but it most certainly will some time or other, as the dean continues indefatigable in collecting materials, and in this good work, he is assisted by Dr. Glynn of Cambridge. Warton published his decisive opinion, without knowing the least of the subject, as Mr. Calcott has fully demonstrated in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for August last, and the paper immediately following his has some curious matter in it. Chatterton's not understanding a word of Latin makes it very unlikely that he could form his Glossary from Skinner, could he have come at the book, which I do not believe he could, as it was with difficulty that Dr. Fry and myself could find out

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one copy in Bristol. He most probably made it from Speght's Chaucer[1] —which book he borrowed from one Green, a bookseller, and the book is now in my possession, with Chatterton's handwriting on the margin of the Glossary. As to the words selected by Mr. Tyrrwhit, the dean of Exeter assures me, that upon a strict scrutiny, almost all of them are to be found in old authors, and used in Rowley's sense—and most of them in his own favourite Chaucer. This is amazing! As to the words numberless mistakes must have arisen from the boy's not being able to read the MSS. correctly ; indeed when he first produced them he could scarce read them at all—as Mr. Barret assured me last summer, and that he himself assisted him. I am infinitely obliged to your lordship for the ingenious explanation of the word, 'Sabattaners'—it is a very strong presumptive proof of the authenticity of that part of the work, in which it is found—and so must every similar instance—and luckily I think there is one in sir C. Baudin. It is the word 'botaunt.' Many have been the conjectures what this musical instrument was, but all quite unsatisfactory except the following communication of Dr. [Henry] Harrington. He says 'it is not improbable that it may be a corruption or misspelling of the 'word bosaune. Ottamarus Luscinius, a writer of credit, about the 'middle of the last century, in his account of the different stops of the 'German organ, says, that the gemsing horn, or as it is sometimes called 'bosaune, is an imitation of the bass-trumpet or sacbut.' The similitude of the word, and the nature of the instrument may justify this conjecture. The adjective strung, might probably be strong, on account of the immense body of tone this instrument possesses. This circumstance together with king Edward's connection with Canynge — Canynge's connection with sir C. Baudin—the king's being in the minster window —facts only to be known from Rowley's MSS.—prove, at least as much in favour of the authenticity of the poem, as the modernity of the language does against it. It has been observed to me, that all the ideas on it are ideas of common life, and that the poems which convey these are the same, now, that they were when this poem was written. I know not if this be so. Mr. Steevens's parallels are very conclusive. The dean of Exeter tells me he has collected other parallels to shew how naturally poets in different ages will express the same sentiments in very similar words. He informs me that Rowley got his first orders of acolyte in 1439, as appears by the register at Wells, communicated to him by the bishop—and I can prove the existence of the MSS. in general, in the chest in Redcliff church in 1749 and that the name of Rowley was then mentioned as the author of the poetical part of them. These are strong circumstances. I have not yet seen Mr. Walpole's work ; it is difficult to get a copy."

151.—Malone to Charlemont.

1779, April 29, London.—"I received your letter, my dear lord, a few days ago, and was sincerely concerned to find that writing was rendered painful to you by the return of your old complaint. I should not have troubled you so soon again, but having occasion to write to O'Brien,[2] who I imagine is now with you, I would not enclose his letter to you, without sending you these words to thank you for your very kind letter. I enclose you an additional leaf to Shakespeare, which I have had some time for you, but forgot it, when I wrote last. I also

[1] Workes of Chaucer, edited by Thomas Speght. London : 1598, 1602.
[2] Sir Lucius O'Brien.

enclose you Nichols'[1] preface to his last quarto volume of Swift—in order to shew what pieces of Swift's he still wants. He has now got some of those of which I formerly sent you a list—but on the other hand has discovered some new pieces that he is hunting after. As his projected edition of Swift will not appear for many years, he has very properly printed every thing he could procure in this volume—among the rest, his extracts from the originals of Swift's journal to Stella, which he transcribed at the museum, and had been suppressed or mutilated by Dr. Hawkesworth[2] and others. What edition of Swift's have you? for he has printed this new matter in various sizes—one volume quarto, one volume 8vo., and three volumes 12mo. If I knew which was your size, I would send you the volumes to match.

"I am glad you approve of my intended plan for your old plays. I had before I received your letter got Massinger complete, all to two plays. I shall therefore bind them up, although you have six of them in king Charles's volume, as you may wish to keep those distinct. Almost all the plays in your list are very curious and rare. Among the rest, I see one called 'A warning for faire women.'[3] I beg you will look at it and see whether it is perfect; and if it is, I request you will get some one to transcribe the leaf of which the signature is K, and also the last ten lines of the last page but one—which page begins with these words: 'And of my friends and kindred wheresoever.' My reason for giving you this trouble is this. A Mr. Reed,[4] who is preparing a new edition of Dodsley's collection of old plays for the press, wishes to insert this among them. It seems it is a very rare piece; and he has not been able to meet with any copy of it except mine, which is imperfect—wanting the whole leaf K—and also the lines above mentioned. I beg you will not give yourself the trouble of writing about this matter, but be so good as to enclose the transcript, when you have leisure to get it made.

"Do you happen to be possessed of any ancient edition of Shakespeare's poem of 'Venus and Adonis'? The booksellers have repeatedly advertized for the earliest copy of it, but have not yet been able to get it."

152.—Charlemont to Malone.

i.—1779, May 10, Dublin.—"Not having any one upon whose accuracy I could depend, I have myself copied the passages you mention, which I send you inclosed, and hope they will be satisfactory, as I am sure they are correct. Thank you for the additional leaf, and for Nichols' preface. Though I have from time to time purchased every edition of Swift, I cannot say, that I have any complete, having lost several volumes out of each, so that you may send me the additional volume in the cheapest form, as the size is indifferent to me. I have long waited in expectation of a complete edition, and am sorry to find that there is little probability of any such being published, as I much fear that Mr. Nichols, having printed his additions, will lose the principal inducement for undertaking that great work.

"I am not possessed of any ancient copy of the 'Venus and Adonis'—if I were you certainly should have the use of it.

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[1] John Nichols. His editions of Swift appeared in 1801 and 1804.

[2] Works of Jonathan Swift; with his life and notes by John Hawkesworth. London: 1765, 1768.

[3] A tragedy printed in 1599.

[4] Isaac Reed. His edition of the "Old Plays," published in 1780, in twelve vols.

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"In consequence of your last letter but one, I read over 'Pericles,' and am strongly of opinion that by far the greater part of it is the genuine work of Shakespeare. I can not however join with you in thinking that it is all of his composition, as there are some parts so very absurd that I think it hardly possible he should have been capable of writing them. As it was the fashion of the time for poets to club their wits, I should rather suppose that some foolish poetaster had been concerned in it, and that the whole had passed for the production of Shakespeare, as the principal author, and the most popular name. The quarto copy is so very incorrect that you will, I fear, find the publication attended with some difficulty—there are many passages, which appear to me scarcely intelligible. I have made some guesses at the sense of one or two, but they are so little satisfactory as not to be worth communicating to you. One however I will mention, though probably the same guess may have occurred to you. Diana's speech, toward the end of the play, I would read thus:

'My temple stands at Ephesus. Hie thee thither
And do upon mine altar sacrifice!
There, when my maiden priests are met together
Before the people all,
Reveal how thou at sea didst lose thy wife,
Mourning thy crosses, with thy daughter's fall,
And give them repetition to the life.
Perform my bidding, or thou liv'st in woe;
Do't, and be happy, by my silver bow!
Awake, and tell thy dream.'

To bring it nearer the text perhaps, instead of mourning the crossed, we should read, *So* mourne thy crosses,—so for thus, which might easily be misprinted *to*. Or, perhaps, leaving out *to*, we may read mourne as a word of two syllables, as in a speech of Murina—No: I will robbe Pallas of her weade. Adieu, my dear Edmond. My rheumatism is better, though I still write with much difficulty. . . . Has Johnson received an Irish-English curiosity which I sent him by lord Carysfort? Farewell, continue your goodness towards me, and let me hear from you sometimes . . . It is a pity you could not procure the two plays of Massinger to make the volumes complete."

ii.—[1779, May 15, Dublin.]—"Your interesting, agreeable, and long letter must I fear, be answered by a few hasty, and, what is worse, painful lines. My old enemy the rheumatism has tormented me for this month past, and, though not yet able to force me into confinement, has contrived to make everything painful to me, so as not even to suffer me to enjoy unalloyed the pleasure of writing to you. You have, I suppose, been informed of the evil destiny of Daly's books. The ship, in which they were embarked, foundered off Beachy Head, and all his first editions are gone to the bottom. This sad accident, together with the fear of privateers, makes me desirous that whatever books you are so kind as to purchase for me, should be sent by the waggon to Chester, directed for me to the care of Messrs. Smyth, who will forward them by the first Parkgate ship. The only objection to the method is the danger of rubbing by so long a land carriage; yet this may be obviated by careful packing, a trouble which your love of books and of me will, I am confident, induce you to take. Ten thousand thanks to you for the purchases you have made, which will greatly enrich my poetical class. Your method of binding the plays I greatly approve, and send you adjoined a catalogue

of those already in my possession, exclusive of the quartos of Shakespear. I am extremely glad that you are going on with your two supplemental volumes. It was, you know, always my opinion that the imputed plays ought to make a part of every complete edition—and the poems are absolutely necessary. With regard to my correction in 'Pericles,' you may make what use you please of it, though, if you do not chuse absolutely to father it, I would rather go down to posterity by the appellation of a friend of your's than by the far less honourable one of my own name. For my own sake I wish you every success in your endeavours to get into the Turk's head club. Why am I not in London to vote for you ?

" Adieu, my dear Malone, I must conclude my letter, as I really write with much pain and difficulty. . . . In what I have said of my approbation of your method of binding the plays, I mean that the three authors, Shirley, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher, should be in separate volumes, and placed last in the set. Though I am obliged to Elmsley for his civility, I wish you would get the books from him, and send them with the others, as I know him to be more polite than punctual. You may be assured that your toad shall remain a dead secret :—King James the Fourth, etc.—Fryer Bacon.—A Looking Glass for London and England.—Green's Tu quoque.—Doctor Faustus.—King Edward the Second.—The rich Jew of Malta.—If you know not me, you know nobody.—Historie of the two valiant Knights of the Golden Shield, etc.—Travels of three English Brothers.—A Warning for fair Women.—The Tryal of Chivalry.—Life and Death of Dick Bowyer.—Nobody and Somebody.—Fuimus Troes, the true Trojans.—Cornelia.—The Devil's charter.—The Tragedy of Mariamne.—The Atheist's Tragedy.—The Spanish Tragedy, or Hieronimo is mad again.—Salmacida Spolia—a masque.—Lannive's Festivals—a masque.—The Inns of Court Anagrammatist.—Hymenæi.—Love's Metamorphosis.—Cælum Britannicum—a masque.—The Temple of Love—a masque.—Jack Drum's Entertainment.—A new Enterlude entitled New Custome.—Plays of Massinger, bound in one volume:—the Emperour of the East;—the great Duke of Florence;—the Duke of Millaine;—the Renegado;—the fatal Dowrie;—the City Madam;—the Unnatural Combat:—Of separate plays I have: The Witch of Edmonton; The Antiquary; The old Couple; The Heir."

153.—Sir William Chambers to Charlemont.

1779, May 20, London.—" It is a long time since I had the honour of hearing from your lordship, and, if anything could make me regret the having quitted a troublesome business, it would, among a very few other things, be the loss of your lordship's correspondence. The letters with which you honoured me on many occasions formerly, are preserved very carefully; I frequently read them over with much pleasure and a great deal of pride, as testimonies of your lordship's former kindness to me; but with a mixture of mortification, at receiving no more such marks of distinction: I have not I flatter myself forfeited your lordship's favour, yet cannot help having some apprehensions which nothing but seeing or hearing from your lordship can effectually remove. I wish it were in my power to pay you a visit at Dublin; but while Somerset House is on the anvil that cannot be, as it takes up my whole time and attention. A couple of years ago I was requested to make designs for some very considerable additions to the buildings of Trinity College [Dublin] which I readily agreed to on a supposition that in the course of these works I

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might have an excuse for a voyage to Ireland, but the great difficulty attending the vast work I am now about, and the perplexed measures sent me from Dublin at different times, obliged me to desist; and all I could do was to give a general disposition of what I intended, from which as I have since learnt the buildings are now executing. If there be any merit in the general intention I may claim some little share in it; but the whole detail, on which the perfection of these works must greatly depend, is none of mine and whatever merit that has is Mr. Meyers's who I understand is the operator.

"Some time ago I sent over a bill for some designs done for your lordship from January, '73 to August, '75, amounting to 37*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, which I apprehend has been forgot. If your lordship desires a fresh copy I will send it over; or may I take the liberty of drawing upon you for the amount?"

154.—THOMAS DAWSON[1] to CHARLEMONT.

1779, June 23, Armagh.—"As I think your lordship the properest person to be informed of any matter in which this county is interested, I beg leave to lay before your lordship an account of a very determined opposition that was given to the execution of the laws on Thursday last in the neighbourhood of Bondville. Mr. Close, a magistrate of this county, had issued several warrants against persons charged with stealing timber from the woods of Bondville, which were put into the hands of a constable, who went from Armagh on Thursday last to execute them, accompanied by a number of persons as assistants, some of whom were very respectable. When they came to the place where they expected to find the offenders, they found almost the whole country in arms, and amongst others some of the persons who were charged. They were therefore obliged to return without a single prisoner, as they were threatened to be put to death if they attempted to execute any warrant there. There has been timber to the value of 2000*l.* destroyed in those woods, and I am convinced the whole will be carried away if government does not allow the military in this county to aid the magistrates in the enforcement of the laws, as the civil power is quite unequal to it. If your lordship therefore thinks it proper I should be much obliged to you to apply to the lord lieutenant for an order to that purpose, which cannot be attended with any inconvenience (as there are three troops of horse lying at Armagh which is but 7 miles distant from Bondville), and it is indispensably necessary to the preservation of good order in this county."

155.—CHARLEMONT to THOMAS DAWSON.

[1779, June, Dublin.]—"It is with the uttmost difficulty and pain that I am able to write these very few lines in answer to your letter. A violent rheumatism has for some time past so dreadfully tormented me, as to render me almost incapable of performing the common business of life; a misfortune, which, while it serves as an excuse for the defects of this letter, will also shew you the impossibility of my making at present any personal application to the lord lieutenant. At the same time I must confess that, though upon almost every occasion, I should wish to have it in my power, as it is always in my inclination, to obey your commands, I am not however sorry that in the present case an insuperable obstacle obliged me, for some time at least, to defer my compliance. There is nothing from which I am more averse than

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[1] M.P. for county of Armagh.

the interference of the military in matters of a civil nature, and though there may be cases in which such interference may become absolutely necessary, I should always wish that it might be kept as the last resource, and that every other possible means should first be tried. I beseech you then, dear sir, as I well know that for the public utility you would refuse no trouble, to exhort our countrymen that every possible constitutional method should be pursued for the necessary purpose of enforcing the laws, and bringing these rioters to a proper sense of their duty, before they have recourse to that which ought allways to be the ultimate resource, and which can only be admissable when all other means have failed, or justifiable but by necessity alone. Pardon this incoherent scrawl, and the liberty I have taken of giving my opinion in a matter of which you, who are upon the spot, and acquainted with all circumstances, must be a much better judge."

156.—Robert Livingston to Charlemont.

1779, 28th June, Armagh.—"The opposition made to the execution of the laws at Bondville is nearly the same at present with what it has been these eight or ten years last, to wit, the cutting down and takeing away timber trees; the perpetraitors, that is, the inhabitants of Bondville and neighbourhood adjoining, give as a reason that no person can make out a title to said lands or timber. However bad their reason may be, certain it is that scarce any gentleman or others in the country have ever attempted to prevent or put the law in execution against them, probably because Mr. William McGeough who claims some title in behalf of his son to these lands is not much liked.

"The freehold of Bondville and other lands adjacent was the estate of the late Edward Bond, esquire, who devised same to a Henry Bond, his illegitimate son; who devised same to a Malone and Hopkins (as some aledge) and a late doctor John Bond, son of said Henry Bond, claimed the inheritance; and litigated the title for many years with Malone and Hopkins; and William McGeough of Armagh aledged his son intituled as heir at law, and also purchased the title of Malone and Hopkins; and with these titles or claims, disputed at law with the said doctor John Bond many years, without success. Part of the estate is now in possession of the creditors and representatives of the said late doctor Bond, and part, particularly Bondville, in possession of said Hopkins. Some years ago the inhabitants on and adjacent to Bondville seeing no particular person to prevent, ventured on the disputed premises, and cut down some trees for their own use. Finding no opposition they ventured to follow the success; and others wishing to partake of the like advantage followed the example, and Hopkins desirous to have a part, joined in; and also persons at a considerable distance; so that the timber fellers became very numerous and a strong party, but did not commit such depredations when the legatees of Edward Bond were themselves selling the timber which they often did, but as often differed among themselves in shareing the money, and raised injunctions alternately to prevent one another; and then it was and now is that the inhabitants assemble and cut down without reserve. The dean of Armagh lately summoned or gave notice to several of your lordship's tenants on the abbey lands to pay ten shillings for tythe of each town, upon which the tenants resorted to me and we agreed to take defence to any law proceedings the dean might pursue, and gave four guinneas to an attorney for stateing our case and reciteing therein the patent grant of all tythes great and small,

advowson, or right of presentation thereby vested in your lordship: for the opinion of counsel—and I gave notice to the dean of our intention; whereupon he called upon me, requested to see the patent which I shewed, and then in a polite and obliging manner said he would not go to law, but abide by the opinion of any counsel, if I would allow him to view the state of the case before same should be laid before counsel, to which I agreed."

157.—WILLIAM BOND to CHARLEMONT.

i.—1779, 22 July, Armagh.—"Mr. Dawson is gone to England and desired I would trouble your lordship by sending a memorial signed by six of the principal magistrates in the neighbourhood of Bondville supported by the constable's affidavit with Mr. Poole's and mine, who went as assistants to execute search warrants and warrants against a number of people who were convicted before Mr. Close, a magistrate for this county, for cutting and carrying off the lands of Bondville and Coolhill timber to a very considerable amount at the lowest value of two thousand pounds, and must beg leave to inform your lordship if the army is not ordered to aid the civil power the whole of the woods will in a very little time be destroyed, the mobs assemble in partys of one hundred and two hundred, mostly armed, so that the civil power dare not attempt having justice executed; they bid defiance to magistrates and their warrants, so that it is probable they will attack every kind of property if not immediately stopped."

ii.—1779, July 31, Armagh.—"I was this day honored with your lordships letter, and am sorry to be obliged to trouble your lordship a second time upon the same occasion. Since I wrote last there has been above five thousand trees full grown cut and carried away, and at this moment there are hundreds, mostly armed, cutting, so that very shortly there will not be a tree to save out of twelve thousand pounds worth, and yesterday a number of people, headed by one Pat Hughes of Sillis, in the county Monaghan, seized five horse loads of bark that I had sold, and carried bark, horses and cars, entirely off. Such is the situation of this country, and if not immediately stopped, it is hard to say what will be the consequences. . . . There are now three troops of the 1st horse quartered here, and a regiment of foot at Belfast."

158.—WILLIAM BROWNLOW to CHARLEMONT.

1779, August 23, Lurgan.—"The principal inhabitants of this town have determined to follow the example of their neighbours by forming themselves into an independent company, their first intention was to provide arms at their own expence, but, as they find that in many places they are furnished by government, they hope to receive the same favour and have desired me, their captain, to apply in their behalf. I understand that it is on the application of governors of counties that they are granted, and this induces me to give your lordship the trouble of laying their request before you. The number of men that the company may consist of is yet uncertain, but we compute it may be about eighty. I have an hundred musquets and bayonets since the year 1760; they were old and bad at that time and are now quite unserviceable. It would be agreeable to me that the board of ordnance would resume them, for to me they are only an inconvenience. The arms at Charlemont are no better; I believe they are worse."

159.—Charlemont to William Brownlow.

[1779, August.]—"A most obstinate and tormenting rheumatism renders it extremely difficult for me to write, yet I cannot prevail on myself to leave your letter unanswered by the return of the post, or to defer one moment testifying the sincere pleasure which I feel in finding that the spirit of forming independent companies is spreading itself through the county of Armagh, and that you are a patron of that scheme which with me has ever been a favourite one.

"With regard to my applying for arms, I will in a few words tell you how I am circumstanced, and leave you to judge of my embarassment. Before the Armagh Volunteers, who have done me the honour to chuse me for their commander, had provided themselves with arms, they wrote to me requesting that I would lend them some firelocks out of those which had been granted to me as governor of the county, till such time only as their own should be ready. As the propriety of my lending the militia arms appeared to me doubtful I had recourse to the best advice, and was told that I could not with safety comply with the request of my friends and that I had no right to apply those arms to any other purpose but to that only for which they were granted, without the express consent of government. Upon this I made a personal application to the lord lieutenant, praying that I might be allowed to accomodate my friends with a few of those arms, for which I alone was responsible, and which I would engage should be returned as soon as they were provided with others of their own as they shortly would be. The lord lieutenant's answer was very polite. He said that he wished much to oblige me; but feared that other applications of the same kind had been refused—that he would however inquire, and that if any request of the kind had been granted, mine certainly should. In a few days after this interview he sent one of his secretaries to me, who informed me that upon consideration and inquiry his excellency found it improper to give the sanction of government to the lending the militia arms for the use of independent companies. The consequence of this was that I was obliged to refuse my friends, and that they were without arms till their own were ready. That ministers may since that time have altered their opinion I doubt not. The instability of their political systems makes it more than probable—but I leave you to judge whether it may be proper for me to make any farther application to government upon this head, since if the system be changed I ought most certainly to have been informed of it, and whether it might not be more proper that you yourself should apply to the lord lieutenant informing him that you had already desired my interference as governor of the county, and of my reasons for declining it. In consequence of which I shall probably receive orders to issue for your use some of the arms now at Charlemont, for I rather believe you will get no other, neither, if you did, would they be probably so good. You are much mistaken with regard to their condition. I saw them not very long ago and have had them frequently inspected since—and by this very post have an account that 900 of them are in complete order. I am sorry that those in your possession, which make a part of the arms granted to me, by your account, are not so, as I have in consequence of letters from you both in the years '76 and '78, returned those 100 arms as in good repair to the board of ordnance. How I have been able to write so much I know not, for I write in agony, but must now conclude."

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160.—CHARLEMONT to SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN.

1779, August 24, Dublin.—"Lord Carysfort writes by the last packet that he was just come from the Admiralty where he was informed by sir Charles Proby[1] that our fleet is entirely more than a match for the combined fleets without reckoning our fifty-gun ships; our three-deckers superior in number.

"As the above comfortable intelligence has a good chance of being authentic, I send it to you nearly in lord Carysfort's own words. An action is hourly expected, and if the enemy be yet in the channel, as there is no appearance of their having left it, we shall fight them to great advantage. Their engaging themselves in the channel seems to have been an infatuation; never sure was such an error. I wish you joy and accept of your felicitation most cordially. We are all well. I forgot myself: I am still very bad and in constant pain."

161.—WILLIAM BROWNLOW to CHARLEMONT.

1779, August 30, Lurgan.—"I am extremely concerned that your rheumatism continues so long obstinate, and unhappy that I must have added to your uneasiness by your taking the trouble to write me so long a letter. My being all last week at Mrs. Knox's and only returning here to-day prevented my receiving your lordship's sooner; thanks for this further instance of your obliging attention. I entirely agree with you that after what passed at the castle [of Dublin] your lordship's further interference about arms would not become you, and that if there has been a change of measures you ought to have been made acquainted with it. As I am but just returned home I have not yet consulted my company whether I shall apply to government in order to obtain leave to make use of the arms I am already possessed of (for that would be the result of my application) or whether they will provide themselves with light cavalry arms. I have always taken care to keep mine clean and to outward appearance in good order, and not being a judge of arms I thought they were really so, but am told that many of the locks are deficient, and I can see that they are very cumbersome and want iron ramrods which I look upon to be an essential. Independent companies are increasing fast in all parts of the kingdom. I always preferred them to a regular militia, and shall do all in my power to assist and forward the measure; at present we are but 60 strong, but I believe we shall not stop there; as it induces a good deal of expense on the parties, I think it best not to press, but only to encourage.

"Our situation is at present very critical, it is lamentable to think what a situation bad measures have reduced these kingdoms to."

162.—BENJAMIN BELL to CHARLEMONT.

1779, September 15, Armagh.—"Though I have not the honor of being personally known to your lordship, yet from your attention to the interest of our country, and as our governor, I take the liberty to request your protection.

"My neighbours have paid me the compliment to request I would join them in raising an independent company which is composed of

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[1] Brother of lord Carysfort.

some of the most respectable tenants of sir Capel Molyneux, some very opulent and respectable linen drapers and my tenantry. As the next resident magistrate as well as my neighbours' attention to me, I have been called upon by them. I wished sir Capel to take the command which he has very politely declined on account of his advanced stage of life. We shall be very happy in being under your lordships patronage and we have determined to regiment ourselves in uniform with your company at Armagh We understand that government have ordered five hundred stand of arms for each county, besides there are a great number lying in Charlemont at present of no use to anybody.

"The expense of paying for clothes, powder, drill, and other emergencies, I look upon as much as many (who may be the most useful in action) will be able to pay. I from these reasons take the liberty to beg leave to trouble your lordship to procure for us fifty stand of arms. I well know your lordship's goodness and public spirit will excuse me the liberty I take in the cause where the public good is the only object that directs us."

163.—Francis Dobbs[1] to Charlemont.

1779, September 16, Acton [co. Armagh].—"In consequence of your lordship's very obliging favor, I have accepted of the association in this neighbourhood, and yesterday had the pleasure of meeting between fifty and sixty young active fellows, who I am well satisfied will not disgrace the county of Armagh. I know not how far I am right in applying to your lordship for arms, but if it is not an improper application, you would very highly oblige me, by allowing me sixty stand, for which I will give your lordship any security you shall require. I should not trouble you on the occasion, were I not informed that government has given arms to the lord lieutenants of counties to be delivered at their discretion—if so, your lordship's compliance with this request, would make the company I command very soon fit for service, as they can easily and speedily obtain every other necessary. I beg the honor of an answer directed to me at Lisburn."

164.—Sir Richard Heron to Charlemont.

1779, September 21, Dublin Castle.—"I have received and laid before my lord lieutenant your lordship's letter of the 19th inst. requesting, as governor of the county of Armagh, liberty to dispose of the arms, under your lordship's care, which were granted for the use of the county of Armagh, in the year 1760, and having, some time since, upon mature consideration, determined to issue 500 stand of the militia arms to the governors of each county in this kingdom for the better preservation of the peace and safety thereof, upon application for that purpose, and upon giving an acknowledgement in writing containing an engagement to return the same when demanded, and I have his excellency's commands to acquaint your lordship that his excellency has no objection to your lordship's distributing that number to such persons as you may think proper for the purposes aforesaid."

165.—William Brownlow to Charlemont.

1779, September 25, Lurgan.—"In consequence of your lordship's advice in your former letter I made indeed a very modest request to

[1] Author of "History of Irish affairs, from the 12th of October 1779 to the 15th September 1782, the day of lord Temple's arrival." Dublin, 1782. Dedicated to the duke of Portland.

government, for it was only that I might be permitted to make use of the arms then in my possession. After a good deal of time for deliberation, a quibbling answer was sent me by sir Richard Heron, that, though his excellency had lately issued arms to different governors of counties for the better preservation of the peace and safety thereof, he had not issued any for the purpose of arming any of the Volunteer companies, but has the highest reliance on my judgement that the arms in my possession will be made use of in the most proper manner for the public service.

"His distinction, I confess, is too nice for me to comprehend; but, be it as it may, I was sufficiently authorized to make use of the arms, and at the expense of between three and four shillings for iron ramrods and other improvements to each firelock we shall be as well armed as we can wish. We are yet but 63, officers included; I expected more but the spirit has not yet extended beyond the limits of the town. I saw the Armagh company exercised on the common during the assizes, there were but 30 in the ranks, they are exceedingly well equipped and disciplined. We shall be ready here to take the field in a fortnight or less, completely clothed, armed and accoutred, and very tolerably disciplined. I attend parade every day as diligently as any ensign in the army. I hope that next summer your lordship will allow us an opportunity of receiving you with military honours as our commander in chief and that you will approve our performance. There is a small company just formed in Portadown. Richardson is ready and willing when the Richhill[1] people call upon him. I dare say the spirit will spread. We have taken the uniform of your lordship's company and I hope all other companies will conform, which in case of our being embodied will have a good effect."

166.—Francis Evans to Charlemont.

1779, September 25, Violet Hill, Newry.—"I humbly beg leave to return my most grateful thanks, as well as those of the corps I have the honor of commanding, (called the Orior[2] Volunteers, of the county of Armagh,) for your lordships application to government, and also for obtaining for our use sixty stand of arms, which shall be carefully preserved and returned agreeable to the enclosed receipt to your lordship, when thereunto required."

167.—Robert Livingston to Charlemont.

1779, September 25, Armagh.—"I have wrote to a gentleman near Acton to inform me whether Mr. Dobbs be now there or where else, and if he is not there I will have enquiry made and care taken of the letters your lordship addressed to him.

"The Armagh Volunteers are now increasing and seem desirous of some arms, to accommodate their recruits, and some others who are desirous to join but cannot afford to buy arms. However I have not informed them of your lordships order to give out any, but am doubtful they will be somewhat jealous when they hear that arms are given to others.

"The Moy[3] Volunteers, about fifteen in number, have a promise of twenty muskets from Mr. Knox, but he says none can be given by him to these of Charlemont or Blackwatertown, because they are in the county

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[1] In county of Armagh. [2] Barony of Orior. [3] In county of Tyrone.

of Armagh; however, they require none, having declined to assemble. I have got cleaned and dressed 1085 muskets, being all that is fit for service of the Armagh arms, the remainder having no locks. The grand jury at last and former assizes refused to present any more money to keep the arms in repair.

"Lord Gosford's presentment for opening the new road, of which he wrote to your lordship did not succeed at last assizes, but will it is expected at the next, his lordship commonly having the majority.

"Linen cloth seldom or never sold so cheap as at present, as also corn and every other the produce of the country, which, with the general disposition of persons who have money to keep it, I think is the cause I cannot collect your lordship's rents as heretofore, the arrears at present being very great."

168.—Benjamin Bell to Charlemont.

1779, September 27, Armagh.—"Your very polite attention to my request, give me leave with the most unlimited gratitude to acknowledge.

"I have sent to Mr. Livingston my accountable receipt, agreeable to your lordship's desire.

"Permit me to assure your lordship that our intentions co-operate with your desire, every man that is able being determined to purchase his own arms, but at present the demand is so great that a supply is not easily had.

"I much wish and have paid great attention to persuade the other companies to have the same uniform, as it would have a good effect if all the county dressed alike, but scarlets are not to be got; I have bought some that are not yet made."

169.—Alexander Patton and Samuel Livingston to Charlemont.

1779, September 28, Tanderagee.[1]—"We understand your lordship is giving out arms to the Volunteer companies in the county of Armagh, we therefore beg leave to inform your lordship, that we have a very respectable company in the village of Clare[2] and its vicinage, and request that your lordship may be so kind as to order us fifty stand of arms; for the safe return of which upon demand, we will be accountable; we would have applied to you sooner, but wished to do it through our good friend and neighbour Thomas Dawson,[3] esquire, who has for some time past been abroad, and we, apprehensive that it might be too late after his return, take the liberty of making this application, though we have not the honour of being personally known to your lordship; your compliance with this request will greatly oblige this part of the county."

170.—John Moore,[4] M.P., to Charlemont.

1779, September 29.—"I return your lordship my sincerest thanks, for the honour of your kind letter. I have now sixty men ready and waiting for arms, and will be glad how soon I shall be honoured with your lordship's orders for the receiving of them, as I shall be obliged to leave this, for the meeting of parliament."

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[1], [2] In county of Armagh. [3] *See* p. 350.

[4] Member of Parliament in Ireland for borough of Ballynakill, Queen's county.

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171.—FRANCIS DOBBS to CHARLEMONT.

"1779, October 4, Lisburn.—This morning, I had the honor of both your lordship's favors, which did not reach me sooner from my absence, and from my not having left the necessary directions—permit me now, the moment it is in my power, to return my most grateful thanks for your lordship's politeness and obliging compliance with my request. I hope in a short time to show your lordship a company that will please your lordship, and do me honor."

172.—ROBERT LIVINGSTON to CHARLEMONT.

1779, October 9, Armagh.—"Inclosed is the account of arms delivered out of the stores of Charlemont, pursuant to your lordship's orders for that purpose; it was with some difficulty I could procure receipts from the several persons, (Mr. Dobbs and Mr. Bell excepted) from the very great haste of the Volunteers, and a blundering ignorant deputy storekeeper. I could not get the business done to my desire. Their appearing at the stores with the order and without the receipt was disagreeable.

"Mr. Richardson's gentlemen of Rich Hill, went to the stores without my knowledge (though they had engaged the contrary) when the storekeeper thought proper to admit eight or ten of them who ransacked the whole muskets, pulled most of them off the racks, and after having tried them etc. chose one hundred, leaving the remainder lying in different parts, the bayonets scattered and all confusion; on examining I found several locks broken and one bayonet, and also that they had taken into their number 29 of the muskets on the barrells of which the word 'Charlemont' is engraved; the whole so engraved is about eighty, which I wished to have kept together, and therefore wrote to Mr. Richardson requesting (if agreeable) to allow the said 29 to be returned for a like number equally good, letting him know these arms were for your lordship's own company. He was pleased to write a very polite answer, at same time sent his accountable receipt, said his people were at some trouble and expence in going to Charlemont, and that they thought he had no right to take back the 29 muskets, but they should be given to whoever produced an equall number equally good and your lordship's order for the exchange. I will avoid any altercation with Mr. Richardson, notwithstanding his Rich Hill gentlemen did considerable hurt to the arms in the stores. Mr. Hamlet Obins of Portadown has not yet called for the 30 ordered to him; I hope he may not call. I fear it will be much more difficult to collect them in than it is to give them out."

173.—NICHOLAS JOHNSTON to CHARLEMONT.

1779, October 9, Tanderagee.—"Finding your lordship is giving out arms to the gentlemen of this county I take the liberty as one to request an order for as many as your lordship shall think proper, as I can raise two companys as loyal as in the county. I hope your lordship will excuse this liberty."

174.—CHARLEMONT to NICHOLAS JOHNSTON.

1779, October 12.—"It gives me the utmost concern that your having been so late in applying for arms has put it out of my power to allow myself the satisfaction of complying with your request, as I have already

distributed, to within a very few, the five hundred stand of arms to which government has limited me, and all other governors of counties. Of this number there are but twenty now remaining, which I had intended to keep in case of any deficiency in my own corps, and which are too few to offer you.

"This disappointment is the more disagreeable to me as I know of no one more proper than you to be at the head of a company, nor anyone whose commands I should rather wish to obey."

175.—Nicholas Johnston to Charlemont.

1779, October 14, Tanderagee.—"I have the honour to return your lordship many thanks for your kind and obliging letter, which I shewed to the company. We have only to lament that we were so late in our application, which was as soon as I heard that your lordship had given some of my neighbours arms. I am sorry to be obliged to trouble your lordship upon this subject again by inclosing a letter [1] I have just received."

176.—William Brownlow to Charlemont.

1779, October 18, Lurgan.—"I had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter this morning and it being a field day I had an opportunity of laying the contents of it before my little corps without delay. They were not a little elevated at this very honourable approbation of their association, and we beg leave to return your lordship our sincere acknowledgements for the obliging manner of communicating it.

"I congratulate you, my lord, on the spirited behaviour of both houses of parliament on the addresses; it far exceeded my expectation; I hope it will not flag and we may at last succeed. I am convinced that the compliment paid to the Volunteer companies will have an admirable effect by encreasing their numbers and their spirit, and I have no doubt if we do succeed but that a great share of the merit is to be attributed to their appearance. There was something very striking in the lining the streets for the addresses, it will be the cause of some reflection on the other side of the water. Though I was tardy commencing, I am now become a most zealous advocate for these armaments, and as anxious for the honour of my company as any young captain in the service. I could not bear to leave them untill I should see them completely equipped and fit for service which is now nearly accomplished, and I did not like the fatigue of going and returning at this season, but so great was the triumph of last week I would have borne it with pleasure to have been a partaker in it, it would hurry me too much to be in town the first week after the recess and as there are two holy days in it there will probably not be much business done, but I shall attend early in the week after."

177.—Francis Dobbs to Charlemont.

1779, October 18, 61 Marlborough-street, [Dublin].—"Agreeably to the desire of the Tyrone Ditches and Acton Volunteers, I take the earliest opportunity of laying before your lordship, resolutions expressing their earnest wish to be a part of a battalion under your command, to act as such should occasion call them forth.

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[1] Not in the MS.

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"Their first intention was to dress in blue, as being more convenient for country men; but anxious for the honor of being part of a body headed by your lordship, they have now determined to uniform exactly with the Armagh company, and I am now preparing every thing necessary for that purpose.

"I hope your lordship's answer will give me an opportunity of paying my respects to you as my superiour officer, and to receive from your lordship such instructions as may be necessary to carry the purpose of a battalion into execution."

[Enclosure]. "At a meeting of the Tyrone Ditches and Acton Volunteers, held at Acton the 15th of October, 1779, seventy members present, it was unanimously resolved: 'That, should it be necessary to stand forth against a foreign or internal foe, Volunteer companies, acting separately and independent of each other, would render them in a great measure useless, and would be destructive of the purpose for which they have embodied. That we will do all in our power to aid the forming of a battalion in the county of Armagh, to act as such when any emergency shall call for a general exertion; though at other times we shall consider ourselves a separate company under the command of our own captain only. That it is our ardent desire, when thus called forth to act in concert with other companies, to be under the command of the right honourable the earl of Charlemont, whose patriotic conduct and public spirit have our warmest approbation, it being our fixed opinion that such men are best calculated to lead us on to the defence of ourselves and of our country. That Francis Dobbs, esq., our captain, do communicate these our resolutions to his lordship, and report to us his sentiments thereon."

178.—Benjamin Bell to Charlemont.

1779, October 20, Armagh.—"With heartfelt pleasure I join with our little corps in returning your lordship our most unfeigned thanks for your patriotic zeal in promoting and encouraging that military spirit in this country that has met the approbation of both houses of parliament, their approbation will stimulate us to shew ourselves worthy of the confidence those two branches of the legislature think the Volunteers deserving of. We rejoice exceedingly at the steady, manly and patriotic virtue shewn by parliament in their addresses to the king—and we look forward with pleasing hope to reap the harvest of this beauteous spring. I am directed by the company to inform your lordship that they have come to a resolution unanimously to embody themselves with such companies in this county (as choose) as are in the same uniform, and we beg leave to offer your lordship our company and entreat you will do us the honor to be our colonel."

179.—Richard Johnston to Charlemont.

1779, October 20, Gilford [co. Down].—"I shall be much obliged to your lordship for an order on the armoury at Charlemont for fifty stand of arms. I purpose to embody and clothe immediately that number of good Protestants in that part of the county of Armagh which next adjoins my estate here. I have already embarked deeply in the volunteering business in the county of Down, and being called on by a number of clever fellows in the adjoining part of Armagh, I cannot with propriety decline their invitation. I did not apply to your lordship in Dublin, as the matter had not then come to maturity."

180.—Robert Livingstone to Charlemont.

1779, October 23, Armagh.—"The address and instructions to the representatives of the city of Dublin, not having appeared in the 'Belfast Newsletter,' I have have sent it to the publishers in order that same may be inserted in their next publication, with this addition: 'It is hoped the high sheriffs in this kingdom will immediately call county courts in order to give the inhabitants in their several jurisdictions an opportunity to follow the above laudable example.'

"It is the joint opinion of Mr. Maxwell and I, that this county squires, who are under the influence of the primate,[1] lord Gosford, or the bishop of Clonfert,[2] will not attend at a county court to give their voices to any business of public utility where they may be in doubt of the sentiments of their friends or rulers. However we have agreed to address the high sheriff (who lives in the county of Antrim) by a respectable number of freeholders, requesting him to hold and publish a county-court, for the purpose of addressing and instructing their representatives—this we will not be able to send to the sheriff before Wednesday next, as we wish to have a respectable number, and that the address should be sent by some friends in and near Tanderagee rather than from ourselves.

"There are herewith some papers from the Charlemont Volunteers, 28 in number. The Armagh Volunteers are increasing; they are now 45; Moy, 24."

181.—William Brownlow to Charlemont.

1779, October 23, Lurgan.—"The moment I read the Galway address I said to a gentleman of the county of Armagh, who happened to be with me, I should not be sorry if our county did the same; his answer was, that his situation rendered him unfit to promote any such measure. I am indeed at present of opinion that it is a proper step and believe I shall vote for it, but I should be sorry not to have a discretion of altering that opinion if I should judge by talking with well informed persons that it was more likely to impede than forward our desire, and this I have no doubt your lordship will coincide in. I agree with your lordship that those addresses might be of use in shewing the earnest disposition of the people, though with respect to the conduct of the representatives they would make no essential difference; my colleague[3] I am pretty certain would be as zealous to forward such a measure as the single representatives of Down and Antrim. The county of Tyrone members are hearty in the cause, and I do not believe that an address from Derry would change the resolution of their members, whatever it may be. This county is very deficient of resident gentlemen of consequence; except Richardson and sir Capel [Molyneux] who have we? Sir Capel will not take any part in county matters since his disappointment; Richardson is not yet a politician; so that an address here would want consequence, for should it proceed only from a few such choice spirits in the neighbourhood of Armagh as called themselves the county last year, and did me the honour to abuse me under the signature of 670 freeholders, it would meet with contempt rather than respect. Most of the minor gentlemen here are either under the influence of the primate or lord Gosford. I think it better

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[1] Richard Robinson, baron Rokeby.

[2] Walter Cope, previously dean of Dromore, and rector of Loughgilly, in diocese of Armagh.

[3] Thomas Dawson, M.P. for Armagh county.

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not to stir a matter of such public important nature unless it can be carried through by respectable men with unanimity. I have given my sentiments in confidence to your lordship fully and without reserve. The compliments from the lords has had the effect I expressed ; several recruits have come in since I wrote last, and in less than a fortnight we shall be at least eighty ; the spirit spreads amazingly, every village arms.

"I dare say you have found an increase of strength and vigour with the prosperous beginning of our session. I heartily wish a continuance of it, and if a vote of mine could give it increase, I should think it the most patriotic I could give."

182.—Richard Johnston to Charlemont.

1779, October 25, Gilford.—"The post of this morning gave me the honour of your lordship's letter of the 23rd. I am very unfortunate in being so late in my application for arms, and I am now only to entreat that if your lordship should be hereafter authorized to issue more than 500 stands to which you at present limited, I may be considered for the number I mentioned in my last letter.

"This county (Down) was in possession of I believe about 1000 stands. These have been distributed among the gentlemen, notwithstanding which the deputy governors have drawn from the ordnance office 500 more.

"I see no reason why your lordship should not have the same call, and I recollect seeing at the ordnance office, when I was last in town [Dublin], your lordship's name set down there for 500 as governor of Armagh, and the clerk told me he only waited for your order for the delivery of them.

"I submit to your lordship is it not hard that the Protestant counties of Down and Armagh, Antrim and Tyrone should be rated in the distribution of arms with the popish counties of Mayo, Roscommon, Leitrim, etc. The want of arms gives great discontent in this county. I know many Volunteer corps that are both clothed and diciplined and cannot procure them. I shall shortly have the honour of seeing your lordship in Dublin and I shall then take the liberty of communicating my sentiments fully to you on the subject."

183.—Francis Evans to Charlemont.

1779, October 29, Newry.—"I have the honor to transmit to your lordship the most grateful thanks of the company under my command for your lordship's very polite and obliging letter, communicating the acceptable resolution [1] of the house of lords, etc. ; and also their request that your lordship will deign to accept (as colonel) the command of the first Orior Volunteers, and they promise always to obey your lordship as such, hoping nevertheless your lordship will be pleased not to call them at any inconvenient distance from home, unless the emergency of the times requires it.

"There are upwards of thirty-six young men, who have offered to join our corps, provided they be accomodated with arms ; I must therefore trouble your lordship for a further order for so many stands of arms as your lordship may think proper to grant. Our company consists at present of sixty privates, two serjeants, fife and drum, ensign, three

[1] Votes of thanks to the Volunteers for their exertions.

lieutenants and captain, and if an addition of arms can be had, we shall be one hundred strong. Whatever commands your lordship may honor me with shall be duly attended to."

184.—Charlemont to Francis Evans.

[1779.]—"Permit me to return you my most sincere acknowledgments, and, by your means, to the gentlemen of your corps for the very high honour conferred on me by chusing of me for your colonel, an offer which is too flattering to be refused, notwithstanding my consciousness how very unfit I am for the office as well from the present bad state of my health as from my want of experience in military matters. The company may be assured that no command of mine shall ever put them to any unnecessary inconvenience, but as it may hereafter be thought necessary that the several corps which have honoured me with their command should sometimes be assembled in battalion on such spot in the county as may be most convenient to them all, I think it necessary to apprise you thereof, in order that such orders may not arrive unexpected.

"It gives me the greatest concern to be obliged to inform you that it is absolutely out of my power to comply with your request respecting arms as there is not one firelock remaining undistributed of the five hundred, to which number I, with all other lieutenants of counties, was limited, and as I have not been able to obtain leave to issue any more, though I have for that made application to government. Suffer me once more to return you my most sincere thanks, and to beg that you would assure the gentlemen of your corps of my warmest gratitude."

185.—Samuel Maxwell to Charlemont.

1779, October 30, Armagh.—"Pursuant to your lordship's commands, with which I am honoured in your lordship's letter of the 15th instant, your lordship's company were paraded under arms and in uniform, on Thursday the 21st in the market-place; where I read to them your very polite and obliging letter, whereof they entertain the most becoming sentiments of gratitude: they then marched to the field of exercise, and after firing three vollies for the occasion, they went through various manoeuvres and firings, so as to merit the approbation of several military gentlemen who were present.

"I am to return to your lordship in the name of the company, our sincere thanks for your letter of the 2nd, conveying a grant of forty stand of arms; and it is with singular satisfaction I inform your lordship, that this mark of your indulgence is likely to be attended with all the success which we had reason to hope from it. Eight very sightly young men of unexceptionable characters, have already, and many more are daily expected to join. In obedience to your lordship's instructions I gave my receipt to the storekeeper for the arms, and to Mr. Livingston, one signed by a committee chosen out of the company, and we make it a rule to dispose of the arms, to those only who are approved of by the whole of this committee; whereby we run no risk of admitting improper persons into the association.

"I cannot, my lord, resist the temptation which this opportunity affords me, of expressing with how much pleasure every individual of your company finds his hopes and expectations fulfilled, by the well judged resolution of most of the Volunteer associations in this county to solicit your lordship to accept the command of them as colonel; and whilst the utility of this very proper regulation, constitutes the first motive of our hopes that your lordship may be pleased to take

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upon you this additional trouble; yet it must not be denyed that the ambition of precedence takes some part in our wishes, since, honoured as we were with an unmerited share of your goodness, whilst we stood first and alone in the county, a small handfull of men, we would now gladly hope that you will still be pleased to dignify our association with the name of your lordship's or the colonel's own company.

"Mr. Livingston imparted to me your lordship's inclination that this county should address and instruct their representatives as to their conduct in this session of parliament. It struck us that this part of the county was not the place to commence any spirited measure, where there is so great a scope of church-lands; a soil in which liberal ideas of the natural rights of mankind, either civil or religious, do neither vegetate nor abound. We therefore thought it best to make it originate at Tanderagee. Our exertions in that quarter together with some very spirited letters from counsellor Dobbs, has procured an address to the sheriff, from a numerous body of freeholders; in consequence whereof the advertisment which I take the liberty of inclosing, appeared in yesterday's 'Belfast News-letter'; and we expect it will be productive of a numerous and respectable meeting.

"I entreat your lordship to pardon the length of this letter: I should by no means have presumed to engross so much of your leisure, if it had not appeared to me a point of duty, to express in the best manner I can my readiness to obey your lordship's commands."

186.—CHARLEMONT to MAXWELL.

[1779, October 30, Dublin.]—"It is not easy for me to express with what pleasure I hear by every account from the north, and no person from thence remains unquestioned by me, the praises of that corps, which I have the honour of calling peculiarly my own; yet is this pleasure in some degree allayed by my concern at not having it in my power to be an eye-witness to that excellence which I hear so much commended. The same diversity of effects is in my mind produced from the unmerited honours conferred on me by many of the volunteer associations of the county of Armagh, and, while I am delighted and flattered in the highest degree by the kind preference they shew me in choosing me for their colonel, I cannot avoid feeling in an equal degree the most extreme regret at my being disabled by illness from attending them in person, and from serving them effectually in that situation to which they have exalted me. With regard to the matter of precedence I have long been aware that it might be attended with some difficulty, especially as it may hereafter be thought necessary that the several companies which have honoured me with their command, should, at stated times, and in such part of the county as may be most convenient to all, be assembled in battalion, in order to their being rendered more useful in case of any emergency. Upon such occasions it will be absolutely necessary that some rule should be established, and that which appears to me the most equitable and the least liable to exception, is that each company should take place according to the date of its association. I long to hear the result of the county meeting and am much obliged to you for the part you have taken in procuring it."

187.—ARTHUR GRAHAM to CHARLEMONT.

1779, October 30, Hockly.—"I have been applyed to by some fine spirited Protestant lads upon my estate, and I believe a good many upon

your lordship's will join them, to take upon me the command of a Volunteer company, which honor I have accepted of, and if your lordship could favor us with some arms we should be much obliged for the honor done us and hope to be able to make a good use of them. I understand you have given a good many already but hope there may be some left, or if not, some procured from government for us. We think to be able to raise forty or perhaps fifty Volunteers."

188.—CHARLEMONT to ARTHUR GRAHAM.

[1779, November 4, Dublin.]—"It gives me the sincerest concern that the lateness of your application for arms has rendered it impossible for me to gratify myself by complying with your request respecting them. The five hundred stand, to which number, I, with all other lieutenants of counties, was limited, have long since been distributed, and since their distribution I have already found myself compelled to answer four or five applications, and I am now most unwillingly forced to answer your's. Believe me, sir, that for two very strong reasons my inability of obeying your commands is extremely irksome to me, because I know of no man more fitted than you for the task you are about to undertake, and because there is nothing I more desire than on every occasion to show you how sincerely I am, etc. . . Since your letter, I have made an attempt upon government for leave to issue more arms, but in vain."

189.—DAVID BELL to CHARLEMONT.

1779, November 5, Newry.—"Having had the honor of being appointed captain of a Volunteer company of this town called the 'Newry Fencibles' in the county of Armagh, composed of the principal gentlemen and merchants here to the amount of fifty-four, who associated for the defence of this place, and who have provided themselves with arms and necessary accoutrements: my lord, what makes me trouble your lordship with this, is this, a number of tradesmen equal to our original number have offered to join our company and clothe themselves, provided they can have arms from government. We offered to buy arms for them but that they refused accepting of, in consequence of which I am requested by the company to apply to your lordship for forty or fifty stand of arms. We have no doubt from your lordship's public spirit, patriotic conduct, and from the very great attention of your lordship to this national measure, that if you can, you will accomodate us. I propose doing myself the honor of waiting on your lordship next week on this affair as I shall be in town."

190.—ROBERT LIVINGSTON to CHARLEMONT.

1779, November 6, Armagh.—"The county meeting last Thursday was not altogether so numerous as was expected; though much greater than several of the small gentlemen wished it should. As well as I can compute there were about 1,000 persons, but not more than half of them freeholders. On the sheriff opening the court, (contrary to expectation) the dean[1] of Armagh, reverend doctor Grueber,[2] and

[1] Hugh Hamilton, D.D., subsequently bishop of Clonfert and of Ossory.
[2] Arthur Grueber, master of the Armagh school.

doctor Woodward[1] made their appearance, and complained that no notice had been given nor application been made to them previous to such measure; upon which I answered, that it was not the business of any particular person to canvass—that a general notice had been given by the sheriff. A Mr. Campbell, and others of the dissenting clergy, moved that the sheriff should name a committee to prepare the address and instructions, which the sheriff did. A copy of their production and names are inclosed;[2] there were several divisions in the committee when we left the dean, with seldom more than two of his side. It was four o'clock before the committee had done, and therefore not above 200 names were signed that day: however the sheriff and committee agreed that the address and instructions should lie in my hands till Wednesday next, and that copies should be sent to different parts of the county, which has been done, and the gentlemen freeholders are coming fast in, so that 500 have now signed. I expect ten or twelve hundred by Wednesday, when I am to inclose the whole to the sheriff, in order to be presented to our members, and inserted in the newspapers, towards defraying the expence of which the gentlemen gave the sheriff some money and there is more preparing. . I am sorry to say Mr. Richardson did not shew his concurrence to the county meeting nor Mr. Cope's agent, Mr. Blackall."

191.—Benjamin Bell to Charlemont.

1779, December 10, Newry.—"I have the honor of enclosing you the thanks of my corps. They are the freewill offerings of our hearts, and all the tribute we can bestow. I also take the liberty to send therewith a copy of our other resolutions entered into this day. If they meet your approbation, they are intended for publication; but if you should not approve of it, then I and my people will in this, as in all things, observe strict discipline and obey the will of your lordship as our commander."

192.—John Blackall to Charlemont.

"To the right honourable the earl of Charlemont, colonel commandant of the Loughgall Volunteers.

1779, December 27, The Hill.—"The very wretched state of the linen trade in this country (the only resource of its inhabitants) will, I fear prevent the Loughgall Volunteers, under your lordship's command, from being of that great utility to society, which the ardour with which they apply themselves to learn the military discipline and the very uncommon perfection to which they have already attained in it, would otherwise seem to promise. With some difficulty, my lord, they have purchased a genteel uniform, but the expense of musketry is really too much for them. I do not mention this circumstance with any other view than to suggest to your lordship a plan, upon which I should think it highly probable they might be accomodated with arms, without the smallest injury to any other corps in the county. If it deserves your lordship's attention, our company has the foremost reliance on your lordship's protection for carrying it into execution; if otherwise we shall patiently submit to your lordship's determination.

"The plan is this. The several corps in this county, like ours, under your lordship's command, should, on your lordship's requisition to the

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[1] Charles Woodward, D.D., prebendary of Armagh

[2] Not in the MS.

officer commanding on the spot, furnish you as colonel commandant, with a muster-roll of the company, and we here are led to believe that in such case your lordship would find many of them to have a great redundancy of arms more than are requisite for their men—out of this redundancy, your lordship might, if you please, order our company to be supplied, with about 70 stand; the remainder of our company which in that case would be among the strongest, would arm themselves, and I really think they would, in that case, in the month of March or April next, make as respectable an appearance as any corps in his majesty's service.

"As our companies are all formed upon the broad basis of the common safety, and all calculated to cooperate together for that great end, I should hope that no other company would take umbrage at this application. I level directly at none, and wish them every one success and distinction; all I look for is to be enabled out of their superfluity, to equip as spirited a set of fellows as the kingdom produces. Should our plan, through your lordship's interposition and protection, meet with success, my agent in Dublin has directions to buy a quantity of ammunition, with a leathern travelling magazine, that our company may be enabled, on the shortest notice, to march with effect against any enemy."

193.—Thomas Townshend[1] to Charlemont.

1779, December 31, Cleveland Court.—"Your lordship will undoubtedly be surprised, but, I hope, not offended at receiving, I am afraid, a pretty long letter from me. My best excuse is founded in an anxious desire of setting myself, as well as those with whom I act, right in your lordship's opinion: though I flatter myself from your known candour, that you have not had any share in the very hasty censures which have been passed upon us in the debates in both the houses of the Irish parliament.

"I find, that our conduct has been sometimes called equivocal, sometimes neutral, and at other times even hostile. I am at a loss to know from whence those opinions proceed, unless it is from the circumstance of the resolutions being first sent over by express from government, and in all probability accompanied by such representations of the behaviour of the ministers and of their opponents as would best suit their purpose. I cannot however, help being surprised at the credulity of those gentlemen, who were so easily led to give immediate faith to such representations coming from a quarter, which has never appeared very propitious to them till the present very critical moment. In the beginning of the session every thing was certainly both said and done by us, that could have a chance of hastening lord North in the bringing forward his propositions. At last on a certain Wednesday he gave notice, that on the next day seven-night he should state them. He was then desired to give some previous intimation of their purport before the day of debate, that the members might be prepared to give their opinions on them. He declined that, saying the forms of the house allowed so many opportunities of discussing them, that it was unnecessary. I observed to him, that though the forms of the house afforded many opportunities of discussion, yet the business was of so peculiar and so delicate a nature, that its fate must be decided in one day; that on that day the propositions must be accepted, modified or rejected; conjuring him to determine to support with his whole strength what was resolved on that day; for that if propositions agreeable to Ireland were accepted in the

[1] Created viscount Sydney in 1789. *See* Goldsmith's "Retaliation."

committee on the first day, and in the subsequent stages pared down, or materially altered, the measure so conducted, instead of conciliating Ireland, could not fail of provoking and irritating her, and of producing the worst consequences. I had the good fortune of finding my opinion pretty generally adopted.

"On that day, to be sure, sir George Yonge, whose property and whose constituents are in the west of England, shewed some dislike to the idea of granting these benefits to Ireland. He made a short speech of a few minutes, but professed himself unconnected with any one on that subject: and so little did he expect support that he went into the country the next day, and will not return, till after the recess. The propositions were not made on the day appointed but on the Monday following.

"The conduct of the opposition on that day seems to me upon the most mature reflexion, to have been the only one, which in common sense, they could have held. The minister makes his propositions and in a manner pledges himself and his majority to the support of them: Mr. Fox was the first, who spoke on our side of the house. He declares, that he acquiesces in the propositions, and wishes them success, but though he will certainly give them no opposition, he does not add his approbation, because he does not know whether they will satisfy Ireland or not. That the ministers ought to know that, and to be responsible for the success of the scheme. If it succeeds, he claims no merit, if it fails, he has no share in the responsibility. This speech of his, which has been represented in Ireland as hostile to you, was here called an encouragement to the Irish to ask for more. Mr. Dempster spoke a few words in favour of the propositions, and expressed his satisfaction, that at least we had learnt a little wisdom from our calamities, and that in treating with Ireland we had abandoned that haughty disposition, which had been the source of our misfortunes in America. This was all that passed on that day, or at least, that was worth mentioning. Since that, the propositions, as your lordship must very well know, were reduced into a bill, which passed with unusual rapidity and without a negative through the house. One day, towards the end of the business, lord North stated some difficulties in passing the bill through both houses before the holidays, when your humble servant desired that the house might not adjourn till it had passed, putting his lordship in mind of the fatal consequences of our Christmas adjournment of two years ago. This drew a little sharpness from him. Mr. Aubrey[1] likewise spoke a few sentences concerning further benefits, that might be offered to Ireland.

"I cannot persuade myself, my lord, that upon a fair representation of our conduct, (which I pledge myself that this is) it could have met with so much animadversion from gentlemen, who have always shewn themselves men of candour, and sincerely attached to their country. I suppose they little imagined, that the bill was passing without opposition through its different stages. They were persuaded, that most, if not all of us, were presenting petitions from the manufacturing towns against it. I trust however, that when they hear the manner, in which it went through, they will recall their rash and hasty censures.

"I am led to this opinion by a particular circumstance. As soon as the house was up, the day of the propositions, I had just time enough to write down the purport of them and to send them by the post to a very old and intimate friend of mine at Dublin. He in return beseeches me 'to act upon my own sentiments, and not to suffer myself to be led

[1] John Aubrey, M.P. for Aylesbury.

to contribute to the narrowing of the liberal spirit of the propositions for the sake of thwarting the minister.' Was it very likely, that I should have been in such haste to communicate them to him, if I meant to be concerned in whittling them down afterwards?

"I am most heartily ashamed of the trouble I have given your lordship. I will not increase the length of my letter by tedious apologies. I know your lordship's candour too well to doubt of your being ready to give up a little of your time to hear the justification of one, who during an attendance in parliament of five and twenty years has in all times supported to the best of his little abilities the purport of these propositions, who may venture to say that, whoever proposed any thing that was due to Ireland upon principles of justice and of policy, and whoever opposed it, he has given a steady and uniform support to everything of that kind. The person, who troubles your lordship with this, claims no merit to himself with Ireland in particular, as his conduct was founded on larger principles, and he apprehends, that he has acted as an unprejudiced subject of a great empire. But if he claims no merit, he at least ought not hastily to have been suspected, much less to have been censured.

"I am afraid, that there is too great an appearance of egotism in the latter part of my letter, but I hope, I shall appear to your lordship to be justifying those, with whom I act, as well as myself. I am certain, that their conduct does not, any more than my own, deserve the imputations arising from the misrepresentation of them, my lord, who have granted indeed to your armed associations and your short money bill, what they have so often refused to the arguments of your friends, and the justice of your cause.

"Had the opposition taken an officiously active part in support of a bill, which met with no opposition, you will not be at a loss to guess, what use would have been made of such a proceding. We should have been represented as the constant enemies of England, that we preferred Ireland to her now, as we had done America before; and in the zeal to render us unpopular here, their own propositions would have run no small risk. They would have raised a storm, which perhaps they would have had neither abilities to dispute nor courage to face.

"Mr. Neville has been so good as to allow me to trouble him for a conveyance of this letter, as I thought the post a very doubtful one. We think ourselves very fortunate in the presence of that gentlemen as well as of Mr. Forbes, who as well as some other Irish gentleman have been witnesses of our conduct, and seem to view it in a very different light from that in which it has been represented at Dublin. My respect for your lordship's opinion, and earnestness to explain my conduct to you, and, indeed, desire to claim your protection for it, have drawn a great deal of trouble upon you. I hope you will excuse it."

194.—CHARLES JAMES FOX to DUKE OF LEINSTER.—Extract.

1780, January 4, London.—"And now that I am talking of Irish affairs, I can not help saying that I am very much concerned to find by the newspapers (for I have no other intelligence) that many people in Ireland, and some very good people too, disapprove of our conduct here, I mean that of opposition. I wish they would put themselves in our places and consider what we could do. Were we to concur in lord North's measure, and give it our thorough approbation? If the Irish had been dissatisfied with the propositions, would you not then have said that we were as bad as the ministers? And should we not have

given ground to those Irish who wish for a total separation, to say that all Englishmen were alike, and all parties equally hostile to Ireland? Were we to speak out and say that their propositions, though right so far as they went, were far from sufficient? You must consider how necessary it is for us to have the confidence of the people here, and how much that would have been shaken, if it could have been raised against us with any colour of truth, that we were teaching Ireland to be dissatisfied and shewing her objections to propositions which she would otherwise have accepted with gratitude. Under all these difficulties surely it was the safest way for us, and the best way for Ireland too, to give the ministry full careers upon the subject, reserving ourselves afterwards to assist Ireland when she might want us, rather than to make a foolish parade of being her friend by applauding propositions which, if agreeable to her, her good sense would make her know came from ministry, or rather from her own exertions, but certainly not from us. At the same time Ireland ought not to forget that lord Rockingham was the first person who stirred the affairs of Ireland here, and at a time when we were not forced to it in the manner we are now; that having stirred it, it was impossible not to leave the business in the hands of ministry, who had means of treating with Ireland which we had not. We therefore contented ourselves with saying, that the thing lay with ministers, and that if the measure would satisfy you, it was right. If, after all, we are suspected of not being friendly to Ireland, it is very hard, and upon me in particular, who certainly never missed any opportunity of declaring in public as well as in private, how much I wished you success in all the points you were likely to push. I beg your pardon for troubling you with all this, but I have been really more vexed than you can conceive at the strange misinterpretation that has been put on our conduct by some men whose principles in general are so similar to my own. I hope it will not be troubling you too much, to beg of you to explain a little the manner in which we have acted to some of those persons, either by shewing them part of this letter, or by any other means—particularly if you should see lord Charlemont, Mr. Daly or Mr. Grattan. I wish they could be made to see our conduct in its true light. Mr. Ogle's speech is the one that blames us the most, which I am very sorry for, because I have heard always that he is a very honest man and a good Whig; but I dare say if the persons I have mentioned understand the thing right, that they will explain it to him."

195.—Charlemont to Bell and Livingston.

i.—1780, January 15.—"Be pleased to accept my most sincere thanks for your great kindness in transmitting to me a copy of the resolution entered into by the Volunteer corps of the county of Armagh represented by their officers assembled at Tandragee, and at the same time permit me to assure you, and them through you as chairman of the meeting, that I do and ever shall esteem their appointment of me to command them as the highest honour that can possibly be conferred on me, proceeding, as it does, from the voluntary and unbiassed voice of my brave and honoured countrymen. Nothing but ill-health should hitherto have prevented me from visiting those companies which had already done me the honour of choosing me for their commander, and utter inability alone shall now hinder me from the pleasure of seeing the regiment which I have the high honour to command, and of thanking in person those gentlemen to whom I owe so great obligations.

"I have bespoke two field pieces, which are now preparing, and of which I hope the regiment will do me the honour to accept. It will in that case be necessary that an artillery company be appointed, out of which, as the service is rather nice, and even dangerous to the inexpert, it may be proper that one or two men should be sent to Dublin to see, to study, and to practise the artillery exercise.

ii.—1780, January 15.—"It gives me pleasure to find by your letter, for which accept my thanks, that the Volunteer corps of the county of Armagh have formed themselves into a regiment, as I am convinced that nothing can tend so much to increase their utility and to bring the institution to the utmost perfection of which it is capable. Their unanimous appointment of me for their colonel does me the highest honour, and the satisfaction I receive from it is, if possible, still further increased by their wise and proper selection of field officers to serve with me. Your activity in endeavouring to procure the uniformity of the regiment in the articles of dress deserves much applause, yet was it hardly to be expected that they, who had already bought their uniforms, should, before they were worn out, change them for others. With regard to the matter of precedence, that of the companies in each battalion may easily be settled, as they may rank according to the date of their associations, but I must beg to be excused from giving any determination respecting the precedency of the battalions; neither do I think that any method can be so proper as that of lots for settling a matter of so delicate a nature. The field pieces are preparing, and I shall expedite them as much as possible; in the meanwhile it will be necessary that an artillery company should be appointed and instructed.

196.—Francis Dobbs to Charlemont.

1780, March 18, Belfast.—"At a meeting of the captains of several of the independent corps in this neighbourhood, held yesterday, at which the representatives of seventeen thousand Volunteers appeared, it was resolved that they should be reviewed on the 12th and 13th days of July next, in some convenient place adjacent to this town, and the following resolutions were entered into, which, as chairman, I am ordered to transmit to your lordship:

"'Resolved that we do highly honour and respect the spirited and patriotic conduct of the right honourable the earl of Charlemont, and that we therefore request his lordship to do us the honour of being our reviewing general on the 12th and 13th of July next. Resolved that our chairman do communicate to his lordship this resolution, and report to us his sentiments thereon.'

"I have thus obeyed the orders of the meeting, but cannot conclude without adding that I feel the highest satisfaction in executing them."

197.—Francis Dobbs to Charlemont.

1780, March 27, Armagh.—"As to your lordship's inexperience of military matters, it is of little consequence on such an occasion; the exercising of the troops entirely falls on their commanding officer; the reviewing general has only to pass along the line to receive the compliments due to his rank, and afterwards behold the different evolutions.

"A duel was fought here on Saturday night between captain-lieutenant Maxwell, of your lordship's company, and a Mr. M^{c}Clane of the

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second company, in which the latter received, I fear, a mortal wound. I have, however, the pleasure to find from every person that captain Maxwell was forced into this unfortunate affair, and that he did everything that a man of spirit could do to avoid it, and when on the ground, his conduct was at once humane and honourable, he having received the fire of his adversary, and declined firing, till Mr. M^c^Clane, instead of apologising for his rash expressions, was preparing to fire a second time, which was prevented by captain Maxwell's shot taking place.

198.—Charlemont to Alexander H. Haliday.[1]

1780, April 23, Dublin.—"The extreme kindness of your invitation is no longer to be resisted; neither can my too well-grounded fear of being troublesome keep its ground against my ardent desire of being personally acquainted with, and, I may add, of being obliged to a gentleman whose general character is such as to rank him among those very few from whom I would wish and rejoice to receive obligations. I will then most certainly have the pleasure of accepting the favour you wish to confer. Mr. Grattan has been kind enough to consent to be my aid-de-camp, and desires me to tell you that he most gratefully accepts your invitation, and shall think himself happy in an opportunity of being known to you. You have undoubtedly heard of the astonishing share he took on the late great day of debate.[2] I call it a great day because, though not precisely in the manner we intended, we most certainly gained our point, and have laid a ground for going still further in doing away the reproach of this country.

"I have written the above in a great hurry, and have anticipated the post, as to-morrow being the day appointed for a motion for the modification of Poyning's law, the house will probably sit long after the time of sending letters. The business which was appointed for this day, Monday, is postponed till Wednesday next.

199.—Richard Fleming to Charlemont.

1780, April 26, Armagh Barracks.—"Had I the honour of being known to your lordship, I should have taken an earlier opportunity of giving that information, which Mr. Maxwell's extreme delicacy, probably, has withheld. The persecution he now labours under, is of so virulent a nature, that (if I am rightly informed) nothing less than an injunction from your lordship will, with his most active opponent, have any weight. I have had the honour of commanding the king's troops at this quarter for two winters, and been intimately acquainted with every part of Mr. Maxwell's conduct from the earliest association for the formation of that company, which in your lordship's absence he commands, down to the conclusion of that rencontre in which he unfortunately was engaged; and can, upon the honour of a soldier, aver that in every stage of this business he conducted himself with much good sense, decorum, and propriety; and has been the chief agent in promoting and perfecting those measures, which have so justly met your lordship's approbation. My desire to do justice to a very worthy man, will with your lordship, I doubt not, be admitted as a sufficient apology for this intrusion.

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[1] Alexander Henry Haliday, an eminent physician in Belfast. He was son of Rev. Samuel Haliday, minister of the first Presbyterian congregation of Belfast.

[2] Motion on declaration of rights, 19th of April, 1780.

200.—Malone to Charlemont.

MSS. of the Earl of Charlemont.

1780, July 5, London.—"I have at length the pleasure to acquaint you that, after various delays and disappointments, I have dispatched your cargo of old plays. The long delay has been productive of one advantage, for I have been constantly making some addition to your collection. I bound up the plays of Fletcher, Shirley, and Massinger separately; the latter is complete excepting one play (the 'Old Law'),[1] which I could not procure, but there is some blank paper inserted, and the play, whenever you get it, may be tacked into the volume. Of Shirley and Fletcher's plays there are about two-thirds. All the remaining plays are bound up in thirteen volumes, and there are some very scarce ones among them; so that with those you are already possessed of you set up with a very respectable stock; and considering the price these rarities now sell at, yours are by no means dear. You have, I think, 161 quarto plays at about 2*s.* 6*d.* apiece, one with another; but many of them cost five or six shillings. I have bought for myself this last winter some at so high a rate as half-a-guinea, and one at two guineas. Along with the quarto volume of plays I have sent you Marston,[2] Corbet,[3] Lily,[4] Drummond's[5] folio works and poems, and Howell[6] on travel. Drummond's folio works is a very rare book, and curious on account of a long conversation that it contains, which passed between him and Ben Jonson, relative to the most considerable authors of that time. I have packed up in the case with your books eight sets of my supplement to the last edition of Shakspeare, one of which I request you will do me the honour to accept. And I shall be much obliged to you if you will order one of your servants to deliver the other sets to the following persons: Mr. Flood, Mr. Daly, my brother, Dr. Stock, Grafton-street, Serjeant Fitzgerald, Dawson-street, R. Jephson and W. Jephson. The latter probably is not in town; I beg therefore you will give him a place in your library till he comes, which I know he means to do in winter. I should have sent you these volumes immediately on their publication, but was prevented by the slowness of a bookseller who did not send home your quarto plays till last week. You will find a great deal of old stuff in the supplement, and I think will be pleased with 'Pericles' in his new clothes. I was in hopes to have had very considerable contributions from Dr. Farmer,[7] but he has been so ill all the winter that he was not able to revise his papers. However, he has promised to arrange them this summer, and to turn out his whole Shakspeare drawer in the form of a printed letter to me. I long much to see his dissertation on the three parts of King Henry VI., which he thinks he can prove not to have been originally written, but only revised and improved by Shakspeare. I quite forgot to pack up in your case a catalogue of Mr. Capel's 'Shakspeariana,' being a list of the whole collection he has presented to Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Steevens copied his list when we were at Cambridge last summer, and printed 50 copies (which have not been published), one of which he

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[1] "The old law; or, a new way to please ye:" comedy by Massinger, Middleton and Rowley, 4to., 1656.

[2] John Marston, dramatist and poet, died circa 1634.

[3] Richard Corbet, bishop of Norwich.

[4] John Lyly, author of "Euphues."

[5] William Drummond, of Hawthornden.

[6] "Instructions for forreign travell," by James Howell, printed in 1642, 1650, and 1677.

[7] Richard Farmer, author of "Essay on the learning of Shakespeare," 1766.

desired me to present to you. I likewise forgot Middleton's 'Witch,' which I have got for you, and one or two other little things; but if Mr. Caldwell is not yet gone, I'll endeavour to send them by him.

"I should now give you some account of the cost of your plays, etc. You remember I drew on you about a year ago for 21*l.*, English; the plays and the other pieces I have mentioned, with the binding, etc., cost 24*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, and Payne's bill for the books that were lost in Daly's ship is 4*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; total, 29*l.* So that when we meet I have a further demand on you for 8*l.*; on the whole, you are tolerably well off.

"I have not a word of news to send you. The rumour of yesterday is that St. Kitt's is taken by the French, but there is, I believe, no authority for it. Lord George Gordon's trial comes on in a few days. It is not guessed how it will go with him, the evidence against him being kept a profound secret. One of the strongest circumstances against him is a protection the government have got, signed by him, by which a house in Long Acre was saved from destruction. The inference is certainly strong that he who was able by a dash of his pen to save, could likewise destroy; but still this is but inference. He made an application a few days ago to the higher powers for a Protestant clergyman, a Popish priest, a Presbyterian preacher, and an Anabaptist to be sent to him; but his wishes were not complied with. He then requested to have a fiddler, which was readily granted. He is studying the ten folio volumes of the state trials very hard, and I daresay will be as argumentative on his trial as old John Lilburn. The most valuable thing that lord Mansfield lost by the late devastation were a manuscript, ready for press, containing eight speeches that he had made in parliament on great constitutional questions, which was to have been printed after death; a picture painted by Pope (the only one he ever painted), and a manuscript of lord Bolingbroke's. As for the 300 manuscript volumes that the newspapers talked of, they were only his note-books, containing short accounts of cases tried before himself. His manuscript report of causes determined by lord Hardwicke, when lord Mansfield was solicitor-general, are certainly a great loss, as are also some of lord Nottingham's that he was possessed of. The whole transaction will be an indelible disgrace to England. Lord Hillsborough is very angry with your great man for permitting a letter of his to be read in the house of commons, which was particularly endorsed 'private.' The story of the day is that lord B[uckingham]shire is to be recalled immediately, and that the marquis of Rockingham is to be lord lieutenant, and Burke to be his secretary. I suppose you are now enjoying yourself, after the tumult of the winter, at Marino."

201.—Lord Carysfort[1] to Charlemont.

1780, July 10, Stillorgan Park, Dublin.—"As the house of lords meets to-day, I propose to attend in order to introduce heads of a bill for quieting the possessions of those who derive their titles under English acts of parliament. It appears to me a measure of justice, and expedience, and I flatter myself it will meet with your approbation. I have drawn the heads of a bill[2] as nearly as possible after the act[3] of Henry 7th, and I believe no reasonable objection can arise to that form either here or in England. I take the liberty of enclosing a transcript.

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[1] John Joshua Proby, second lord Carysfort.
[2] Statute, Ireland, 21 and 22 George III. c. 48.
[3] Statute, Ireland, 10 Henry VII. c. 22.

Reports have been circulated of the taking of the Manillas, but I am afraid without any good foundation. Great sums have been expended upon the fortifications there since the peace, whence it is reasonable to suppose that it has been furnished with a sufficient garrison, and every requisite to stand a siege, previous to the commencement of hostilities, and it does not seem probable that a force adequate to so difficult an enterprize could be spared from the continent of India with safety. The sugar bill is referred to the consideration of the Board of Trade. The military bill is at length transmitted, and will certainly return."

[Enclosure.]—"Heads of a bill for quieting possessions.—Forasmuch as there have been many and diverse statutes late made within the realm of Great Britain, upon petition, and with the consent of all the parties concerned therein, for the settlement and regulation of private property in lands in this kingdom: we pray etc. that all such statutes late so made within the realm of Great Britain shall be deemed good and effectual in the law, and be accepted, used, and executed within this land of Ireland in all points, according to the tenor and effect of the same."

202.—Baretti to Charlemont.

1780, July 10, London.—"I am obliged to write to your lordship upon a subject that gives me the most exquisite pain. A person on your side the water has written here to an intimate friend an account of a conversation held in your hearing, greatly to the prejudice of Mrs. Cholmondeley, which originated from her soliciting a subscription in my favour in terms possibly too ardent. My lord, the story of that subscription is exactly this: Last year I engaged the famed Philidor[1] to set Horace's 'Carmen Seculare' to music, which produced about five hundred pounds above all charges, of which I had my fourth part. We exhibited it only three nights, that we might not surfeit the town at one season, and preserve a probability of an annual profit for the future; which would to all appearance have been the case, had not Philidor most unaccountably proved both a knave and a fool by running away, merely to rob the performers of seventy or eighty pounds. Mrs. Cholmondeley, who exerted herself with the utmost activity to render those three exhibitions advantageous to us both, was shocked at my being robbed of an annuity, which she thought infallible, and, that I might have another string to my bow, as the phrase is, insisted on my thinking of some proposal for a subscription, promising of course to forward it with all her might. I came somewhat reluctantly into her scheme, well knowing that these are not times fit for raising subscriptions. But she was peremptory, and I was in a manner compelled to publish a proposal for printing the 'Jerusalem' of Tasso with notes. Besides subscribing immediately herself, with more liberality than was perhaps consistent with her situation at that time, she endeavoured to bring others to do the same; but not succeeding according to her wishes in this country, she wrote to her friends in Ireland with her usual warmth, exaggerating my merits with her wonted kindness, and enlarging, as I suppose, upon those easily-guessed necessities, which long custom and habitual stoicness enable me to bear, without ever extorting from me the least lamentation. One of those letters to her Irish friends was read, as I have been

[1] François André Philidor, a musical composer, author of "Analyse du jeu d'Eschecs," 1777.

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informed, in the manner already said, to your lordship, or in your lordship's presence, and an unkind hint thrown out, that the warmth of her style arose from the eagerness of procuring a sum for herself. My lord, it is very hard that a lady, who is the true symbol of generosity, should be suspected of so oblique a view when she does her best to serve an old friend, very hard indeed. And it is to clear her from that cruel suspicion that I give your lordship the trouble of this letter, assuring you that it was perfectly ill-grounded. Poor Mrs. Cholmondeley! To use all her oratory in my behalf, and fall for her pains under such a suspicion. My heart bleeds at the obloquy she has thus drawn upon herself from those who have not had opportunities to know her noble spirit and fathom her generous disposition. Your lordship, I daresay, will never join in opinion with those that come under this description; but will think better of that incomparable woman, who never saw distress without making an effort to relieve it. What would be her feelings, were she to be apprized of the effect produced to her disadvantage by the fervidity of her friendship? He, who first started that suspicion, must not only be unacquainted with her noble nature, but be likewise ignorant of her actual circumstances, which are far from deplorable, as, between her and her daughters, it is notorious that she has seven hundred a year, which is a sum more than sufficient to keep her above want, especially as she has adopted a most strict plan of economy since her change of situation in life.

"I have now said enough to make your lordship conceive the horrible pain I have felt, on considering myself the innocent cause of those ill-grounded suspicions, and to induce your lordship to endeavour their removal from the breast of those who started them. I entreat your lordship to relieve my present agony, by doing justice to a most worthy lady, one of whose chief failings, if it is a failing, is that of being incessantly engaged in procuring relief to everybody that she sees, or guesses to be, under the frown of fortune. To a person of your lordship's delicacy and prudence, it is not necessary to recommend discretion in doing that act of justice, and for setting right the ideas of those who have drawn unjust conclusions from the most laudable premises. This, my lord, I beg you to do, to quiet my troubled mind; and this I shall absolutely consider as the greatest favour you ever bestowed upon your old Italian friend, who has always loved and reverenced you as you deserve."

203.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1780, July 31, Fort Stewart, Letterkenny.—"This whole country is now busy preparing for the review. Above two thousand men will I am assured be brought into the field. From the corps which I have seen, I make no doubt but that the performance will be excellent. Such, indeed, it may be, and yet not equal to that of my Belfast friends. Notwithstanding the honours which they have conferred and are still heaping upon me, I am not in a perfectly good humour with the people of this country. In matters of politics they do not so entirely come up to my idea of a northern politician, as the respectable inhabitants of your patriotic region. Though their principles are generally such as I could wish them, they do not seem all of them to be possessed of that noble ardour which is the distinctive mark of a genuine lover of his country, and which when properly tempered in times like the present is absolutely necessary. Here are to be found, as I am assured, many magistrates who, notwithstanding all that has passed in parliament, still continue to attest under the English act, and, by so doing, after having

instructed their representatives to vindicate the rights of Ireland, counteract as far as they are able those endeavours which they themselves have excited. This, I confess, vexes me not a little, and I cannot avoid doing my utmost, however impertinent it may appear, to reprobate this injurious and shameful practice whenever I can find an opportunity, conscious as I am that by this alone can be prevented the return of that bill the passing of which will be a confirmation of our rights."

204.—BARRY YELVERTON to CHARLEMONT, at Fort Stewart, Letterkenny.

1780, August 3.—"The chancellor,[1] it is true, rose last Saturday, but the house of commons is yet sitting; and though two packets arrived this day, neither of them brought back a single bill. The most authentic account I have heard relative to the bills which I consider as of the greatest consequence, viz. the sugar and the mutiny bills, is, that the former is altered from 12 to 9: 3 or thereabouts, in the office of the attorney-general, but not yet reported to council, and that the latter is not yet before the council. This account is dated the 28th July. The delay is attributed by some to lady Hillsboro's death; but I rather attribute it to a scheme of tiring out independent gentlemen, and leaving the fate of those bills to a Castle junto. While things are in this state, I think, if I were to attend your excellency you would be more inclined to punish me for offending against the spirit of your orders, than to commend me for an adherence to the letter of them; for I believe your excellency will agree with me that although my extraordinary proficiency in military matters has recommended me to the office of attending your excellency to hold your stirrup and run on your errands, that yet I shall be of much more service in the muster on College-green than I should be at the review near Londonderry. As I suppose colonel Stewart your reviewing officer will be with your excellency when this letter arrives, I beg you may present my compliments to him and request that he will excuse me for not going to Killimoon as I intended in case I had been able to attend my duty at the review."

205.—ARMS FOR ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.—Account by Robert Livingston.

[1780, August 28, Armagh.] Militia arms belonging to the governor of county of Armagh, and for which the store-keeper in Charlemont passed his accountable receipt in December 1776.

Muskets with bayonets fit for service, 1,046; muskets with bayonets, but bad stocks, and part wanting locks and part with broken locks, 29; muskets without bayonets and otherwise bad, 21—1096.

Arms given out of the above by order of the governor of the county Armagh.

1779.		Firelocks with accoutrements.	Next Post Towns.
October.	To Francis Dobbs, esq., for Acton,	60	Newry.
	To Benjamin Bell, esq., near Market Hill,	50	Do., near Market Hill.
	To William Richardson, esq., Rich Hill,	100	Armagh.

[1] James Hewitt, lord Lifford.

		Firelocks with accoutrements.	Next Post Towns.
1779.			
October.	To John and Samuel Brown, James Lowry, Samuel Maxwell, George Murray, and Thomas Prentice, of Armagh,	40	Armagh.
	To Thomas Dawson, esq., Clare Castle,	50	Tandragee.
1780.	To do.,	30	Newry.
1779.	To John Moore, of Drumbanagher, esq.,	60	Do.
October.	To Francis Evans, Violet Hill, esq.,	60	Do.
	To Hamlet Obins, of Portadown, esq.,	80	Tandragee.
	To Robert Livingston, for Charlemont,	30	Armagh.
1780.			
August 18.	To do. for do.,	15	Do.
1779.			
October 16.	To Nicholas Johnston, of Tandragee, esq.,	20	Tandragee.
1780.			
May 12.	To Sir Capel Molyneux, bart., these given to Thomas McCan, 30, and Mr. Blackall, 30,	60	Armagh.
May 18.	To John Cope, esq., for Mount Norris,	50	
June 12.	To John Blackall, for Loughgall,	20	Armagh.
Do.	To Alexander McCullagh, of Cladymore,	20	Near Market Hill, Newry.
Do.	To John Ingram, near Mount Norris,	30	Do.
	To do.,	15	Do.
	To James Dawson,	10	Lougbrickland.
	To Rev. George Harris, of Lisglin,	15	Tynan.
	To do.,	20	Do.
		745	with accoutrements.

Disposed of by the store-keeper: 7 firelocks and 47 bayonets.
Remains in the stores: 250 firelocks fit for service; 243 bayonets; 50 firelocks of little use.

206.—Charlemont to Edmond Malone.

1781, January 2, Dublin.—"With some concern I perceive that your copy of the protest did not arrive in time to prevent its being previously published by the 'Public Advertiser,' and so published as to be scarcely known 'par son propre père.' It is printed from the most incorrect of all the Irish copies, to whose sins many English errors are added. Would it not be possible to get the printer to acknowledge the faults in the way of errata—though perhaps it may be better to leave it to its fate, especially if you think that the errors would be by a judicious reader corrected. This then I entirely leave to you as an experienced editor. I have been for some time, and still am much out of order—a disorder in my stomach, which entirely precludes all appetite, has exceedingly affected my nerves, and particularly my eyes, so that I write with much difficulty, as you may well perceive. The weather has been execrable; perhaps a change to frost may be serviceable to me. News we have none. Parliament has made recess, and, all things considered, tant mieux. The present session is the reverse of the last—yet still we hope, for,

'Teucro duce,' with Flood on our side, it is impossible to despair. Our sun has broke out from the cloud with redoubled lustre. His unparalleled conduct would scarcely be believed but by us who know the man, and his abilities are, if possible, greater than ever. Yet Grattan still shines with unabated brightness, and, if numbers be against us, we have at least the satisfaction of having the weight of abilities entirely on our side. You may judge, as you know my heart, of the pleasure I feel from my friend's conduct—from my friend's return!

"But farewell; my eyes will not allow me to write more, nor to make any apologies for the repeated trouble which I give you. Adieu! When am I to see my books? I wish it were to be during the recess, as reading over title-pages, and arranging books is fine work for weak eyes. . . . What is become of the Rowleian controversy?"

207.—Lord Rockingham to Charlemont.

1781, Friday night, March 30, London.—"Lord Rockingham's best compliments to lord Charlemont. He had some hopes of meeting him at the house of lords this day, and had intended asking his lordship if he was unengaged to dinner to-morrow. Lord Rockingham will venture to send this note, though he fears lord Charlemont must be engaged, but if he should not, lord Rockingham will be happy to have the honour of his company to meet the duke of Richmond and some other lords here tomorrow Saturday."

208.—Charlemont to Haliday[1].

i.—1781, March 3, Dublin.—"You have been saved the trouble of a very long letter from me by major Dobbs, who informs me that he expects very shortly to see you, and who, being fully apprized of my sentiments, and those of my friend Grattan, upon the matter concerning which I was about to write, will be able to explain them to you much better and more satisfactorily than I could possibly do by letter. I will therefore content myself with giving you the bare outlines of the matter in question, leaving them to be filled up by him.

"Though much has been done for this country, you are, I am confident, sensible that much yet remains to be done, and that a continuation of effort is necessary, as well to secure what we have got as to proceed still farther in some new and necessary acquisitions. We have nearly reached the summit of the steep, but are now in that ticklish situation, when, by not pushing forward, we may hazard the ground we have already gained. The perpetual clause in the mutiny bill must be repealed, and Poynings' law must be modified.

"We have gotten a new lord lieutenant[2] and a new secretary, both of them superior in abilities to those with whose insufficiency this country was lately blessed. The secretary, in particular, though by no means formidable in the field, where we have no want of much more able generals to oppose to him, is remarkably skilful in the intrigue of political warfare. In England he is usually styled 'the man-monger.'[3] But I have said enough to make you thoroughly sensible that all our efforts will be necessary, and shall now proceed to give it as my fixed opinion that nothing can make those efforts effectual but the firm though moderate interference of the people

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[1] *See* p. 372. [2] *See* p. 146. [3] *See* p. 147.

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by instructing their representatives; and this, in those counties on whose spirit we can depend, should be done immediately, that is to say, at the next assizes, in order that as early as possible an example may be set, which would be followed by other parts of the kingdom, if not instantly, at least before the meeting of parliament. The instructions may be introduced by thanks for past services, and should not, for reasons sufficiently obvious, be overloaded, but should, in my opinion, be confined to the two points already mentioned, concluding with something to this purpose :—a request to the representatives that they would pursue and persist in whatever measures their wisdom may deem most effectual towards the farther securing to the legislature of this kingdom that independency which their virtuous efforts have already asserted and gained. This I mention because I would not have the smallest doubt intimated concerning the certainty and reality of that glorious acquisition.

"These slight hints I take the liberty of throwing out to you, to be by you improved or rejected, and I address myself to you as to a man who has the interest and the honour of his country thoroughly at heart, and whose powers extend far beyond the country in which you live,—indeed, wherever you are known and patriotism respected and cultivated. With regard to your own immediate county, from its particular circumstances perhaps something more might be necessary. Suppose the constituents should enter into an agreement, a sort of test among themselves, not to vote at the next general election for any man who had not acted, etc. and should not promise, etc. Something like this might indeed be a powerful engine in most counties, but I only mention it as a hint for your consideration.

"Excuse this strange, incoherent letter, which I hazard to you because I know you will consider it as meant to you only, and because I am confident that zeal, in your opinion, is able to cover a multitude of defects. It will be farther explained to you by Dobbs, and, indeed, it seems greatly to need explanation.

"I am obliged by some indispensable business to set out in a few days for England, where, however, I shall stay a month at most. My voyage thither may not be totally useless to the public cause.

"Harry Grattan tells me that he also will write to you. His letter will, I doubt not, be far more comprehensive than mine, and easier to be understood. Indeed, I ought in conscience to have spared you this trouble, but my desire of corresponding with you has prevailed over conscience, laziness, and consciousness of inability . . .

"Lest you should not have seen it, I send you enclosed a speech by Charles Fox, which I know will give you pleasure. Was there ever, till now, a time when such a speech could have been spoken uncontroverted with regard to the grand point, in an English house of commons?

——'quod optanti divum promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies, en, attulit ultro!'

"Yet, in behalf of my friends, I will say that the word 'ultro' in the quotation is a little too strong. Lord Mahon, son to earl Stanhope, and son-in-law to the late lord Chatham, at the end of the debate spoke to this effect :—Mr. Speaker, I attended in my place on this day in order to have an opportunity of asserting the independency of the legislature of Ireland, in case any one should have presumed to controvert it; but as I have the happiness to find that it is allowed on all hands, I shall content myself with thus having declared my opinion. These, as I am told, were nearly his words."

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[1] Æneid, ix. 7.

ii.—1781, May 2, Dublin.—"With cheerfulness and gratitude I accept of your very kind invitation, nay, I may add, with exultation and with vanity, for indeed I am proud to be obliged to you, and shall ever look upon you as one of those very few who in conferring benefits confer honour also. Neither is the pleasure I take in the prospect of waiting on you as much allayed as perhaps it ought to be by my dread of the trouble which I shall certainly give you, the cause of which I take to be a certain secret consciousness in my heart that what to others would appear an excess of trouble will seem pleasant to you, when incurred in the delightful office of serving and obliging a person whom you have honoured with your regard. I have yesterday complied with your friendly and proper intimation respecting a public answer to the volunteer corps, and have enclosed in a letter to Stewart a few lines with which I hope my kind friends and benefactors will be better contented than I am. I should, indeed, in the first instance have given an answer of this sort, but, as Stewart has communicated to me an account of the honour done me in a private manner, without even enclosing the resolutions entered into, I thought, erroneously, as I now clearly see, that my answer and thanks should be conveyed in the same manner. Grattan desires his most affectionate compliments, and wishes much to see your letter to him; the promised length of which, instead of terrifying, allures him. I have a great deal to say in consequence of my English excursion, which has in all particulars been a very pleasant one; but I have not leisure to write, and shall leave this subject for future conversation."

209.—Flood to Charlemont.

1781, May 12.—"I find I was misinformed when I was told that you were to review at Carlow; I am exceedingly sorry for it, as it would have given me a certainty of seeing your lordship so speedily. It is impossible for me to leave this till after my midsummer election. Then I hope to fulfil a promise I have long made of visiting the north, though in fact with a view of seeing you in some part of your July tour, to which end I request to know your lordship's route."

210.—Malone to Charlemont.

1781, June 18, London.—"I delayed writing to you till Mr. Beauclerk's sale[1] was concluded, that I might be able to tell you what purchases I had made there for you. The rage for all sorts of ancient English literature is so great at present that all books of that kind went extremely high. Mr. Garrick having made a collection of old plays, every manager now thinks it necessary to do the same. Mr. Harris, of Covent Garden, has now commenced collector, and having a great deal of money, and, as it should seem, not much wit, employed a very ignorant fellow to purchase for him, who gave most extravagant prices, and seemed to have no other rule than to bid more than any one else. In consequence of this, I picked up very few plays there, either for you or myself. However, I got you a few curiosities; the original

[1] The auction of Beauclerk's books, by Samuel Paterson, Strand, London, commenced on 9th April, 1781, and continued for forty-nine days, ending on 6th June.

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edition of lord Surrey's sonnets,[1] at the moderate price of 3*l.*, which, however, is only a few shillings more than it was sold for at Mr. Webbe's. I got you also the Gascoyne[2] at a reasonable price enough. A gentleman bid as far as three pounds for it, so I gave it up, and it was struck down to him; however, he found afterwards it wanted a few leaves, and it was put up again; it then fell to 27*s.* Luckily, I have some of the leaves that are wanting, and I shall be able to make it very nearly perfect. I bought also for you Coryat[3] and lord Essex's letters, the latter a great bargain, and a few small books. I am quite ashamed to tell you how far the spirit of opposition carried me in bidding for the 'Life of Cibber,'[4] with the manuscript notes. As you seemed desirous to have it, I thought a guinea or two extraordinary would be of no great consequence. However, at last I was forced to give it up. I have since learned that it was bought in by lady Beauclerk. Her manager, when he heard the book was intended for you, said he was very sorry he had not known it. By what he mentioned, I imagine you will have a letter from her on the subject. Beauclerk's books are thought to have sold extremely well;[5] they produced 5,011*l.* The duke of Marlborough had a mortgage on them for 5,000*l.*, and the money was every day paid to his banker. He has, you see, a tolerably good guess how far he may venture to go when he opens his purse. I called at Elmsley's immediately after I received your letter. The volumes of Voltaire, he tells me, I can have whenever I am ready to make up your parcel. There have been, I think, eight or nine volumes of Buffon published since the fifteenth; they are at the same price as the former. They were never coloured.

"I shall be able to make up about five more volumes of old plays for you, besides an additional volume of Shirley. I find, in binding up the two volumes of Beaumont and Fletcher, I omitted two of their plays, which are wanting to make your quartos complete. The only remedy now is, to send you over the two plays which I will do loose, and you can easily get your two volumes taken to pieces and rebound; but you must remember to charge the binder not to cut them, otherwise they will be spoiled. This is quite a bookish letter; but business, you know, must be attended to. I find, after all expenditures, I have still a few pounds of yours in my hands, so that I shall not have any occasion to draw upon you for some time. I will write out the account when I send over your books, but when that will be is impossible for me to say, as they are yet in the hands of the binder.

"People here are all seized at present with an Hogarthomania. How have you escaped at the other side of the water? Mr. [Horace]

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[1] "Songes and sonettes, written by the right honourable lord Henry Howard, late earl of Surrey, and others. Black-letter, 8vo. Imprinted by Richard Tottell, 1567. This copy was presented by Mr. Thomas Rawlinson to Mr. Matt. Prior, and by him given to the late Mr. West, president of the royal society." Beauclerk catalogue, p. 109.

[2] "The pleasauntest workes of George Gascoigne, esquyre, with the princely pleasures at Kenilworth castle. Black-letter, 4to., 1587."

[3] Thomas Coryat, author of "Crudities," "Crambe," etc., London, 1611, 1616.

[4] Described as follows in the catalogue: "Cibber's (Colley) Apology, 2 vols., 12mo., 1756, with a very singular anecdote, relative to Garrick's reading his farce of Lethe before the king and queen in 1777, after he had quitted the stage; tending to establish an opinion of Cibber's (see his Apol. vol. 2, p. 76): 'That actors accustomed to loud and general applause cannot exert or show themselves without it.' The story is from Mr. Garrick's own mouth, and the relation of it in the handwriting of Mr. Beauclerk."

[5] The number of volumes was stated to be upwards of thirty thousand, "in most languages, and upon almost every branch of science and polite literature."

Walpole's book first gave rise to it, and a new life of Hogarth[1] that is just published will probably greatly add to the disorder. Some small prints of his that were originally sold for a shilling now sell for fifteen and twenty, either as first impressions or because they contain some slight variations. Mr. Steevens has gone so far as not only to collect a complete set of the first and best impressions of all his plates, but also the last and worst of the retouched ones, by way of contrast, to show at the same time all the varieties, and to set the value of the former in a more conspicuous light. I will enclose you the pamphlet, as it may amuse you for an hour or two.

"I have no politics to send you. There is, it is said, a violent quarrel between lord Sandwich and lord George Germain, as is indeed very evident by Bates (who is a professed stickler for lord Sandwich) abusing lord George Germain every day in his paper for this fortnight past. The house of commons rings with the fame of young William Pitt. He is said to possess the voice and energy of his father, with more correctness. If he goes on as he has begun, it is thought he will soon leave Fox behind him. I congratulate you on the grand and martial appearance of your troops at the late review. I had almost forgot a matter that I promised to mention to you. A great number of Hogarth's pictures that have not yet been engraved, are now engraving here. One Thane, a dealer in ancient prints chiefly, and as such, one of our friends, wishes to know whether you will permit your 'Lady's last stake'[2] to be engraved. If you should have no objection to it, possibly some skilful person might be got in Dublin to make a drawing from it, for which Thane will very gladly pay."

211.—Jane Hogarth to Charlemont.

1781, June 25, London.—"You will pardon, I hope, the liberty I have taken in addressing you to request the favour of your leave to

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[1] By John Nichols, London, 1781.

[2] Painted by William Hogarth. He died in London, 26th October, 1764. Hogarth painted a portrait of lord Charlemont, which was etched by Joseph Haynes. The following letters from Charlemont to Hogarth are in reference to the portrait and the "Lady's last stake":—

"Mount Street [London], 19th August, 1753.—Dear sir,—I have been so excessively busied with ten thousand troublesome affairs, that I have not been able to wait upon you, according to my promise, nor even to find time to sit for my picture, as I am obliged to set out for Ireland to-morrow. We must defer that 'till my return, which will be in the latter end of January, or in the beginning of February at farthest. I am still your debtor, more so indeed than I ever shall be able to pay, and did intend to have sent you before my departure what trifling recompense my abilities permit me to make you. But the truth is, having wrong calculated my expenses I find myself unable for the present even to attempt paying you. However, if you be in any present need of money, let me know it, and so soon as I get to Ireland I will send you, not the price of your picture, for that is inestimable, but as much as I can afford to give for it. Sir, I am, with the most sincere wishes for your health and happiness, your most obedient humble servant,—Charlemont."—"Dublin, 29th January, 1760.—Dear sir,—Inclosed I send you a note upon Nesbitt for one hundred pounds and, considering the name of the author and the surprising merit of your performance, I am really much ashamed to offer such a trifle in recompense for the pains you have taken, and the pleasure your picture has afforded me. I beg you would think that I by no means attempt to pay you according to your merit, but according to my own abilities. Were I to pay your deserts I fear I should leave myself poor indeed. Imagine that you have made me a present of the picture, for literally as such I take it, and that I have begged your acceptance of the inclosed trifle. As this is really the case, with how much reason do I subscribe myself your most obliged humble servant,—Charlemont."—Addl. MS. 22,394, ff. 33, 35.—British Museum. Further references to the "Lady's last stake" will be found in subsequent portions of the Charlemont correspondence.

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have an engraving made of the 'Lady's last stake' by a young gentleman who lodges at my house in Leicester Field. The many proofs I have had of your lordship's goodness occasion me to hope that if you give leave to any one to do it, he may have the preference, as I shall be benefited. If you give leave that he may undertake the work, the favour of a line in answer to this will be esteemed an honour, as well as an additional obligation conferred."

212.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1781, June 29, Dublin.—"Thank you for your purchases—and thank you over and over again for your kind and constant remembrance. But the king of Prussia, when he beat the French, and travelled post a thousand miles in order to beat the Russians, was not more hurried than I am—my letter must therefore be very short, and I must proceed to business. Surrey's sonnets was the book of all others that I most desired, and I am extremely glad that you have got the Gascoigne,[1] and return you many thanks for the means you are pursuing to perfect it, which I beg you would do, if possible, in print, but, if any imperfection should still remain, I request that you would take the trouble to get it supplied in handwriting, and this I would intreat you to do with any imperfect books you may hereafter purchase for me. Do you not mistake when you say that the two plays, which you had omitted to bind with my two volumes of Beaumont and Fletcher, would make my quartos complete? I have in all but sixteen plays exclusive of the two you mention—were there then no more than eighteen published in quarto? However should you happen to have made a mistake, the two unbound plays will make a beginning for a third volume. Elmsley[2] is, I am sure, mistaken with regard to the Natural history of Buffon—his birds were certainly printed on a very large paper, and coloured. It was the price of these I was desirous of knowing, as well as the relative cost of the uncoloured small paper.

"That men of taste should wish for good impressions of Hogarth's prints is not at all surprising, and I look upon him to have been, in his way, and that too an original way, one of the first of geniuses, neither am I much surprised at the rage you mention, as I am, by experience, well acquainted with the collectors' madness. Excepting only the scarce portrait, my collection goes no farther than those which Mrs. Hogarth has advertised, and even of them a few are wanting which I wish you would procure for me viz. the 'cock match,' the 'Five orders of periwigs,' 'the Medley,' 'the Times,' 'Wilkes,' and 'the bruiser.' As my impressions are remarkably good, having been selected for me by Hogarth himself, I should wish to have these the best that can be had; and if Mr. Steevens,[3] who promised me his assistance, should happen to meet with any of those prints of which I am not possessed, I mean such compositions as do honour to the author, such for instance as the 'Satire on the Methodists,' the 'Masquerade' etc., I should be much obliged to him, if he would purchase them for me. To this gentleman I beg my best compliments. Should he purchase any thing, you will be so good as to account with him. I have no objection to suffering the 'Lady's last stake' to be engraved, but on the contrary should be happy to do any thing which might contribute to add to the reputation of my deceased friend. But then it must be performed in such a manner as to do him honour, for otherwise I would by no means consent. One great difficulty would be to procure a

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[1] *See* p. 382. [2] Bookseller, London. [3] *See* p. 339.

person equal to the making a drawing from it, as the subject is a very difficult one. Hogarth had it for a year, with an intention to engrave it, and even went so far as almost to finish the plate, which, as he told me himself, he broke into pieces upon finding that, after many trials, he could not bring the woman's head to answer his idea, or to resemble the picture. . . The sooner you can send my books the better."

213.—Robert Livingston to Charlemont.

1781, June 30, Armagh.—"The enclosed account of the arms is correct. I have cause to believe that the store-keeper has from time to time exchanged with such of the volunteers as happened to break or damage their firelocks, and therefore it is that so many of these remaining in the stores are unfit for service. The one hundred bayonets and seven muskets and locks, etc. he says he knows nothing of; says he cannot tell what became of them, unless they were stolen out of the windows of the stores, which he says for some time were not well secured or nailed down.

"Since the within account, Mr. Henry got out ten, and Mr. McCullagh twenty. Mr. Bell long since called for the order in his favour for fifteen, and gave his security, but has not yet taken out the arms, nor has Mr. Patten yet called for the order in his favour for ten."

"Account of arms belonging to the right honourable James, earl of Charlemont, governor of the county of Armagh, in his majesty's stores in Charlemont the 1st day of December 1776, when the store-keeper gave his account receipt for the same.

	Firelocks.		Bayonets.
Firelocks fit for service,	1,046	with bayonets,	1,046
Do. with bad stocks and locks,	21	with do.	21
Do. the like,	21	wanting bayonets,	0
Do. wanting locks	8	with bayonets	8
Total,	1,096	Total,	1,075

1781, June 25, Charlemont.

	Firelocks.		Bayonets.
Firelocks given out before this day by order of the earl of Charlemont,	900	with bayonets	900
Remains in the stores, broken stocks,	3	wanting bayonets	0
Remains in the stores fit for service,	73	with bayonets,	73
Remains partly fit for service,	101	wanting bayonets	0
Remains wanting locks	10	also wanting bayonets	0
Remains wanting do.	2	with broken bayonets	2
	1,089		975
	7		100

"It appears the store-keeper has monopolised seven firelocks, one hundred bayonets, and four locks."

214.—Charlemont to Malone.

1781, July 2, Dublin.—"I have this moment received a letter from Mrs. Hogarth, requesting that 'if I should permit any one to make an

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engraving of 'The Lady's last stake,' I would give the preferenee to a young gentleman[1] who lodges in her house, as, by such preferenee she would be benefited.' Of this applieation I think it neeessary immediately to inform you, as the affeetion I bore toward her deceased husband, my high regard for his memory, and indeed eommon justice, will most certainly prevent me from preferring any person whatsoever to her in a matter of this nature; at the same time I must add that whoever shall make a drawing from my picture must do it in Dublin, as I cannot think of sending it to London.

"Will you, my dear Malone, be so kind in your morning walk to call upon this lady, and read to her the above paragraph, as sueh communieation will be the most satisfactory answer I ean give to her letter; and at the same time you will be so kind to mention the cireumstanee and my resolution to the person in whose behalf the postscript of your last letter was written. Perhaps matters may be settled amieably between him and Mrs. Hogarth, in whieh case I have no objection, provided that the exeeution be such as not to disgraee the picture or it's author, that the drawing be made in Dublin, and that Mrs. Hogarth be perfeetly eontented, and shall declare her satisfaetion by a certifieate in her own handwriting. Don't forget to worry Elmsley about the Life of Petrarch."

215.—Malone to Charlemont.

1781, July 20, London.—"The day after I reeeived your last letter I called at Mrs. Hogarth's, who was not in town, but I saw Mr. Livesay, the person in whose favour she wrote, and with whom I happened to be aequainted. I read him that part of your letter that relates to the print, and settled every thing to his satisfaction. I did not mention anything of a partnership between him and the printseller that I had mentioned to you, because I have no particular eoneern about him, and should be very sorry to prevent Mrs. Hogarth having the entire profit of her husband's labours, to whieh she is eertainly best entitled. I merely proposed this matter originally that the pieture might be engraved, and not from a view of serving anyone. Mr. Livesay is an ingenious young man, a painter, who lives at Mrs. Hogarth's. He proposes to go over himself to make the drawing, and I imagine will do it very well. He is at present very busy in preparing drawings from Hogarth's sketches of a 'Tour by land and water,' of which you have an account in Niehols' life. They are to be engraved immediately. He doubts whether he shall be able to go over next winter, or defer it to the following summer. All the different artists here have their hands so full that it would answer no purpose to make the drawing yet; but if he finds that any of the celebrated ones will undertake the engraving, he says he will leave his business (of whieh he has a good deal) and make an effort to go over before Christmas. He wishes to get the figures done by some good hand, who is not in the very first elass, and may have more leisure, and to have the heads by Bartolozzi.[2] But it may be a great while before he will find the latter unemployed. I mentioned to him your list of desiderata, and I am sure he will exert himself in getting you good impressions. I find I was mistaken in the aceount I sent you about Buffon; Elmsley's shop happened to be full when I ealled first, and he gave me but very imperfeet information. However, I now send you an aeeurate

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[1] Richard Livesay.

[2] Francesco Bartolozzi, engraver, then resident in England.

account of the prices; his birds, it seems, have been coloured, and they alone. The whole work consists of fifteen vols; quadrupeds, five vols.; supplement to do., seven vols. of birds, all common paper, and a few of the birds represented but not coloured. This, which is the common set, is sold at a guinea a volume. There is no complete set of the whole in large paper. The birds alone are in that size. The price as follows: seven vols. of text in folio, at 1*l.* 16*s.* per vol.; forty-two cahiers of coloured cuts to do. at 1*l.* 6*s.* each. There are, he says, about six cahiers more yet to come out, to complete the work. Each cahier contains, I think, twenty-four loose half sheets. If therefore you should take the twenty vols. of quadrupeds, and the seven folio volumes of the birds, with the cuts belonging to them, the price will be, I think, somewhat more than 80*l.* I was right about Beaumont and Fletcher. There were in all but sixteen of their plays published in quarto; thirty-four first appeared in folio in 1647. The 'Wild-goose chase' was first printed by itself in the same size, in 1653. That makes fifty-one plays, the total number that they wrote. Fifty-two are commonly ascribed to them, but the 'Coronation' is improperly included in the number, it not being written by them, but by Shirley. I believe I inadvertently bound it in your two volumes. However, when I send you the two plays wanting to complete your set, you can throw it out. I am sorry to tell you that it will be impossible for me to send you your parcel before I leave town, which I mean to do next week. The binder swears there is no leather to be procured at any price; but he has always some handsome excuse or other. He does not even promise to let me have your books in less than a month; and as these venerable relics of antiquity require more than common care, and he is now trained to treat them with proper respect, I cannot well leave him. Add to this, that the supplying the lacunæ by manuscript, according to your desire, will take some time, the Gascoigne wanting about six leaves.

"To make up for this long dull history, I send you an epitaph written by Shakespeare, which I have just recovered. It was found in a manuscript collection of poems, written out in the time of Charles I., preserved in the Bodleian library. At that time it was much the fashion to make manuscript collections of little fugitive pieces, that had not appeared in print. The epitaph is ascribed to Shakespeare and is as follows:

'When God was pleased, the world unwilling yet,
Elias James to nature payed his debt,
And here reposeth. As he lived, he dyde;
The saying in him strongly verefide,
Such life—such death:—then the known truth to tell,
He lived a godly life, and dyde as well.'

"What think you? Genuine or not? It does not sound to me quite Shakspearian; and yet this may be mere whim, for we have no similar composition of his to compare it with, it being remarkable that he has not left a single line, monumental or commendatory, on any of his contemporaries, a circumstance which, I fear, will weigh against the authenticity of these lines.

"Lady Craven[1] has been unfortunate this last week. A musical comedy, founded on her baron[2] with the tremendous name, was damned, and a piece of her ladyship's own manufacture, called 'the silver tankard,'[3]

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[1] Daughter of Augustus, earl of Berkeley, and wife of William, lord Craven.
[2] The margrave of Anspach and Bayreuth.
[3] A musical farce.

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was received but very coldly on Wednesday, and will, I believe, get its death's wound to night. Such a constellation of beauties appeared on the first night's representation as was sufficient to have blinded a dozen audiences; but the gods in the galleries were inexorable, and seemed to think they understood the language of tars (for the scene is at Portsmouth) better than she did."

216.—JANE HOGARTH to CHARLEMONT.

1781, July 30, Chiswick.—"Your favour of the second of this instant I was honoured with, and must intreat your lordship's forgiveness, for my not acknowledging the receiving your letter sooner, as well as to return my thanks for the obliging preference your lordship has given to the request I made for Mr. Richard Livesay, to make a drawing of the 'Lady's last stake,' for an engraving, a favor I shall always highly esteem. I am fearful no living artist can give that force of expression the original picture has: yet I hope and believe the young man I recommend to your lordship, will make as correct a copy as any one can, and that he will meet with your approbation.

"The high estimation, you sir, hold the author of it in is truly pleasing to me, and I must beg of your lordship to accept of the grateful and warm thanks of a heart replete with gratitude for that affectionate regard, which you pay to his memory.

"Mr. Hogarth always used to mention, with the greatest pleasure and gratitude, the honour of that friendship your lordship conferred on him, with that ease, and politeness, peculiar to yourself; and I can say with the greatest truth, that, the kind manner you always behaved to him, was the highest pleasure he felt, in the close of his life.

"I had not the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Malone, being here at Chiswick. He shewed your lordships letter to Mrs. Lewis who transacts my business, and to Mr. Livesay. Mr. Malone accquainted them, there was no one, in particular, he wished to undertake the 'Lady's last stake,' and that the application made to him was by a person he was quite indifferent to.

"Mr. Livesay intends himself the honour of waiting upon your lordship in Dublin to make the drawing, but is afraid that he shall not be able this season, as the summer is so far advanced and he is going to lord Exeter's at Burleigh, for some time, and as the passage is a dangerous one, believes he must defer for the present undertaking it; he is quite happy in having your leave to make the drawing, and returns his thanks."

217.—FLOOD to CHARLEMONT.

1781, August 7, Farmley.—"I thought to have been near your lordship by this time but the gout has put a negative on both my feet. I have now no chance of having the pleasure of waiting on you till I get to Dublin and I am afraid to propose to you an idea of leaving Marino for our part of the world after your having been wearied so much, if going about doing good could ever weary you. What are the digested sentiments of the north on the sugar duties and mutiny bill? and how many are there in arms really in Ulster?"

218.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1781, October 12, London.—"I am sure you will pardon me, when I tell you I have made a most noble purchase for you, no less than

thirty volumes of large quarto plays (of which you had none before in your collection) and about fifty small ones, in addition to your former store. I was under a necessity of buying near fourscore plays of which you are already possessed, in order to get the others; but these I shall be able to dispose of either to some collector, or at the worst to some bookseller. When what I shall sell them for is subtracted from the first cost of the whole, I think your plays, I mean this parcel, will stand you at about seventeen pounds, which for near 170 plays is, I think, not dear, at least considering how exorbitant the prices are that are now frequently asked for these rarities. I find, on looking over the account of my former purchases, that I have, of the thirty pounds that I drew for in March, about three remaining; so that I shall, I believe, have on the whole about six pounds in hand to pay for binding, etc., and to lay out in future purchases. I am glad it so happened that my bookbinder could not put the former parcel that I had bought last winter into their regimentals, as I shall now be able to arrange them better, and hope to send you, in a month or six weeks, about twelve or fourteen volumes of small quartos, and the large ones that I mentioned. These latter are tolerably uniform and in pretty good binding, and therefore I think it will be unnecessary to take them to pieces. I was very happy to find in this collection almost all the plays of Shirley that I wanted to complete your set; all, I think, except three. I beg you will let me know how many volumes of that author I sent you (I think three), that I may number the rest properly. I request also you will cut a piece exactly of the size of one of the covers of your volumes of plays (measuring it at the outside); and also cut another slip of paper of the length and breadth of the back, marking with a pen where the bands are placed; that I may get the rest bound, so as to match exactly. I think you had thirteen volumes of the old plays (exclusive of particular author's works.) The 'Puritan,' [1] which I know you were particularly desirous to have, is in the collection that I have bought. I will send it over loose, that it may be added to your spurious Shakespeare. The 'London Prodigal,' [2] concerning which I find you gave me a memorandum long ago, I have never been able to meet with. I forgot to tell you that all the plays in this new purchase are the most beautiful copies I ever saw, and have not I believe been opened since they were bound a hundred years ago. You have I think three or four loose plays; I wish you would send them to me under a cover, in order to be bound with the rest."

219.—William Crawford to Charlemont.

1781, December 9, Strabane, Tyrone.—"A letter which I received this morning from colonel Stewart informed me of your lordship's very kind offer of assistance provided I print my intended history [3] by subscription. I am already very much gratified by the flattering notice which you have been pleased to take of me, this instance of your attention to my interest lays me under very great obligations to your lordship. It is with reluctance that I give your lordship so much trouble, at the same time I am convinced that your patronage will serve

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[1] "The Puritan, or the widow of Watling-street," a comedy, 4to., 1607.

[2] A comedy, 4to., 1605.

[3] "A History of Ireland from the earliest period to the present time, in a series of letters addressed to William Hamilton, Esq." By William Crawford, F.M., one of the chaplains of the first Tyrone regiment. Strabane: Printed by John Bellew, 1783. 2 vols. Dedicated "To general the earl of Charlemont."

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me most essentially. Others I find are at present engaged in the same work, which, I am afraid must render the sale of my book too precarious to be risked at my own suit without a hazard of injuring my family. At the same time, the thoughts of publishing by subscription on the account of the trouble it will give my friends, and my own feelings are not pleasant to me. No possible advantage could induce me to do any thing chargeable with the imputation of meanness either in the estimation of others or my own opinion.

"If I resolve to publish by subscription, which I must probably do or proceed no farther with the work, I will take the liberty of sending you a sketch of my proposals for your lordship's approbation.

"Our grief and disappointment by the measures of parliament daily increase. It would appear that our anxious wishes for the honour and prosperity of our country must be extended beyond the limits of the present administration."

220.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1781, December 17, Dublin.—"If your friendly feelings were not sufficiently strong to get the better of every latent principle of indolence, you would, I am sure, shudder at the sight of my name signed to a letter, as from long experience you may safely conclude that some fresh trouble is at hand. This letter however is less unreasonable than usual, and only requests you to get the inclosed protest,[1] which was entered a few days since, inserted into one of the London papers. If the printer will take it in for nothing, à la bonheur, but if payment should be necessary, il faut passer par là, and I must beg of you to defray the expense. You will find in that which I send you some trifling typographical errors, principally in the spelling and printing, which, if you think it necessary, I shall beg of you to correct. There is also an error in the disposition of the paragraphs, which, as it is but trivial, you may correct or not as you think best. In my copy the article marked No. 4 was divided into two paragraphs, the first ending with the words 'additional duties,' the second beginning with the words, 'Our affection also for our sister kingdom.' This separate paragraph is not however to be numbered, and the distance between it and the foregoing is to be less than that what is left between the numbered paragraphs. In this nice and scrupulous attention you will easily perceive a sort of parental fondness—and so it is. You have a right to be acquainted with my weaknesses, and I will not attempt to conceal them from you.

"If you should happen to meet with Fleming's Bucolics, and Georgics of Virgil, London 4to. 1583, and Phaer's Æneid, first edition of seven books only, (I have the second) I should be glad to purchase them, as I would bind them with Surrey's fourth book. I should wish also to procure an edition of Surrey's translation, which, as I am told, contains the first and fourth books—mine has only the fourth, and is, I believe, the first edition.

"I will not trouble you with our politics, as I know you are not much addicted to that science, and as you probably have constant accounts of all that passes here. A very few words would indeed be sufficient to give a sketch of our present situation—a strong people—a weak minority—weak, I mean, in numbers, but in abilities transcendent—weak in proportion to the promise of last session, but very strong in comparison with former minorities—a secretary[2] fatally skilful in

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[1] Of the house of lords, Ireland.

[2] William Eden.

secret negociation, but unfit for the fights in College Green—frequently provoking attacks, and little able to sustain or repel them—Flood, whose incomparable conduct stands unrivalled through all the annals of parliamentary history, more active, and, if possible, more able than ever. The court is however, for the present, triumphant, and people extremely dissatisfied. But enough of politics—indeed too much considering that the trouble given to you by the inclosed has probably already made you sick of them. I will now conclude."

221.—Letter from CHARLEMONT.

1782, January 3, Dublin.—"Your very important letter should not have remained a single post unanswered, if I had not been absolutely prevented from writing by a weakness in my eyes, which still a good deal distresses me and will oblige me to make this letter much shorter than I would wish it to be. I have indeed been for some time past much indisposed, and, though somewhat better, am not as yet by any means recovered.

"Our parliamentary campaign has certainly been hitherto miserably unsuccessful, and the present session has undoubtedly been the reverse of the last, yet has not our ill success been entirely unexpected by us who are situated close to the scene of action; majorities which are not founded upon public spirit, are in their own nature fluctuating, and such was, I well knew our last glorious majority. Yet the same causes which corrected our hopes in the day of success, forbid us now to despair, and matters may very possibly come about again, though not, I fear, in general from the most virtuous principles. The present system of corruption must for a time prevail, but luckily for us there is more fuel than fire, more corruptible matter than materials to corrupt with, promises without end have been now given in the place of realities, and when these promissory notes come to be protested, as many of them infallibly will be, affairs will probably wear a very different face. The numbers are certainly against us, but with the wonderful abilities which are ranged on our side, it would be sinful as it is impossible to despair —next session is, besides, the last of the present parliament, a period of all others the most likely to be propitious, provided the people testify their desires firmly, strongly and moderately. From what I have now said you will easily perceive that in my opinion the most proper measure will be that throughout all Ireland the people should declare their intentions with regard to the next election, firmly resolving to re-elect none of those who have forfeited their good opinion, and to choose none who shall not stipulate the performance of certain articles. With respect to your very sensible proposal I by no means disapprove of it, but think that at present it might possibly be premature—you must be sensible that in its execution it would be attended by very great difficulties, and will require a great deal of consideration. For my own part I shall consider it as deeply as possible—and, though I shall for the present keep your name concealed, yet, if at any future time it should be found necessary to adopt your scheme, its author shall not lose the credit of it, provided he shall then desire to be made known.

"Accept my warmest and most grateful acknowledgments for your kind thoughts of me, and your approbation of my conduct. To deserve the applause of such men is my highest ambition, and as it ever must be in my own power to preserve the attainment of this first object of my wishes, I trust that is impossible that I should ever forfeit it. But I can write no more, my eyes begin to fail me. . . . You will have

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seen in the papers an invitation, from a battalion of my regiment—something useful may proceed from that meeting, provided their resolutions be firm and moderate. 'Suaviter in modo—fortiter in re,' is a sentence which ought never to be forgotten. You will easily judge that the above letter is only meant for your perusal." *Not addressed.*

222.—Flood to Charlemont.

1782, January 7.—"A thousand thanks for your kind letter. The weakness of your eyes proved the strength of your friendship. You have that happier art than that of Midas, you touch everything into virtue. I agree with your lordship that we are too apt to run mad in all subjects, and as to that of liberality, I hate the name of it above all others. I wish we could borrow some of the public virtues from our sister England, and I think we could lend her some of the liberal ones. I am frightened about the Popery business. It ought to be touched only by a master-hand. It is a chord of such wondrous potency that I dread the sound of it, and believe with you that the harmony would be better, if, like that of the spheres, it were, at least for a time, inaudible. This county [Kilkenny], you know, is not the soil of patriotism; all I hoped for here was to be tolerated. To my surprise, the Kilkenny Volunteers have broken the enchantment, and their first accents have been those of liberty. Who knows how we may improve?

223.—Malone to Charlemont.

1782, January 8, London.—"I was most sincerely glad to receive a letter from you so firmly written as that which enclosed the protest; which I should have answered before this time but for a reason I shall mention presently. Your other letter came to my hands yesterday. I cannot tell you how much vexed I was by a series of ill luck in the management of the paper that you were so good as to entrust to my care; yet I think you will see that I was not in fault. As soon as ever I received your letter, I wrote a line to Baldwin, the printer of the St. James's Chronicle, requesting him to insert the protest (which I carefully corrected according to your instructions) in his paper of that evening. I preferred having it there, because most of the morning papers copy from him, and so I thought it would be correct in them all. This I believe was on a Thursday. I could not know its fate till that evening; no protest appeared. Early the next day I went to him, and he excused himself by saying that it was a fixed rule of the paper not to insert Irish debates of any length, or protests. He at the same time returned the corrected copy. In the meanwhile, it appeared that very day in the 'Herald,' which is the paper that makes part of the furniture of my breakfast table. I read it over, and it appeared to me tolerably accurate, except that the fourth paragraph was not divided as you wished. The principal point, however, was obtained, that of its appearance here. Yet still I wished to insert the genuine copy in some one paper, and the first that occurred to me was the 'Public Advertiser.' I examined that paper for Thursday and Friday, and finding no protest there, enclosed the corrected copy to the printer. I send you his answer.[1] I had never thought of looking at the Wednesday's paper, as

[1] Enclosure: "'Public Advertiser.' To correspondents. The printer is much obliged to the gentleman who so kindly sent him the protest of the Irish house of peers; but it appeared in this paper of Wednesday last. He shall not only think himself much honoured, but be exceedingly thankful for this gentleman's future favours and communications."

I did not conceive he could possibly have got a copy so soon. He had, however, it seems; so here I failed again. I am afraid it is now too late to take any notice of errata, but I will call to-morrow at Almon's,[1] and if he means to insert it in his monthly register of state papers, I will correct his copy (as well as my memory will serve) and I will also sound Dodsley about the 'Annual Register,' where these papers are usually preserved. This is now the only remedy that I can think of. I know what the sensations of a parent are on these occasions, and therefore felt the more for you in this unlucky business.

"I delayed for some time writing, in hopes that I might be able to give you some satisfactory account of your plays, etc. At length they are brought home; but lo, the Gascoigne that I valued so much, proved to want eleven more leaves than I had missed, and the different parts of the book had been strangely misplaced, which my binder did not detect, taking it for granted that it was properly disposed when bound originally. Poor Mr. Beauclerk seems never to have had his books examined or collated; otherwise he would have found out this imperfection. In short, the whole book must be taken to pieces, and I must supply the defect, which luckily happens in the comedy of the 'Supposes,'[2] by getting a modern edition of it, published a few years ago by Mr. Hawkins in 12mo, and letting the eleven leaves into quarto paper; and then the books can be bound anew. I received the play, 'May's heir,'[3] safe, by some private hand; but, on looking into a list that I have kept of our plays (to prevent my sending duplicates), I find this has been inadvertently bound up in one of your volumes; so that it is already in your possession. You say you have no more loose plays; but in a list that you formerly gave me you mentioned the 'Witch of Edmonton.' If you can find it, divide it, and send it in two covers, directed to John Courtney, esq., Berners Street, London, the inside cover directed to me. It is very scarce, and I have not been able to pick it up for you. In a former paper of memoranda you desired me to purchase Phaer's Virgil complete in twelve books, as yours contained only nine. I have done so, and it will go over with the rest. But in the last letter you desire the first edition of seven books. This is, I believe, very scarce, for I never meet with it. As for lord Surrey's translation of the first and fourth books of the Æneid, it is 'quod optanti divum promittere nemo auderet.' The 'volvenda dies,' however, may bring it. You say nothing of having received a parcel that I sent you near three months ago, in a box that was dispatched to Daly, containing the Essex papers, two vols. in quarto, Coryat, and the rare edition of lord Surrey's sonnets,[4] that had been Prior's, and that cost you three guineas. I hope no accident has happened to them.

"The Rowley controversy, about which you enquire, is going on ding-dong. Dr. Milles's quarto and Mr. Bryant's octavos are on my table, ready to be packed in your parcel. They have said everything that could be said on their side of the question, and have staggered some. Warton is preparing an answer, which will be out soon; only a shilling pamphlet. The cautious Tyrwhitt is slower in his operations. He means, I believe, to enter deeply into the business, and it will therefore be some time before we shall see his vindication. I am, you know, a professed anti-Rowleian, and have just sent a little brat into the world to seek his fortune. As I did not choose to sign my name, I preferred, for the sake of a more general perusal, to give my cursory remarks to a

[1] John Almon, political publisher.
[2] 'The Supposes,' a comedy, by George Gascoigne, London, 1566, 1587.
[3] 'The Heir,' a comedy, by Thomas May, London, 1620, 1622, 1633.
[4] *See* p. 382.

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magazine, in consequence of which they appear rather awkwardly, one half in that for December and the other in the supplement, which is to be published in a few days. When I can get a perfect copy, I will send it to you, for I flatter myself your partiality to me will incline you to run your eye over it, notwithstanding your leaning to the other side of the question. Tyrwhitt wants me still to make a pamphlet of it, in order to bind up with all the other pieces which that most wonderful youth, Chatterton, has given occasion to. By-the-bye, have they reprinted in Dublin a small volume that appeared here a year ago, called 'Love and madness?'[1] in the middle of which you will find a very curious account of Chatterton (taking up about 100 pages), written by Mr. Herbert Croft, the author of Young's[2] life, in Johnson's Lives of the poets. It has no connection with the rest of the book, which contains a number of fictitious letters between Mr. Hackman and Miss Reay, and I cannot conceive what induced him to give it to the publisher of that book. It will, I think, entertain you.

"You say you will not trouble me with politics as I am not much addicted to that science. I was once deeply engaged by it; but a most unfortunate attachment, which never could have redounded much to my honour, and has ended most unhappily, has estranged me from that and almost everything else, except a few friends, the recollection of whom is one of the last sentiments that I shall part with. I endeavour to employ my thoughts with books and writing, and when I am weary of them fly into company; and then, disgusted with that, return back to the other; but all will not do. There is little chance of getting over an attachment that has continued with unabated force for thirteen years; nor at my time of life is the heart very easily captivated by a new object. You see how frankly I confess my weakness to you; but if I am not much mistaken, you will make some allowance for even the extravagance of this kind of sensations, which are allied, however remotely, to some of the best feelings of the heart. I am a very domestic kind of animal, and not at all adapted for solitude, and indeed have been peculiarly unfortunate. But enough of too unpleasing a subject. Notwithstanding what I have said, I was, I assure you, not a little pleased to hear of the noble part that our friend Flood has acted.[3] William Jephson and I in a paper that was wrote, I believe, seven years ago, in his defence, on his accepting an office, predicted that he would do exactly what he has done. It was a long essay in the 'Freeman,'[4] but I have forgot the signature, and have no copy. I wish he had thrown up two years ago; he would have appeared still more brilliant. However, his fame, as it is, will be immortal. I see all the lawyers have differed with him about the construction of Poynings' law. When I saw the account of such men as Crookshank,[5] Fitzgibbon, etc., brow-beating him, and setting him right, I could not help thinking of 'girls with spits and boys with stones, waging puny war' with Coriolanus. I have, for my own part, no doubt of his interpretation being right; and hope this opposition will rouse him to do what I have long urged him to; I mean to arrange all the curious matter that he has collected on that subject, and to publish it. After his three hours speech, about ten years ago, upon it, I endeavoured

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[1] "Love and Madness, a story too true. In a series of letters between parties [Rev. James Hackman and Martha Reay], London, 1780." "Chatterton and Love and madness; a letter from sir Herbert Croft to Mr. Nichols." London, 1800.

[2] Edward Young, author of "The Complaint; or Night thoughts," died in 1765.

[3] Retirement from vice-treasurership.

[4] "The Public Register, or the Freeman's Journal," commenced in Dublin on 10th September, 1763, and issued on Saturdays and Tuesdays.

[5] Alexander Crookshank, barrister, M.P. for borough of Belfast.

when I went home to put as much of it upon paper as I could recollect, and I have still the copy by me. If therefore he does not do what I have suggested, his admirable argument will go down to posterity in a sad corrupted and imperfect state. I hope you will urge him to it. It is surely a national cause, and will do him the highest honour.

"Jephson's 'Count of Narbonne'[1] has been more admired than any play I remember to have appeared these many years. It is still acted with success to very full houses. My poor brother epilogue-writer, Mr. Goodenough, who lived just near me, shot himself a few days ago. He was to have performed a part in a private play this month, and sir William East, the owner of the theatre, and his family, dined with him the day before he put an end to himself. He had run through a small estate, and resolved not to live a rent-charger on Providence.

"I have got the six volumes of Voltaire from Elmsly; and they shall go with the other books, I hope in a week or ten days. They are going to print three magnificent editions of his works in France, of which I send you the prospectus. Though you should buy one of them, the other volumes will be necessary, as you could not without them dispose of your old set. The comte de Provence, the French king's second brother, is going to do the most ridiculous thing ever thought of, to have a complete and splendid edition of the classics printed, and only one copy taken off, of each book, that no other person in the world may possess them but himself. What a hopeful prince he must be.

"I have lately become acquainted with your friend, Mr. Walpole, and am quite charmed with him. There is an unaffected benignity and good nature in his manner that is, I think, irresistibly engaging. He is now employed in reprinting his 'Anecdotes of painting,' in 8vo., without plates, the book having become very scarce and extravagantly dear.

224.—Grattan to Charlemont.

1782, January 16, Dublin.—"The news is bad for England: I hope not equally so for Ireland. The breach from the debates seems irreparable. Lord Temple, it is said, I believe with truth, is to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, if the duke[2] resigns, which is, I believe, very certain. Fitzpatrick, I understand, follows Fox. The business of lord Abingdon is grossly misrepresented—the bill does not lie on the table, he made no motion, he was called upon by the chancellor to say whether he intended to make a motion, for if he did it would be opposed. Parliament here has done nothing; the old malignants have shewn a violent but weak spirit. There will be no transmiss.

"We shall be up soon: we shall wrangle, but not debate. I shall go away in a few days. I do assure you I am much depressed by the late changes—there is nothing serious in mortality. . . . There was a debate this day which lasted till ten. I was not there. The question was on Yelverton's bill,—but that was carried without a division. Then, I understand, a general debate took place on all subjects. Forbes tells me that the country gentlemen declared themselves satisfied."

225.—Letter from Charlemont.

1782, January 25, Dublin.—"The meeting at Dungannon was not as I believe called with reference to any particular plan, but it is intended

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[1] The "Count of Narbonne," a tragedy, by Robert Jephson, 1781. It was founded on Walpole's "Castle of Otranto," and dedicated to him.

[2] Of Portland.

that in the present critical juncture every gentleman who choses to attend should have an opportunity of communicating his sentiments which may be discussed by a very great body of Volunteer delegates. The invitation was made by a battalion of my regiment, and cannot therefore be considered as anonymous, the Volunteers themselves being in my opinion the properest persons to call together their brethren upon every such occasion as they may deem sufficiently important. With a thousand thanks to you for your goodness towards me, I must confess that I have not at present any person in my view whom I could venture to recommend to be chosen as general for Ulster in case the meeting should be of opinion that such election ought to be made, and indeed the great difficulty of finding proper persons is the greatest if not the only objection to your scheme; neither can anything more strongly point out the truth of what I have now mentioned, than your very kind though I fear too partial idea with regard to the choice of commander-in-chief, wherein you have fixed on a person who though in zeal and in ardour he will yield to no man living is, I doubt, but too deficient in many qualities which would be requisite.

"I am exceedingly happy that as I collect from your letter you are likely to attend the meeting. It is indeed a matter of high importance and, if conducted with spirit and moderation cannot fail of being productive of the best consequences. Though I shall not be able to attend in person, my opinions, which by the way are not yet completely formed, nor shall be till I have consulted with the wisest and best of my friends, will certainly be there and whether or not they meet with success will at least be given with the best intentions.

"One object of the meeting is to form the Ulster Volunteers into large brigades, chusing a general to each brigade, which I look upon as an excellent scheme and as one tending toward and in some degree preparatory to your more enlarged plan. As the meeting is merely provincial, I doubt whether it can with propriety except by way of recommendation, touch upon anything out of the province." *Not addressed.*

226.—Marlay to Charlemont.

1782, January 27, London.—"Mr. Walpole and sir Joshua Reynolds are well, and inquired much about you. Our club black-balled lord Camden. This conduct should disgrace the society. The bishop of St. Asaph was once black-balled, but is now elected. The club must have some wretched members belonging to it, or the two greatest and most virtuous characters in the kingdom could not be treated with such disrespect, and be excluded from a society to which they would add the highest honour.

"The Vestris, a celebrated dancer, employs the whole thought of the fashionable world. He dances like an angel of light (as lord Brudenell says); his father teaches all the town to bow and to walk gracefully. . . . Lord Edgcombe and lord Dudley are much improved by him. . . While England is at war with half of Europe, while her colonies have thrown off their subjection, when her merchants are beggars, and her nobility as poor as beggars, when tempests have scattered her fleets, and laid waste her most fertile islands, the opera and the Vestris employ the whole conversation and attention of the great and the polite world. I think I have written a very flourishing paragraph; by a little embellishment it would furnish a page for a sermon."

227.—Daniel Magennis, M.D., to Charlemont.

1782, February 5, Dublin.—"All sects and parties agree, that their religion commands them to discharge all social duties, and that it is founded upon the love of God and their neighbour. They do also agree, that all rightful laws are founded upon these principles, viz. to give every one his due, to hurt no human being, and to do to others as we would be done by. Our legislature therefore has a just right to oblige them to practise these principles according to their spirit, and should give itself no concern about the means they employ to merit heaven. No sect has give the state less trouble than Roman Catholics, although every other sect is authorised by law to have an insulting power over them. As these injured people are convinced, that their only security centres in the crown, it must be false to suppose that they would not be as ready as any other sect to defend the king and his government, were their religious inabilities removed. Judge Blackstone gives a hint in his Commentaries, that the government of Great Britain and Ireland can emerge out of the greatest difficulties by adhering to first principles. I have in the enclosed proposed an easy plan to execute that great man's meaning, and took a great deal of pains since the year 1775 to communicate it to the most judicious and unprejudiced men among the lords and commons of England, and, at the same time, to acquaint them in my letters with the grievances of poor unhappy Ireland, with regard to trade, religion etc. I was the first mover of these affairs, and by the force of invincible arguments, obtained a superiority of votes among the majority and minority, and by that means made an opening for removing the grievances of Ireland. During these transactions, the consequence of Manchester was like to outweigh that of Ireland, because the chain of our common interest was broke by the disunion caused amongst us by the sanguinary penal laws made against Roman Catholics, Dissenters, etc. That circumstance clearly demonstrates how little these laws make our nation appear in the eyes of the world.

"Our legislature might have emancipated Ireland at once, had it been magnanimous enough to repeal in one single act the aforesaid laws. The present disposition of our religious schemers and puritan incendiaries calls aloud for your assistance, to execute that great work this present session of parliament. Until this happy event, neither religion or law can be practised amongst us according to their spirit and first principles. For until then, legal force shall be employed to forbid neighbourly love and as this love is inseparable from the love of God, it shall in fact forbid the practise of religion, whose spirit and first principle with regard to social economy consist in the love of God and the neighbour; but without the practise of such a love, the wills and reasons of our fellow-subjects cannot be united to form the civil law, and consequently we cannot expect that they will unite their force to form political laws for the defence of our lives, liberties, properties, common interest and for expelling foreign invaders. This defect in our political force occasioned the loss of our American colonies and substituted ignorance, prejudice and the greatest depravity of human nature instead of religion, law and morality. There are other effects of the aforesaid laws, which no British subject escapes. Add to this, that they make them all insulting oppressors, or oppressed innocents, and make it hardly possible for either to repeat the Lord's prayer and face God with a good grace.

"Hence it is evident, that it is impossible to establish permanency, virtue, peace, happiness and security in a kingdom whose laws are not

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founded upon the love and fear of God. But our fellow-subjects would acquire these advantages by repealing the aforesaid laws, and all parties would live friendly together and unite to promote and defend their common interest, and puritan hypocrites could no longer cover their villainy under the cloak of religion. Your assistance therefore to remove the aforesaid obstacles to our happiness is solicited.

"The wise Germans finished their religious disputes in less than 20 years, and we are adding daily to the malice of ours these 200 years. But the tenets of the Protestant religion authorize no wrong. That malice therefore is to be attributed to the Popery laws and not to religion. All the learned men in Europe, almost all the lords and commons of England, and a majority of a hundred in the church of Scotland, declared unanimously that the Irish Popery laws are a disgrace to mankind, and the destruction of religion, law and morality among sects of all denominations.

"All the lovers of mankind most ardently wish, that we would all resume our manly liberty and the principles of truth or justice and mutual sensibility, which in former ages were the characteristics of Irishmen. For they were celebrated all over the world for making life as agreeable to others as to themselves. Our native characteristics begin to dawn in our Volunteers and it is expected that all the clouds, which darken their splendor, will be soon dispersed by the influence of the earl of Charlemont."

228.—MAGENNIS to CHARLEMONT.

1782, February 10, Dublin.—"I return you infinite thanks for the honour you have done me in acknowledging to have received my book, and in promising to peruse it. Very few of the members, who got it as a present, did me that pleasure. Their conduct in this particular, shows that they did not inherit that truth and generous sensibility, which always characterised your lordship's actions and those of your ancestors. Any one who knows the human heart must own that peace and happiness can never be introduced among British subjects, until the plan of reformation proposed in my book is thoroughly executed by the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland.

"As the tenets of every species of religion order neighbourly love, the common interest of all sects shall meet no obstacle when that practice is once established. Many proofs of this assertion may be found in the different states of Germany and cantons of Switzerland, where the professors of every religion are linked in a chain of one common interest; therefore as the Irish are the most tractable people in the world, that politic plan might be established among them with greater ease than in any of these countries. My duty therefore, to mother Ireland induced me to be at the expense of printing that plan and distributing it gratis among the lords, and even commons of Great Britain and Ireland. It has been of some service to the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. It has taught the former to seek redress in their own legislature. All sects were equally the object of my book. For to desire the legislature to spare one and punish the other could be of no service, because partial laws against any sect must sooner or later end in the destruction of the whole community, where they are authorised. If my endeavours will be of any service to poor unhappy Ireland, I am sure of having the honour of your lordship's approbation."

229.—Letter from Charlemont.

1782, March 9, Dublin.—"I seize this first instant of leisure to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind letter, which should not have remained so long unanswered had not my whole time been taken up by the necessary discipline to which the state of my health obliges me, and more especially by an unremitting attendance to public duties of every kind, an apology which I am sure your goodness and public spirit will cheerfully admit and readily accept.

"Evans's advertisement was certainly too warm, and yet, as you well observe, even that error has had a salutary effect, and the resolutions which were entered into at the meeting have been so proper, and have met with such universal applause, that there can, I think, be no doubt, but that they will be universally acceeded to, except by some corps of little importance. Their influence and their adoption are, as you will have found by the public papers, already spread far and wide, and you may be assured that no pains of mine either have been or shall be wanting to procure that desirable purpose. The motion respecting a provincial general might possibly have interrupted the harmony of the meeting, and was therefore prudently postponed; and, as to the measure of forming brigades, which I believe would be a useful one, that must be left to the operation of time. At present the great and important point undoubtedly is that all the kingdom should unite and with one voice declare their sentiments with regard to the exclusive authority of the legislature of Ireland, and that every county should instruct their members to this point, and to this only, as the mention of any other matter, however important, might tend to weaken the effect. An association and declaration is now signing in the county of Armagh, a copy of which I have given to sir Annesley Stewart, who will communicate it at your assizes. If the sense of the people upon this subject be universally declared, as I trust it will be, I do not by any means despair of our gaining this most essential of all points even in this session. Major Dobbs has for some time been in the country, but I make no doubt that if you were to write to him for a copy of his speech, he would, if it be in his power, willingly comply with your request. His address is at Belfast." *Not addressed.*

230.—Hogarth's engravings.—Richard Livesay to Charlemont.

1782, March 9, London.—"A proof impression (tinted from the original drawings) of a set of prints called 'Hogarth's tour,' 2*l.* 2*s.* N.B. There is to be a letter-press to attend the above, but it is not yet ready.—A proof of two characters, members of Mr. Hogarth's club at the Bedford arms tavern, 10*s.*—Three small prints from original sketches of Hogarth's, 8*s.*—A proof impression from two sketches intended for a monument for George Taylor, 7*s.* 6*d.*—A proof impression from a head of a shrimp-girl, 7*s.* 6*d.*—A print of the charmers of the age, and the frontispiece to the Jacobite's journal, 5*s.*,—4*l.*"

231.—Malone to Charlemont.

1782, April 9, London.—"In my short letter of last night I promised to give you a more particular account of the very extraordinary proceeding of the house of commons yesterday; but the paper which I enclose has stated every thing that was said so minutely and so faithfully (as I learn from one who was present) that I can give you little new information. However, I will tell you as much of the secret history of

it as I could gather from the gentleman with whom I dined yesterday, and who was himself in the late opposition and has now much weight with them, as indeed he deserves from his great parts, though from his own feelings he does not take an active part or ever speaks. The old proverb of 'an ill wind' etc. is verified in Eden's[1] case. Whatever may have been his motive for his conduct yesterday, whether resentment on account of the treatment lord C[arlisle][2] has received, or whatever else, it must undoubtedly be of use to Ireland. The truth is that the new ministry here, Fox, Conway, Burke, etc. were outrageous at this business being taken out of their hands. Let their professions be now what they may, I know they were not formerly friendly to us: at least F[ox] and B[urke] and I may add T. Townshend, though you will read a flaming speech of his in one of the papers, asserting just the contrary. The universal temper of the house yesterday was as violent when the 6th of George I. was proposed to be repealed, as it was formerly when the stamp act was rescinded. The true history of the business seems to be this. Had the matter been left to the new ministers, they meant to propose something short of Eden's proposition—and not ever to grant that till some compact should be made with Ireland that this should be the last of their demands. Burke threw something out in his speech of a reciprocal compact being made between the two countries and before any thing was granted (though they have omitted that circumstance in the public prints) but did not specify particulars. What they dread is, (as it is suggested to me) that Ireland may proceed to further lengths,—to the attack of the hereditary revenue etc., (as I trust they will). It is for this reason that I think Eden's motion, whatever his motives were, will serve Ireland. I think it is clear, from the passages in Fox's speech etc. under which I have drawn lines, what their scheme was if they could effect it;—by general propositions and fair words to amuse Ireland till the end of this session, and then to trust to events till October 1783, by which time a peace might be made with America, etc.—and then adieu to the establishment of the Irish constitution. This, it appears to me, may be also collected from their so eagerly embracing and recommending Yelverton's bill of rights (now here) who, if I can judge rightly at such a distance, seems to have been endeavouring, all the winter, to cut the ground from under Flood's feet, and to do imperfectly, and merely to gratify the castle[3], what he would have done completely and with much more effect. General Conway's threat of a vote of censure on a member of parliament for simply proposing the repeal of a British law, seems the most extraordinary language that I ever remember in the house of commons,—and will I suppose not speedily be forgotten in Ireland. In this however he was not singular, for near half the house joined him with a tumultuous applause. I think it is not improbable you will after all dismiss lord C[arlisle] with eulogium. Eden referred to several memorials now in the secretary's office which he had sent over in the course of this winter strongly representing the propriety of complying with all the measures now contended for by Ireland.

"There are two or three, I am told, in the cabinet by no means friendly to the emancipation of Ireland,—lord Shelburne, and of course Dunning and Barré. However, if she is but firm and temperate, she may now obtain every thing in spight of them. I suppose your debate[4]

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[1] *See* p. 147.

[2] *See* p. 146.

[3] Of Dublin.

[4] On answer to the address to the king. For account by lord Charlemont, *see* p. 60.

on Tuesday next will be very warm and interesting; and I will be much obliged to you for a short account of it. It may perhaps be material for Flood to see the paper which I enclose, as it is the only one that is full and correct."

232.—Viscount Kenmare[1] to Charlemont.

1782, April 19.—"An ague of near a month's continuance prevents me from waiting on your lordship in person, and requesting your protection and support for the Roman Catholic bills. They have been honored in the commons with that of the greatest characters of our nation; by the approbation of the Volunteer meeting at Dungannon; the synod of Bangor; most other Volunteer meetings; and permit me to assure you that I think they cannot meet so great an honor as your lordship's protection. The shake in my hand may render this scarce legible."

233.—Annesley Shee to Charlemont.

1782, April 20, London.—"The subject, I hope, will be a sufficient apology for this liberty. From the distinguished and high rank you bear among your countrymen, no person can be so proper to communicate the following plan to them as your lordship.

"Great Britain having agreed to the requisitions of Ireland by the advice of the present truly virtuous and wise administration, it becomes a duty in them to give every possible aid in return to that administration, in their power.

"I would therefore submit to your lordship's consideration whether it can be more effectually done, than in assisting them to effect a peace with America.

"Suppose then when address is moved to his majesty for his gracious assurance of redress to Ireland, that your lordship, were to propose a paragraph to be inserted therein humbly requesting his majesty to permit the parliament of Ireland, as the representatives of that nation, and the Volunteer corps to become so far mediators, between America and Great Britain as to invite them to a participation of that redress, which they are about to experience, in consequence of a loyal and moderate representation of their grievances to the present government. The people of Ireland and America are closely connected from the great emigrations from the former, in consanguinity, and it is to be presumed, as family affection has ever marked the character of the Irish, where ever transplanted, such a call to a reunion would not be wholly unattended to, on the other side of the Atlantic, nor would the concurrence of an whole nation, dishonour, in the eyes of the other powers of Europe, any plan administration may think proper to adopt, to obtain the wished for reconciliation.

"This idea is confined to your lordship, his grace the duke of Leinster, and myself, and shall remain so. I have no other object than the honour and happiness of the three countries."

234.—Charlemont to Malone.

1782, April 26, Dublin.—"When I have been so long without acknowledging the receipt of your very kind letters I trust in your

[1] Valentine Browne, created earl of Kenmare in 1801.

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friendship for me, and in your opinion of mine towards you that your heart will assure you that impossibility alone could have prevented my writing. Indeed I never in my life have been so busily occupied, and my time has been so entirely taken up between my civil and military duties that I have scarcely had leisure to attend to that necessary discipline, an unremitting perseverance in which is so essential to my health. But to shew you still more feelingly how incessantly I have been employed, let it suffice when I assure you that as yet I have hardly been able to open one of those books of which your goodness has made me master. They are all, however, even Gascoigne, notwithstanding his ominous setting out, arrived safe and sound, in excellent plight, and perfectly uninjured by their long journey, a piece of good fortune which, considering their great age and consequent debility, was rather to be hoped than expected. I know of but one thing that you have omitted, and that is to send me some sheets of Spenser, containing his letter[1] to sir Walter Raleigh and the commendatory verses. This was meant to compleat my first edition of the Faerie Queene, and you, I remember, set it apart for me, but have, I suppose, forgotten it, as indeed well you might in the multiplicity of matters you had undertaken for me. You have sent the second volume of Warton's Pope.[2] I once had the first, but have lost it, and must beg that you would procure it for me. The size of the old plays exactly matches, but the colour is rather paler than that of those you before transmitted, and the gilding is somewhat different. The one however may easily be altered, and time will, I doubt not, change the other.

"Thank you for your political intelligence—I have not at present any to send you in return, as you have, no doubt, been long since acquainted with all our noble and spirited proceedings. We expect with impatience the answer from England, which we confidently hope from the wisdom and justice of the present administration will be favourable to our wishes. Indeed there must be no paltering, and as little delay as possible, for matters here are by no means in a state to admit of either. Mr. Eden's[3] conduct is seen here in it's proper light, and, instead of gaining him any degree of popularity, has rendered him an object of universal dislike—if his motion had succeeded it would have been wholly inadequate, and his motives are two apparent not to strike every one. There was a time when such conduct might have deceived us into approbation. but, thank heaven, the eyes of Ireland are now perfectly opened. Indeed there is nothing more whimsical than that the man, who, during the whole course of his administration, was constantly endeavouring by every possible means to quell or to lull the spirit of the people, to defeat every constitutional measure, and to obstruct the progress of freedom, should suppose that by a peevish opposition motion he should gain the applause of a nation, whose just and uncontrovertible claims of right he had uniformly, though, thank heaven, inefficaciously withstood while it was in his power in any way to oppose them.

"We have all been much alarmed—indeed the whole kingdom was alarmed—but especially I have been anxious and miserable beyond expression—for Grattan was dangerously ill. He was cut for a fistula—it was however of the most trifling kind, and is, in all human probability totally eradicated. From his couch, which he had not left for

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[1] From his house at Kilcolman, 27th December, 1591, and prefixed to "Colin Clout's come home againe."

[2] Essay on the genius and writings of Pope, by Joseph Warton, D.D., London, two vols., 1756, 1782.

[3] *See* p. 147.

three weeks, he went down to the house, spoke as no man ever spoke before, himself only excepted, and, weak as he was, inspired and strengthened by heaven and by his cause, was able to support and to raise the nation. But upon this subject I will and must suppress my feelings, lest I should give into a length of transport which neither my leisure nor your will at present allow me to indulge. I am besides every instant interrupted—a man broke in upon me in the middle of the last period, and could scarcely get a reasonable answer from me. Adieu."

235.—William Ogilvie to Charlemont.

[1782,] Tuesday, [22 May,] 8 o'clock.—"An express is just arrived that every thing is granted to Ireland fully, liberally, and unconditionally; and that sir George Rodney has defeated De Grasse, taken five sail of the line, and sunk one."

236.—To Charlemont from Duke of Portland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

1782, May 22, Dublin Castle.—"I most heartily congratulate with you on all the great and happy events which we were informed of yesterday. I wish exceedingly to converse with your lordship upon these subjects, and hope to see you here at any time after one o'clock to-day that may best suit your other engagements."

237.—Sir John Burgoyne[1] to Charlemont.

1782, June 1, Kilmainham.—"Upon enquiry I find that it has been usual for the troops on the king's birthday to fire three vollies in their barracks, by signal from the castle, and that signal given at the close of the ode.[2] But as it seems to be the general desire to mark the present juncture by a more particular celebration I shall be glad to know your lordship's wishes respecting a place of assembly where vollies might be fired alternately according to the idea mentioned between us last night.

"Three places are suggested to me by those who are well acquainted with the town. 1st. The quays, the troops taking their right near Queen's bridge; and the Volunteers continuing the same line, leaving an interval between their right and the left of the troops. 2nd. Stephen's Green, the troops taking the north side and fronting outward; the Volunteers taking the south side and also fronting outward, and if that side should not contain their numbers, to extend their flanks into part of the east and west sides, or doubling their ranks 3rd. The troops to take up their ground in College Green and the volunteers in Stephen's Green—the distance is not too great for the vollies being heard and the alternate firing being kept up distinctly.

"At present I rather incline to this last idea, but shall be happy on this as upon all other occasions, to shew every attention to your lordship's inclinations.

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[1] Lieutenant-general sir John Burgoyne. He capitulated at Saratoga in 1779, and was commander-in-chief in Ireland in 1782.

[2] Performed annually at Dublin castle on the king's birth-day.

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"To avoid giving your lordship further trouble I have desired the deputy quarter-master-general to carry this letter and he will communicate to me your lordship's thoughts upon the subject."

238.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1782, June 2, Belfast.—"I take the liberty of inclosing a letter to your lordship, and must trouble you with a great deal in explanation of it.

"The last packet brought it from my eldest brother—who with the best qualities of head and heart, has been through the whole of his life, a most unlucky fellow.

"After a variety of disappointments, he seemed to be in a plain and smooth road to prosperity when he was appointed collector of Charlestown; not long before America was severed from Britain, by a rash and violent hand, which eventually however has scattered blessings on this country.

"The profits of his employment were fairly estimated at 12*l.* or 1300*l.* per annum, and he discharged the dutys of it with a liberality and an integrity, which at once procured him, in a high degree, the favour of the people, and intitled him to that of the British government.

"He was the only collector, my lord, in the vast line of our colonies, who had the firmness to get the obnoxious teas stored, instead of being sent back or destroyed; while from a sense of official duty, he opposed the powers which then took the lead in the province; with so much manliness and ability, as nothing could have rendered safe, but the singular favour he had previously acquired among them.

"This indeed was such as to draw from them pressing and re-iterated offers of the same, or some better, establishment, if he would remain among them—which, circumstanced as he was, he was incapable of even deliberating on.

"Since he was banished from South Carolina, he has subsisted in London on a pension of 300*l.*, a year, scandalously ill paid (five terms being now due); vainly soliciting some establishment that might relieve him from the two-fold distress, of being a useless and a precarious stipendiary of the public—I should not say 'soliciting,' for there is a spirit in him which unfits him absolutely for being a courtier or a beggar.

"A little before the late administration were obliged to surrender that power which had only done the good they did not intend, and was in every other respect ruinous, I had him warmly recommended (for I could not bring myself to do it) to lord Hillsborough, from whom he received the most flattering assurances of protection, which I have some reason to think would have grown to effect, but for the blessed change which took place.

"As soon after this as with any decency or propriety I could do it, I wrote earnestly in his behalf to my friend Mr. Burke; particularly urging him to open his way again to lord Rockingham, who had in his former administration received my brother into his patronage, and actually given him a good revenue employment in Liverpool; which was however immediately resigned to accommodate his lordship, who wished to gratify sir William Meredyth or some of sir William's friends, by a different disposal of it—soon after, that honest and short-lived administration expired.

"It was indeed on the score of the family he had marryed into (Smith of Newland in Yorkshire) that the marquis had the goodness to take my

brother under his protection,—his wife is long since dead, having left five sons; one of whom was killed lately in India, another is lieutenant of the Worcester under Hughes, his eldest gone out with Bickerton, captain of marines on board the Cumberland, his youngest a midshipman; aide-de-camp in the Chesapeake engagement[1] and this last most glorious and fortunate one, to lord R. Manners, whose death I fear will be a grievous loss to him. The youngest but one your lordship may remember with me, I am educating him in my own line; and his only daughter is with me also. I trouble your lordship with these particulars, not merely to shew the largeness of the family, but that it contributes somewhat to the common cause.

"The cross accidents of my brother's life, my lord, and his numerous family have been a source of infinite pain to me, and of heavy expense, which last however I have chearfully submitted to, and shall not repine at, if it continues to be needful—but I feel exceedingly for my brother. When he requested me to apply to Mr. Burke, he said he wished to be employed, and was willing to serve in any reputable line, in any quarter of the globe—but I could not help telling my friend, that our brotherly love had ever been of the most warm and tender kind—that we had been separated for sixteen years, and that he was now in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Now, my good lord, if you can with propriety and without pain (which I thank God may be now the case with every honest man) interpose in his behalf, you would be acting in your own chosen and blessed line of doing good, and you would confer a most essential favour and obligation on one who has the very best claim in the world on your lordship, that of having been already very highly favoured and obliged. .

"It is ten days since I wrote officially to Mr. Grattan—but an eagle can't bend his eye on an insect—yet the town of Belfast is no reptile, and is much larger than a fly. I flatter myself, my lord, that you will return me the enclosed, with a comfortable line from yourself—perhaps it should not be known that the measure I have ventured on was instigated by Mr. Burke. Wishing your lordship's long enjoyment of liberty and of that happiness which nothing earthly gives or can destroy."

239.—Earl of Clanricarde[2] to Charlemont.

1782, June 2, London.—"Enclosed I have the honor to send your lordship, some papers which I received this morning by express; and I am happy to congratulate your lordship on the intelligence they convey to me: I hope we cannot have any further occasion to apprehend any disagreeable consequences from the late unfortunate misunderstanding between the Volunteers, and inhabitants of Galway, and the regiment that was quartered there: especially as I am informed, that the 66th regiment is actually removed from Galway. Should any opportunity offer for your lordship to communicate the full particulars of this affair to General Burgoyne I trust you will represent the conduct of the Volunteers in its proper light; and I am proud to observe to your lordship that their temper and discretion in this trying situation, has not been less conspicuous, and praiseworthy than their spirit, and zeal to support the Volunteer cause from insult or disgrace; and it gives me pleasure to add, that the behavior of Major Roper has been reported to me in the most favorable manner.

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[1] In September 1781.

[2] Henry de Burgh succeeded to the earldom of Clanricarde on the death of his father in April 1782.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

"I believe I had the honor to mention to your lordship some days ago, that some very unexpected circumstances had occurred, which I apprehended would occasion an entire derangement of my plans; and lay me under the necessity of going to London almost immediately: this I have now every reason to believe will certainly happen, and trust your lordship will give me credit when I assure you, that I feel no small degree of mortification from this event; but though I am willing to hope that no question can possibly arise, which may render my presence in the house of lords materially essential, yet it would be a great relief to my anxiety, if I might be permitted to leave my proxy in the hands of the earl of Charlemont, whose steady and uniform attachment to the interests of this kingdom, has been so strongly marked, that during my stay in England, I should rest satisfied that no possible injury to Ireland, could accrue from my absence; and by my having the honor to be represented by a nobleman of your lordship's truly respectable character, I should hope to give the nation the surest pledge of my intentions to pursue the same decided line of conduct, which has so deservedly led your lordship to the public confidence, and the general approbation of your countrymen."

240.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1782, June 6, Dublin.—"Notwithstanding all my various occupations, I should have found time to have answered [your letter], had it been in my power to return such an answer as I could have wished. I dreaded writing because I was too well apprized that the tenor of my letter must be in the highest degree displeasing to every feeling of my heart. What can I say, how can I express my disagreeable sensations, in finding myself compelled not instantly to comply with the desire of one to whom I am so much obliged, and for whom I have the greatest regard and affection? To refuse favours for ourselves is no self-denial; but to deny ourselves the pleasure of asking for our friends, 'hoc opus, hic labor est'; yet such is at present my situation. I have for myself disclaimed the acceptance of office, and am so circumstanced that it is impossible, because it would be highly improper at this time, to ask any favour whatsoever. I have already made my requests, and they have been granted: requests of a public nature, and such, I am confident, as you would have preferred to any other; but a detail of the reasons which prevent my immediate compliance with your desire and with my own ardent wishes, is too tedious to be mentioned in a letter. I shall therefore say no more till I have the happiness of seeing you."

241.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1782, June 7, Belfast.—"I never received two more kind and unpleasant letters in my life, than have come to me by this, and yesterday's post—the last from your lordship, by which I have the mortification of finding the one I had the honour of addressing to your lordship, had excited painful feelings in a breast, to preserve the peace and happiness of which, I would hazard a good deal of my own—the other from Grattan, in which he mentions his ill-health. For heaven's sake my lord, force him out of this country the moment it is thought expedient he should quit it on the score of his indisposition—why wait the rising of parliament? As the great outlines are drawn with firmness and precision, can't he leave the colouring to inferior artists? I cannot conceive there can be

anything in the remaining details of parliamentary business of equal importance to this country, which is all he looks to, with his own health. A work of equal moment with what has been, or can be, effected during this session remains for the next—for what is a reclaimed constitution if its principles and its purity cannot be restored? Till this be done, our emancipation ab extra, however complete, cannot be secure—and we shall still have the domestic chains of an oligarchy rattling about our ears. When this is an opus operatum, he may pray if he pleases to depart in peace, for his eyes will have seen (but not sooner) our salvation—till then he is no patriot if he does not look well to himself.

"Think, my lord, I beseech you, no more of my letter; only do me the justice to admit that I could not well decline the office—indeed I undertook it reluctantly, as I feared it might be running at tilt against your lordship's feelings and disturb them in their seat; and with some diffidence of success also, as I could very well conceive that your lordship's acquiescence might be incompatible with your determinations, and unsuitable to your present situation—had it been otherwise I should now I am satisfied have only had to pay my thanks, instead of expressing my unfeigned regret for having occasioned your lordship a moment's uneasiness.

"Do you know, my lord, the latest rumoured amongst my honest neighbours, that I am making my house better for the reception of my lord lieutenant? He and Burgoyne, it seems, are to be your lordship's aid-de-camps. After all, I wish they would take a peep at our review—the town of Belfast would be mighty civil to them, and we rely on out-doing the lads of Leinster."

242.—MALONE to CHARLEMONT.

1782, June 8, London.—"If many good resolutions could compensate for want of performance, I should stand entirely acquitted for having so long delayed to thank you for your very kind letter. I have had however so many proofs of your good nature that I will suppose myself already forgiven, and instead of taking up your time with apologies, hasten to congratulate you on the late glorious achievements of Ireland, of which you have been so principal an instrument; but I would rather express my admiration and my feelings on this subject to any other person than yourself. I am quite at a loss to account for Flood's not having stood more forward in this business. I imagined, from the stile, that the resolutions of Dungannon, which seem to have led the way for what afterwards was effected, were drawn up by him. There are so many things yet to be done, that I found myself rather inclined against the passage that he objected to in the address:—particularly the repeal of the act granting an hereditary revenue;—an abolition of all king's letters for money (which make parliament a mere farce) and an appropriation of all sums granted by the house of commons, as is the case in England. This last Mr. Pery[1] endeavoured to effect for many years in vain. It may indeed be said that these are matters resting solely with ourselves; and that still the ultimatum paragraph was right—and this certainly has a good deal of weight. We are told here that there are to be lords justices again, and I hope soon to congratulate your lordship on being one of them. I can with great truth assure you that there are few persons living, who will have more pleasure in hearing of

[1] *See* p. 38.

your being possessed of that or any other honour you can wish for, or rather that a grateful country can bestow. Poor Grattan has I hope got quite well again, so as to be able to enjoy the noble reward that has been so deservedly conferred on him.

"I have nothing new to send you. The new ministers seem to wish much for a peace, but till the French have got another drubbing nothing I believe can be done. Mr. Grenville has been this month past at Paris, endeavouring to lay the ground of a negociation, in vain. Every thing goes on quietly in parliament. It was imagined they would not have risen till the latter end of next month; but as sir Thomas Rumbold's business, which was expected to have taken up six weeks, is put off to next session, they will probably be up in a fortnight or three weeks. There is to be a large batch of new peers made, as soon as they rise—Mr. Crew, Mr. Coke of Norfolk, Mr. Parker of Devonshire and many more whose names I have forgot. There is a good deal of jealousy by all accounts in the new cabinet. Lord Shelburne is supposed to have thrown himself entirely on the king; to be endeavouring, to strengthen his own party by every means in his power, and to worm out the Rockinghams; or at least to make himself so strong, as that when a proper time comes, he shall be able, with the assistance of the king's old followers, to stand foremost in the political phalanx. I suspect, if ever this should come to pass, he will be as ready to obey orders as any minister that ever has been in England.

"I was very glad to hear that your books arrived safe. The old plays will soon become the same colour as the former volumes; for there is no sprinkling on the leather, and it is time only that darkens them. I knew of the variation that you mention in the gilding; but not knowing exactly the form of the small rose on the first set, I thought it better to leave a vacancy, as any Dublin bookbinder can get a tool cut, and make them match exactly. Mr. Capel thought of a good contrivance for reducing two or three volumes of Garrick's old plays that had belonged to king Charles, into his set, without changing the binding. He got covers made exactly corresponding with all his other volumes and numbered on the back. Within these the king's volumes were placed, loose, on the shelf. By this means, in forming his catalogue, he had it in his power to arrange and to refer to those plays as well as the rest; and by writing on the inside of the cover of the volume itself (I mean king Charles's) the number of the false cover—(e.g. vol. 25) when the books are taken down and deranged, you have a direction, by which they can always be restored to their proper envelopes. Shall I, in my next parcel, send you over five covers for your five volumes that you got out of the king's collection? Besides their giving the whole a uniform appearance, they will be of great use, when you form a catalogue. I will have them titled, vol. 24 etc. I have at present by me old plays enough to make three more volumes for you and many of them exceedingly rare. The leaves of Spenser entirely escaped my memory; but I will send them by my brother, who leaves this in a few days. You had so much more material objects to attend to, that I am not at all surprised at your having omitted in your last to answer two or three of my queries. Be so good therefore as to tell me in your next whether you have Taylor, the water-poet's works—Lydgate's Hystorie of Troye—and Heywood's Epigrams, quarto, 1587, as I can get them, in case you are not furnished already with these venerable elders. The first volume of Warton is out of print—so that I can't send it in sheets, but must endeavour to pick up a bound one from some catalogue or other. I should also be glad of a list of the small poets I have sent you at different times, lest I should encumber you with duplicates. . . .

"I have this moment learned that an express arrived last night from Mr. Grenville at Paris with some very favourable accounts of the progress of his negociation."

243.—LETTER from CHARLEMONT.

1782, June 14, Dublin.—"Though I be scarcely able to write from the distressful consequences of an epidemic complaint with which this town is at present universally plagued, I must however strive to send you a few lines in answer to your very kind letter which I should have acknowledged sooner if it had been possible for me—you may be assured that since I have now your permission I shall with pleasure do you justice respecting your early idea of the utility of general Volunteer meetings, an idea the adoption of which has certainly produced the most salutary effects.

"I greatly wish that I had earlier known your kind desire of honouring me by your assistance as aid-de-camp at Strabane; but no such idea having been mentioned to me, and having generally supposed that the office was not fitted for the acceptance of the commanders of corps, I have unluckily already appointed my two aid-de-camps, viz. John Moore, junior, and Henry Stewart, and for many obvious reasons I have hitherto restricted myself to the appointment of two only. This disappointment gives me much concern, but I comfort myself by the consideration that your kind offer confers on me the highest honour and that I have at all events the happiness of being highly obliged to one for whom I have so much esteem and regard.

"Respecting your proposal of me as commander in chief of Ulster, I shall only say that however insufficient I may think myself nothing could possibly be more truly flattering to every feeling of my heart than an appointment so very honourable would most certainly be and I beg that you would accept my most sincere thanks for your partial goodness in deeming me worthy of it.

"I shall however leave this matter entirely to you and to my other northern friends and benefactors, conscious as I am that an honour of this extent ought never to be lessened by any solicitation on the part of the person so honoured. One thing I will add, though to you I am confident that such suggestion is unnecessary, that no such idea should be mentioned unless there should be the strongest probability of success.

"In the present situation of my health and particularly of my eyes, which are exceedingly affected by this cursed influenza, I have with great difficulty been able to write even this ill-connected scrawl, which I beg you will excuse, as I have thought it better to write ill than to be silent, and as my feelings would not by any means permit me to remain any longer without returning you my sincere acknowledgments for all your repeated kindnesses." *Not addressed.*

244.—DUKE OF PORTLAND to CHARLEMONT.

1782, Sunday night, June 23, Dublin Castle.—"I am extremely sensible of your goodness in attending to the wishes I took the liberty of expressing to you. I can easily feel for your lordship's anxiety, though I confess my confidence is such in the good sense, the honor, and justice of this country, and the goodness of the general cause that I can not feel under any apprehensions for the event of the Dungannon meeting."

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

245.—Sampson Stawell to Charlemont.

1782, June 27, Kilbrittain, Bandon.—"As chairman at a meeting on the 25th instant of delegates from the Volunteer corps which mean to attend the review at Cork this summer, I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that in consequence of a letter received by me from lord Kingsborough[1] which mentioned the 5th of September, as the soonest you could with convenience be in Cork, they have fixed upon the 11th as the day for the review, if agreeable to your lordship, to whose convenience they will accomodate themselves by every means in their power. . . . As your lordship may wish to see the resolutions of the meeting which was convened to arrange every matter relative to the review, I shall enclose them when published: and as the corps have honoured me with the station of exercising officer, I cannot avoid expressing a particular pleasure in acting under your lordship."

246.—Rev. John Harvey to Charlemont.

1782, June 28, Mallin Hall.—"In consequence of your lordship's permission, I proposed by my letter to the chairman of the provincial meeting at Dungannon, 'that the earl of Charlemont should be commander-in-chief of Ulster'; and major Dobbs, the representative of my corps (I being prevented by a severe cold from attending personally) was directed to second the motion; and the joy of my heart is too sincere and complete to prevent me from troubling your lordship with my congratulations on your appointment to a post to which as nothing but the most virtuous and noble character could have raised any of the sons of men must add still more lustre to the name of Charlemont."

247.—Duke of Portland to Charlemont.—Death of Marquis of Rockingham.

1782, July 4, Thursday night, [Dublin].—"A messenger is just arrived and brought the fatal news. On Monday morning we lost our best friend, the best of men. Excuse my saying more; it is a melancholy justice I owe to your friendship."

248.—Francis Dobbs to Charlemont.

1782, July 6.—"I was misinformed last night, but Fox, Keppel, lord John Cavendish and Mr. Townsend certainly go out. I am just come from lord Shelburne's, who says that lord Abingdon's[2] motion was not even seconded yesterday, nor does it in any shape appear on the minutes of the house. Everything looks favorable as to Ireland, but I fear we lose the worthy duke of Portland. We dine one day with Fox and another with General Conway, and leave this on Friday."

249.—Francis Bernard to Charlemont.

1782, July 9, Castle Bernard, Cork.—"As your lordship has been kind enough to desire that I should fix upon a gentleman of this county

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[1] Edward King, of Michelstown, co. Cork.

[2] *See*, at p. 66, account by lord Charlemont.

to act with me as aid-de-camp at the Cork review, I beg liberty to recommened Mr. Benjamin Bousfield of Lakelands near Cork, colonel of Culloden Volunteer corps of that city, a gentleman who has taken every opportunity to show the most independent and patriotic principles in the county and city of Cork in both of which he is much respected and highly regarded. As soon as he shall be acquainted by your lordship of his appointment to a station by which he will think himself greatly honoured, I will settle with him the uniform and furniture and every thing necessary for attending your lordship in Cork. The satisfaction expressed by the Ulster delegates must in my opinion give every person of cool deliberation, and who loves this kingdom, much pleasure. The opinion of those persons who so spiritedly first claimed in a public manner that freedom from external legislation which every individual privately thought our right, must weigh much both in England and Ireland, and I am happy to find that the dissatisfied are so few, and that their arts can not get any proselytes: your lordship's declared sentiments must weigh very much in every part of the kingdom, and I feel great pleasure to find by your letter that mine entirely coincide with yours."

250.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1782, July 10, Larchfield.—"Give me leave to condole with your lordship, on the heavy loss the public has sustained in the person of lord Rockingham—a minister and a man of approved integrity and steadiness, and I fear the keystone of the ministerial arch—God forbid that it should now come tumbling about our ears. While your lordship feels for the public, you are suffering a softer distress on a private account, for I believe the strictest friendship and intimacy subsisted between you. It is well that the brilliancy and rapid shifting of the scenery and that course of exercise which has hitherto proved a medicinal one to your lordship, comes at a proper time to assist in dissipating that gloom, which so affecting an incident must necessarily occasion, but which your love for the public and duty to it forbid you to indulge in.

"Bitter work this about repealing and renouncing. I am a Montague or a Capulet as I happen to meet the opposite faction—for it is a poor battle where all are of one side—my comfort is, that the power which effected the repeal, can make it a more perdurable renunciation, than the toughness of parliament or hardness of war could give us a security for—let us grow rich and stand to our arms, and the two countries can never again get into that comparative situation, which would save an attempt in Great Britain to legislate for us from the imputation of downright madness."

251.—John Forbes, M.P.,[1] to Charlemont, at Newry.

1782, July 11, Dublin.—"I saw the duke of Portland this day. I gave him your own words on the late events; as I could not better express your feelings on the great misfortune with which these countries are again visited; his grace expressed his attachment to and his affection for your lordship in very strong terms indeed. The lord lieutenant told me that he entertained both a respect and good

[1] Barrister, member of Parliament for borough of Ratoath, Meath.

opinion of some of the persons who were to remain in administration; that notwithstanding, that if he found he had not those powers of serving this country, with which he was invested, while lord R[ockingham] presided at the Treasury, and that he could not place his confidence in the men who are to form the new arrangement, he should certainly resign. My private opinion is that he will soon give up the reins of our government; but not till the business of parliament is finished. Lord Shelburne is using all his entreaties, I believe, to prevail on the duke to remain among us, and offering him every inducement; he is too wise not to perceive that the duke is the centre of union here at present. I must say this much for Shelburne, and God knows I can say but little for him, entre nous, that in 1779 he told me that if the Whigs came into power his great object should be to prevail on the duke of P[ortland] to accept of the government of Ireland. Is it not astonishing that the duke of Richmond should desert his old connections, and remain in ministry, also Conway. Richmond and Pitt, 'tis said, are to be the secretaries. The duke of P[ortland] told me that he did not understand that the cause of disunion has been a refusal on the part of Shelburne to acknowledge American independency; he was strongly inclined to think that this was not the cause; and as well as I could collect from him it did not appear that the question of American independence was one of the subjects of the fatal altercation; or mentioned at that period; otherwise Richmond, Pitt, Conway, etc. etc. could not remain in office; unless they were ——— what I hope and believed they are not. In case the duke of P[ortland] withdraws from this government the marquis of Carmarthen is most confidently mentioned as his successor. Jenkinson, or the Scotch faction are not coming into office, or even North, at present, if it can be avoided; a certain personage is too artful to discover his whole scheme at present; all he wishes now is to break up the most powerful party in England; and, as usual, to form a ministry of the deserters from all parties, who can have no popular confidence. Fitzpatrick[1] is expected this night. One of our vice-treasurerships is to be vacated by this change; which occasions much speculation as to Flood. You will see in the papers lord Abingdon's mad speech, and a draft of his mad bill, which he is to let lye on the table 'till next session; 'tis so exceedingly absurd and ridiculous that no person in the English lords thought it worthy of an answer; nor indeed is it deserving of attention; especially, as in fact no motion was made; nor does it appear, in examining as I did this day at the castle[2] the minutes of the lords, and the records of the proceedings of the house that day, that any notice or mention is made of lord Abingdon's business. I know Abingdon never confers with any person previous to his moving any important matter in parliament; he says that such a procedure prevents him from being hampered with cavils and objections from his friends. To give your lordship a trait of the man; he objects to the third estate in the British legislature having the power of refusing an assent to a bill; and in case of an appeal he once objected to the opinion of the judges being taken on a point of law; urging, that if the law was not as he wished, yet if conscience and equity was with him, the house of lords should not wait for an act of parliament, but make one that he contended for law by their immediate decision. I only mention these circumstances of his character to your lordship to account for the silence and neglect with which his speech was treated; from a certain confidence that the world knew him too well to pay any attention to his wild speculations. I know not how we can dispense

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[1] *See p.* 53.

[2] Of Dublin.

with your absence 'till the first of August; 'tis very unlucky indeed. Grattan is at Celbridge; when I see him I shall deliver your messages to him.

"It is strongly rumoured that the citizens of Dublin intend to request the sheriffs to call a meeting to entreat the duke of Portland to continue as our chief governor."

252.—Letter from Charlemont.

1782, July 24, Fort Stewart.—"Give me leave to return you many thanks for the very acceptable present you have made me of your beautifully emblazoned Dungannon resolutions. When first you shewed them to me I did not know that they were intended for my use; could I have imagined that such was your design, I should certainly have been more justly ample in my acknowledgements. They shall now be framed, and hung up in my library a perpetual monument not only of that great and important transaction, but of the honour which I have received from the friendship of a man, whose genuine liberality of sentiment, true spirit and temperated zeal in his country's cause must do honour to those whom he professes to esteem, and essential service to that constitution, the protection of which is the warmest wish of his heart. What a pity it is that the character, which I have now described, is not more universally imitated, and that many men, who, as I sincerely believe, heartily wish well to their country, should not be possessed of that temper and spirited moderation, without which they must necessarily counteract their own good purposes. You have no doubt heard of the result of the meeting at Lifford, and I am convinced you cannot approve of it. To stop proceeding at this period in a service so essentially necessary for this kingdom as well as for Great Britain, a service to which we are pledged by honour and by interest, is, to say the least, surely imprudent; and that too principally because one individual, whose singularity, to call it by no harsher name, is of public notoriety, has chosen to give vent to some crude and wild ideas, which far from being approved by any, were in effect substantially opposed—in proof of which I will mention a fact, which when I last saw you had not come to my knowledge. When lord Abingdon pronounced his strange oration, the chancellor,[1] who is, you know, the mouth piece of administration, and who, when he speaks uncontradicted, is always supposed to declare the sense of the lords, asked him whether he intended to make any motion, for, if he did, that such motion would be opposed. In consequence of this the obnoxious bill was pocketed, and does not even lie on the table. I chose to mention this transaction as I think it ought to quiet every man's mind upon this subject. The other reason alleged in behalf of the resolution has already been sufficiently canvassed, and you have I trust made up your mind upon that point. All that I have now said leads only to my taking the liberty of expressing my wish that, notwithstanding the resolution, the service of recruiting might proceed as it ought in the county of Donegal, and that this country should not lie under the censure of impropriety and imprudence. Where I now am everything is going on as it ought to do, and I question not but that your influence, in the part which you inhabit, may produce the best effects. The meeting was not, as I am informed, a full one, and its sense can not therefore be definite to the county.

"You will observe that the latter part of this letter is intended solely for you, as my interference in county matters might be reckoned

[1] Lord Thurlow.

presumptuous, and is indeed only to be excused by my zeal for a service which appears to me not only proper but essentially necessary. Lest you should not have any deputation to enable you to raise men, I send you one countersigned by sir Annesley Stewart, who is in these parts most commendably active in the service." *Not addressed.*

253.—Lord Mornington to Charlemont.

[1782,] August 7, Dengan castle, Meath.—"I hope you will think that I have faithfully executed the trust you reposed in me, by depositing your proxy in my hands, when I tell you, that the only occasion on which I used it, was, in favour of the bill for disfranchising revenue officers; you have heard that the bishops threw out that bill; a very bad protest, written over wine at a dirty tavern in Essex Street, was entered; and I took the liberty of putting your name to it, imagining that your zeal for the principle of the bill, might induce you to wish rather to assert it in bad language, than to be utterly silent. I do not like to talk to you upon the strange revolutions which have taken place both in England and here since we saw each other; the scene is not very comfortable; but I have one pleasant thing to say, that lord Temple comes over, I am persuaded, with the best intentions, and the fullest resolution to pursue the system of the duke of Portland. The new secretary, William Grenville, is the oldest, and most intimate friend I have in the world; I am extremely interested in his success; he is very young, but has an excellent head, and an honest heart, and is extremely well informed; we must learn to trust young ministers; and Grenville is not younger than the chancellor of the exchequer.

"You will oblige me extremely, if you will take the trouble of informing me of the true state of the public mind, in the north of Ireland; I am most eager to know the opinion entertained relative to Flood's doctrines in that quarter; for upon that opinion the peace of Ireland depends; the newspapers speak, as they are bought, on both sides; and I have seen nobody from that part of the world."

254.—Haliday to Charlemont.

1782, August 9, Belfast.—"Our people are cooling a little and coming to their senses. I see this instant a detachment of grenadiers, with the drums and fifes of the battalion, and colonel Banks, major Brown, and captain Cunningham at their head, and all with Macbride's cockades, beating up for volunteers, who are coming in pretty fast—this very serious business of Forster's rash linen-bill contributes to put speculations and the comparative momentum of possibilities out of people's heads by substituting real and substantial matters in their place—our linen trade is at an absolute stand, and of course all payment of rents etc. suspended—instead of the buzz of a linen-market at Lisburn on Tuesday and here yesterday, there was nothing but weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth amongst the poor weavers and spinners. Lord Pembroke understood that the board were coming to a determination to issue seals as usual without adverting to this late act[1]—something of this sort must be done, and I hope your lordship will help it forward, though it be a most unpleasant remedy; but regulations, however solemnly enacted, must give way to necessities, which if suffered to

[1] In relation to linens and bleaching, 1781–2; amended in 1794.

subsist for any time, would give birth to dangerous commotions—there should be a short sessions at the end of the prorogation to pass a bill of indemnity, and to reform these new devices for promoting a trade, which they have effectually embargoed."

255.—Charlemont to William Crawford.

1782, August 10, Dublin.—"You need not explain to me, my dear Crawford, your feelings and your embarrassment at finding yourself compelled to write to me your last letter, neither need I attempt to make you sensible of what I feel under the necessity of refusing my compliance with your friend's request—our knowledge of each other's hearts and principles renders such explanations totally unnecessary. To ask no favours for ourselves when we may probably suppose that by asking we shall be gratified, is not, in my opinion, any considerable effort of patriotism. But, to be obliged to refuse our friends, who have every claim to our interference in their behalf—to deny ourselves the high pleasure of obliging those we love, and of essentially serving worthy and deserving men, whose indigence is a scandal to the state—hoc opus, hic labor est. This may indeed be called a high degree of self-denial, and a temptation not easy to be combated. At least, I have in many instances found it so, and in none more than in the present. But you know my principles in respect to the asking favours, and for that reason I need no longer dwell upon this disagreeable topic. I know also the necessity you were under to transmit your brother's request, and am not in the smallest degree displeased with you for so doing. On the contrary, I clearly perceive that you could not do otherwise without a breach of friendship, which would have been unworthy of your character. On the present occasion however I feel myself in some degree fortunate, when I reflect that there was little probability of my being able to be of any service to your friend, even though I could have prevailed on myself in this instance to have acted contrary to the general tenour of my conduct. My ministerial friend, alas, is dead, and I have now no particular intimacy or interest with any member of the present administration. Fox, you know is no longer in power, nor can any influence remain with Burke after his resignation, and though I am acquainted with lord Shelburne, I have no degree of intimacy with him, neither is he a person by whom I would wish to be much obliged. Yet these are the men to whom you are desired to procure letters. So that in effect it would have been, at any rate, impossible for me to have done any thing, and this to your friend will be a sufficient answer.

"As to the protest you mention I do not think that it can be attended with any bad consequence—on the contrary it will tend to explain the address into an implication of perfect satisfaction. I suppose the protesting companies are of those from whom nothing else could be expected.

"Upon my not seeing the address in the Dublin papers I wrote to you, but am glad to find that it will shortly appear, though I expect without doubt to see my answer sadly abused, and perhaps parodied. But though I extremely love and greatly desire popularity, there are things which I love more, and I would at any time forfeit it rather than act against the dictates of my conscience. But I do not think that mine is in any danger. No man can attribute to me any sinister purpose, any private end. The people are at present misled, but they are never long erroneous. They will soon come to their senses, and all will yet be well.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

"I cannot conclude without telling you that I have had an excellent letter[1] from lord Temple, who pledges himself in the most unreserved manner to every thing we can desire. 'I trust,' says he, 'that no one can imagine that I could have hoped to be useful to both countries, without being enabled to give the most perfect assurances of the intentions of the king's servants to preserve to its utmost extent that good faith, which is pledged to Ireland, and which must be sacred.' He then goes on with promises to concur in measures of retrenchment, and of reducing that impolitic and unconstitutional influence which has been the bane and ruin of both countries, and upon this footing desires my support. My answer is, that I look upon his letter as a pledge of his sincerity, and that my support must depend upon his conduct. But I have written a volume, and must conclude. Go on, my dear Crawford, proceed strenuously in your virtuous endeavours to render the people happy by making them sensible of their own happiness. They are now perfectly free, and perfect freedom was all they desired, and ought surely to content them. Be contented and keep your bayonets clean, was Harvey's sentiment, and, in my opinion comprehends everything. You have I suppose heard of our proceedings at Belfast. There was the last and greatest stand of the party—yet their designs were certainly defeated, as they were able to carry no resolution. The address to me also, though short, contains enough. Farewell. Compliments to all friends, particularly my dear colonel Stewart, to whom I beg you would communicate that part of my letter, which contains lord Temple's declaration. Adieu.

"You make me happy by telling me that the recruiting business is likely again to flourish. It is indeed essential, and I trust you will spare no pains in forwarding it."

256.—Charlemont to Haliday.

1782, August 11th, Dublin.—"Instead of a thousand thanks for your kind hospitality, and all your repeated acts of friendship, I will begin with what is to you much more important, a full and explicit assurance that the facts you mention are perfectly groundless. The first is an impudent aspersion; I never made the most distant application, and of course could not be refused. Had any such application been made, I am confident I might have had the whole sum; but, had my occasions been ever so great, my delicacy would have prevented any such transaction. So much for that 'black' report. The other is, I am confident, of the same complexion; neither can I for a moment suppose that it proceeds from the quarter you hint at, as, notwithstanding his present unjustifiable conduct, that person is undoubtedly a man of honour, and incapable of falsehood. Grattan never proposed a declaration of rights, which he thought was fully expressed and contained in the address, and the terms of that being strictly complied with, he deemed any farther proceeding not only unnecessary, but a breach of national faith. Besides, to the best of my recollection, the grant[2] to him had already passed before any such declaration had been thought of. Thus, you have it in your power flatly to contradict both these infamous reports, an act of justice which I am sure you will perform with pleasure. If Grattan be not the honestest, the purest, and the best of human beings, then does there exist no such thing as honesty, purity, or goodness, then is this earth a hell, and its inhabitants devils. But

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[1] *See* p. 97.

[2] *See* p. 65.

I know him thoroughly, I know the bottom of his soul, and there is not a speck in it: even detraction cannot hush him, his polish is too fine for dirt to stick upon it, and his wicked and consequently foolish detractors will find to their cost, that, in endeavouring to bespatter him, they will only dirty and blacken themselves. But I will say no more upon this subject, as I find my passion likely to get the better of me. The Linen board has met, and I, though not a member, have been active in making proper representations. They have luckily found, I suppose by the help of lawyers, a comical flaw in the act.[1] Though the seal master is obliged by law to take the oath, they are not obliged to insist on its being administered, so that everything noxious will be done away or at least suspended, and the people may be quite at ease. Quibbles, and even lawyers, I find, may sometimes be useful. . . Respecting the grant, I know with certainty that Grattan, tho' he felt himself flattered by the intention, looked upon the act with the deepest concern, and did all in his power to deprecate it. I never knew any man more miserable than he was pending the whole transaction. As it was found impossible to defeat the design, all his friends, and I among others, were employed to lessen the sum. It was accordingly decreased by one half, and that principally by his positive declaration, through us, that, if the whole were insisted upon, he would refuse all but a few hundreds, which he would retain as an honourable mark of the goodness of his country. By some, who look only into themselves for information concerning human nature, this conduct will probably be construed into hypocrisy; to such, the excellence and preeminency of virtue, and the character of a Grattan, are as invisible and incomprehensible as the brightness of the sun to a man born blind. I forgot to mention, in regard to the second scandalous aspersion, that Fitzpatrick[2] never, in any way, either explicit or implied, threw out any such threat as that which has been forged for him. Such an idea, I am confident, never occurred to him; and, if it had, he has too much sense to have hazarded it, as the consequence must have been fatal to his administration. Indeed, these instances of ingratitude shock me not a little, that a man, who has given up his whole life to the service of his country—nay, has imminently hazarded that life by his activity in the cause—whose endeavours have been crowned with success, to whom principally we owe the blessing of liberty—that such a man should be basely and maliciously defamed, and the scandal believed by many, is a baseness of ingratitude that surpasses all comprehension. Happy it is that virtue in herself is a blessing, and that a good conscience is the greatest of all earthly pleasures, as the contrary is a curse, and a punishment more excruciating than any tyrant ever could invent. The former of these will, at all events, be my friend's reward; and the latter, if they be not callous, will well avenge him of all his enemies. But virtue will finally prevail, and the lustre of his character will quickly dispel all pestilential vapours, and shine forth with redoubled brightness. For my own part, I have as yet been spared; but, let what will happen, nothing shall ever be able to make me deviate from the path I have hitherto pursued. Detraction may possibly injure my reputation, though even there I think I may defy it; but it never shall take from me that first of all blessings, the consciousness that I am acting right, and to the utmost of my abilities exerting myself in the service of my country. This may look like vanity, but a proper pride in some cases is a necessary and even a virtuous quality. I do not know who you mean by your namesake,

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[1] *See* p. 414.

[2] *See* p. 53.

as there is no 'Patrick,' I believe, in opposition, but, if any gentleman can have propagated the story, he must, I am sure, have been grossly abused, and party spirit alone could have induced him for a moment to credit the report."

257.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1782, August 17th, Marino.—"I have had a letter from our friend Harry [Grattan], dated Shrewsbury; he was then getting better, and writes in tolerable spirits. I am heartily glad that he is safe out of this pestilential atmosphere, and am certain that the change of air and of scene will do him more good even than the waters of Spa. To a delicate mind popular ingratitude must be grating indeed, but what people were more apt to be ungrateful than the renowned and free Athenians? Why then should I not flatter myself that, together with this bad quality of theirs, we may also have obtained some of their good ones, their spirit of freedom as well as their spirit of discontent? If we have gotten their levity, may it not be a certain symptom that we are in full possession of their liberty also? You see that I am inclined to be in good humour with the world, a certain sign that tranquillity and the shades of Marino agree with me. Why may I not hope, some time or other, to shew this, my favourite retreat, to you?"

258.—LETTER from CHARLEMONT.

1782, August 23, Marino, Dublin.—"I have scarcely time to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and plan, which I have just now received, when on the point of setting out upon my southern expedition. The scheme appears to me at first sight a very good one, but must be considered and consulted upon with much deliberation, as it is of the greatest importance that as few as possible should be dissatisfied. During my campaign, as you may well imagine, I shall have little time for reflection, but upon my return, about the middle of next month, will take this important matter into serious consideration." *Not addressed.*

259.—CHARLEMONT to WILLIAM CRAWFORD.

1782, September 27, Dublin.—"Inclosed I send you a list of the very few subscribers which I have procured, and am indeed ashamed of the smallness of the number, but my occupations have been so various that I have not had time to attend, as I ought to a business which so nearly concerned me that, thinking it my own, I have with my own private business strangely neglected it. Another cause that my list is so small is that the greater number by far of those to whom I presented your papers had already subscribed, my acquaintance and those of your other friends being nearly the same.

"I am happy to find that your county is come to it's senses, and wish it were everywhere the case. A measure has been lately pursued, totally contrary to my opinion and early advice, which has, as indeed I expected, given universal offence—I mean the raising regiments of 'Fencible' men. That it should be generally disapproved of by the people I am no way surprised, as in truth no man can more heartily condemn it than I ever have done, and still unalterably do, yet I think that some resolutions have gone much too far, particularly that of the Ulster regiment,

which says that they will not co-operate with these new raised men against invaders. This I take to be highly dangerous as it may encourage invasion, though I am sure that the very men who so resolved would break their resolution rather than leave their country undefended. Every proceeding by way of resolution ought, in my opinion, to be chiefly confined to the preventing Volunteers from deserting their truly honourable standard to enter into this new service, which, if it can be done, as I am sure it may, the measure will become nugatory, and attended by little bad consequence. It may also be necessary to add a final resolution, by way of an antidote to that of the Ulster regiment, 'that, notwithstanding our hearty condemnation of the measure, we will, however, co-operate with our fellow-subjects of every denomination in defence of our country against all invaders.' This, or something of the kind, I am sure is necessary, as the safety of this kingdom against invasion depends entirely upon the opinion formed by foreigners of the strength of the Volunteers, and of their hearty determination at every risk to defend their country. I wish you would communicate this part of my letter to my dear colonel Stewart, as I always desire that he of all men should know and should approve my sentiments.

"I had some time ago a letter from lord Temple of the most agreeable kind, wherein he pledges himself for a strict maintenance of good faith, 'which,' says he, 'is pledged, and must be sacred,' for retrenchment, and for an abridgement of crown influence. I have had a long audience since his arrival, and find him firm in those great points; indeed, the only points which we can wish or desire. Mention this also to my friend Stewart. . Proceed in your virtuous efforts."

260.—SAMPSON STAWELL to CHARLEMONT.

1782, October 2, Kilbrittain, Bandon.—"By the next post after your departure from Castle Bernard, I wrote to colonel Herbert, according to your lordship's desire, and communicated to him the great concern you felt at having lost, through the carelessness of a maid attending your house in Cork, the papers relation to the dispute between two volunteer corps of the county of Kerry which had been given to you, and mentioned your wishes that the matter were referred to a court of enquiry; I at the same time acquainted him that I had waited on him twice at his lodgings in Cork to inform him of the misfortune of losing the papers, also that nothing but the uninterrupted business, in which you were every hour engaged, could delay your writing to him until you got to Dublin; immediately after which, he may be assured of a letter from your lordship, which would convey your sentiments in a much better manner than I could represent them. It gives me real concern to hear of any disputes, or difference of opinion on political points between Volunteers, and fear much that the general and glorious cause will suffer by divisions which must be the effect of artful men sowing the seeds thereof by raising alarms on points the most intricate, and sophisticating the intentions of Great Britain, which I am convinced were for liberating this kingdom in the most extensive sense from the legislation of any other power but its own parliament. Enclosed I send a letter which I mentioned to your lordship my having received from the duke of Manchester just after the British parliament agreed to repeal the 6th George I., and I think his grace fully expresses the idea of entire renunciation: for my own part I do not entertain a doubt of England's pure intention, and am convinced she will never revive a claim so unjust, and one I will venture to say impossible now to establish.

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

"It gave me much pleasure to see that Mr. Grattan got a seat at council the same time with your lordship, and from thence entertain great hopes from our new administration; but wish I were assured that the plan of public economy laid down by the duke of Portland will be pursued by lord Temple; this kingdom requires it, and without it can neither serve itself or assist Great Britain.

"I felt much uneasiness from the day we dined at Mr. Bousfield's until I was informed that the mayor of Cork had fulfilled his promise of the freedom of the city in a gold box to your lordship: party pervades every operation in this county and in Cork, and narrow minds have always entertained jealousy towards men of exalted characters."

261.—CHARLEMONT to MALONE.

1782, October 4, Marino, Dublin.—"You will probably be surprised, and perhaps a little displeased, at my having been so very long without giving any answer to your last kind letter. Indeed I would not wish you to be entirely satisfied, as I can not desire that you should bear any apparent neglect on my part without some degree of displeasure. Yet when you come to reflect on the busy scene in which I have been a principal actor, on the various occupations civil and military which have occupied my mind and my body, you will, I doubt not, pardon, and perhaps pity me, whose whole time has been taken up in occupations different from those which you know to be my favourite amusements, and especially when you consider that I have been thus obliged to interrupt a constant correspondence with you, which has ever been one of my most pleasing recreations. But my comfort is that I have been doing my duty, and from that I trust no fatigue either of mind or of body shall ever be able to deter me. I have now however a moment of leisure—indeed but a moment, and that I give to you and to our old pleasing subject of literary intercourse. Since I last wrote to you I have had time only to peruse two books, idle ones indeed, and that by snatches—Warton's Pope, and Bryant's Rowley.[1] The former is, I think, the most extraordinary work I ever read, and is indeed every thing but what its title promises. The author seems to have copied and, impudently enough, printed his common-place book of anecdotes and remarks upon various writers. Some parts are however entertaining, but his criticisms are not, in my opinion, always just, and there is but little anywhere to be found that can be called new—as to Bryant, he ought, I think, to be answered by some of you Chattertonians, or Rowley may have still some chance with posterity, though the laugh be now against him. The arguments of his defenders are sometimes weak, but, in many instances, if not answered critically, and not merrily, are strong enough to support his claim at least to some part of the poems attributed to him. Indeed the whole controversy appears to me in some respects like that of Boyle and Bentley respecting the epistles of Phalaris—all the wit and genius is on one side together with some good argument—but the weight of proof seems yet to lie on the other. In the case of Phalaris, however, wit supported the supposed imposture, which in the present controversy it endeavours to lay open. But the laugh is now forgotten, and the arguments remembered. Phalaris, after the reign of a few years, has lost his station, and perhaps in the same manner Rowley may regain his rank among English bards. And now for the usual

[1] "Observations on the poems of Thomas Rowley; in which the authenticity of these poems is ascertained." By Jacob Bryant. London, 1781, 2 vols.

topic, which has already given you so much trouble. It is impossible for me at present to send you the catalogue you mention. Indeed I have not time to make it out, so that you may still purchase upon the hazard of your memory. I have a copy of Lydgate's Troy, printed by Marsh. If that however which was offered to you be an earlier edition, I should be glad to have it. I cannot insert your fragment of Spenser, without entirely unbinding a very well bound book, so should be glad that you could procure any other pieces of that author, which I have not already, either in prose or verse, to which I might annex it, so as to form a supplemental volume.

"Will you be so kind to ask Mr. [Horace] Walpole how many numbers were published of the Strawberry Hill collection of old tracts. He gave me two, and I should wish to make up the set, and, if there be any more, beg you would procure them for me.

"I forget how much I owe you. Please to let me know in your next, and send me in the next parcel Potter's translations of Æschylus and Euripides, best editions, and Chatterton's avowed works—the two former well bound, and the latter in boards, as I wish to bind uniform the whole Chattertoniana.

"You see how impudent I am—in the beginning of my letter I ask your pardon, and peremptorily demand your trouble in the conclusion; but I know you well enough to be sure that you will forgive this and a great deal more. . . . My most affectionate and sincere good wishes to my dear Mr. [Horace] Walpole—and best compliments to all friends, particularly my brethren of the club, and most particularly to sir Joshua [Reynolds]."

262.—Charlemont to Rev. J. Harvey.

1782, November 4, Dublin.—"Every letter you write is a fresh instance of your great goodness towards me, and tends still further to increase my gratitude. The contents however of your last have given me some uneasiness, as I have reason to fear that, upon part of the subject thereof, our sentiments, now for the first time, do not exactly coincide. As an Irish bill of rights has of late been much talked of, etc. [as at p. 162].

"Do not forget your own excellent saying: 'Be content, and keep your bayonets bright.'

"The lord lieutenant is excellently inclined. Retrenchment will soon take place, and all will go well, if we do not precipitate matters with too much violence, and by so doing forfeit the character of prudent firmness, which we have obtained through all Europe.

"My southern campaign, during which I received the highest honours both from the Volunteers and the regulars, ended entirely to my satisfaction.

"As commander-in-chief, I shall give directions to colonel Stewart to call a meeting in your country in order to fix a time, place, and exercising officer for a review next summer."

263.—Malone to Charlemont.

1782, November 19, London.—"It gave me great pleasure to find by your letter from Marino (which I have had too long by me) that you were in good health and spirits; after all the bustle of employment civil and military that you have gone through. Pray never make any apologies about not writing soon; I am myself so tardy a correspondent, that I never can be entitled to them—hanc veniam damus petimusque. On my arrival in town some time ago (after spending the greater part of the summer at Weymouth), I found it extremely thin, and it yet

continues so. There is nothing at present going forward, nor have I any political speculations even to send you, except that lord Shelburne is moving heaven and earth to get a peace, and in the city they yesterday thought that it was actually agreed on with America, and that Dr. Franklin would very shortly be in London. Next week we shall know more. Mr. Byng (the famous teller of the house) says the Rockinghamites or Portlandites, or whatever they are to be called, will produce 120 good men and true, the first day; and that lord Shelburne with the treasury at his back, can't bring so many, if lord North and the late ministry were to stand neuter. Mr Fox has been soliciting the latter most earnestly to join him; and has even offered, I am told, to take a subordinate office under him; but he keeps aloof. He says he will join neither lord Shelburne nor him;—he will not oppose the address or the supplies; but will set himself against all innovations of constitution, etc.

"I am afraid we Chattertonians should not be able to convert you, even though we brought one from the dead. You say you wish Bryant were answered soberly not jocosely. I really thought I had given a very successful answer to his most plausible argument ('that every author must know his own meaning—that Chatterton did not know the meaning of many words and lines in his book, and therefore was not the author') because it has been adopted by almost every writer on the subject since. However you will allow Mr. Tyrwhitt to be a most grave man. I therefore send you his book,[1] (through R. Jephson) which is indeed I think the most candid, accurate and satisfactory controversial tract that ever I have perused. If there is a single argument of Mr. Bryant's recapitulation, (which contains the substance of all he has written) unanswered to your satisfaction, I beg you will be so good as to mention it; and I will sound Tyrwhitt upon it. The first part is necessarily very dry, being confined to verbal disquisition; but all the rest, to any one that takes an interest in the controversy, is I think very entertaining. His method is so accurate, that his table of contents is, I believe, as perfect an analysis as ever has been made of any book. He seems to have entirely shut up the controversy. They are now printing a more complete edition of Chatterton's acknowledged productions, which I will send you when published. Mr. Croft (the author of 'Love and Madness') who has lately quitted the bar for the pulpit, is writing Chatterton's life, which is to appear in the next volume of Biographia Britannica, and will include a review of all that has been written on the subject.

"I called on Mr. Walpole, according to your desire, but he is yet at Strawberry Hill. However I can, I believe, give you the information you desire. He never printed more than two numbers of the Miscellaneous Antiquities. He had I think collected materials for more, but he found they were not much relished and discontinued them. I will take care to send the other books you desire with the next parcel. I hope soon to have three additional volumes of old plays for you, among them many very rare. You are I think in my debt at present (including the balance of the last account and some late purchases) about eight guineas; I have therefore drawn on you for ten—and will hereafter apply the overplus, for which I shall soon have occasion, for we are both likely to be broke this winter by one of the richest sales in our kind of lore that has been for a long time; even superior, if I am not mistaken, to Mr. West's. It is the collection of a Major Pearson, who died lately in the East Indies. Most of his black [letter] regiment are in the custody of an acquaintance of mine, Mr. Reed. There is also a very curious

[1] "A Vindication of the Appendix to the Poems called Rowley's," London, 1782.

collection of Spanish and Italian books to be sold shortly, that did belong to Mr. Crofts, who travelled with lord Fitzwilliam. The copy of Lydgate that I intended for you, was that printed by Marshe. It is the best—as you have it therefore, you need not give yourself much trouble about the other. Pray have you Taylor, the water poet's works, folio, 1631—and John Heywood's works printed by Marsh, quarto, 1587?—If not, I can get them both, au juste prix. Potter has not finished his Euripides. The octavo edition of his Æschylus is, I believe, the most perfect, the quarto the most splendid. Pray let me know which you prefer. There is a young man, one Wrightson,[1] (who is supposed to have had some hand in the Archæological Epistle to Dr. Milles) who has published a most furious attack on Warton's History of English Poetry. There is a good deal of good matter in his pamphlet, and he has caught Mr. Warton tripping pretty often; but the whole is spoiled by the petulance and indecency of the manner. The same person has now in the press a severe critique on the whole phalanx of Shakspeare commentators. His fire is however, I am told, to be chiefly directed against Johnson; which is absurd enough, for he undoubtedly did a great deal well, and his omissions every body knows already, and have been in a good measure remedied by others going through the drudgery that he could not submit to."

264.—Letter from Charlemont.

1782, December 28, Dublin.—"You will, I fear, have been surprised at my long silence, but certain circumstances, which I have not now leisure to detail, have absolutely prevented me from writing sooner.

"You do me but justice in thinking that your assertion of your own sentiments will always give me pleasure. Whether I agree with you or not I shall ever be confident that they flow from the best principles, a justice which I doubt not, even where we differ, you will do me—at present however I am happy to have come over in a great degree to your opinion, not from lord Beauchamp's[2] arguments which have not I confess equal weight with me, as they seem to have had with you, but from lord Mansfield's[3] abominable conduct. I am now convinced that something must be done to meet and obviate his wicked attempt, and something, too, effectual. I trust also that you will do me the justice to suppose that, in a matter of this nature and of this high importance, where every interest of my heart is concerned, I have been neither inattentive nor idle.

"Respecting the last paragraph of your letter, you may be assured that I should be extremely unhappy not to have it in my power to serve any person whom you honour by the name of friend—yet unfortunately that is likely to be the case. The line of conduct which I have prescribed to myself, and which I have hitherto invariably pursued, utterly disables me from serving those whom I wish most to serve, and this circumstance is indeed the only one which can render my perseverance in the resolution of asking nothing from government worthy of the name of sacrifice. Tell your friend that though my not asking favours on my own account, ought not to be dignified even by the name of self-denial, my refusing myself the satisfaction of endeavouring to be serviceable to him, would certainly merit a much higher title. . . .

"A thousand thanks for your corps of artillery. I fear it will be out of my power to accept your kind invitation—I shall be so exceedingly hurried that it will be impossible for me to do anything

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[1] Joseph Ritson. [2] *See* p. 82. [3] *See* p. 85.

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towards my own satisfaction. I think I may with confidence assure you that something will speedily be done in England which will thoroughly satisfy you and every reasonable man." *Not addressed.*

265.—HALIDAY to CHARLEMONT.

1783, February 1, Belfast.—" 'Ecce iterum Crispinus.' Yet, my lord, you must give me credit for a long silence; very discreet and not a little painful, for I had to thank you for a most kind letter, just before the opening of your southern campaign, with a tantalizing invitation to Marino. I might as well go to Mexico. Like a fool, I communicated it to my wife, which may one day occasion an elopement. Give me leave to congratulate your lordship on the peace. General as you are, peace, I am sure, is your dear delight; it is that of every good man; nor will you feel a pang when you cry—

'Farewell the plumed troops, and the big war,
Which make ambition virtue.'

" but I shall, for I fear this peace will trammel up our reviews, unless the bill of rights, the only blue bean that is left in our blue bladder, can settle away deep from our Volunteers for a few months. I have one other chance; we shall now become a maritime power, and we will have you for our lord high admiral; and, of course, visiting the north, on occasion of our naval reviews, or, till they be ready, to preside at a regatta.

" Everything is, and it is palpable that everything was, as it should be; this was all along my unshaken opinion. How do the declarations of the British parliament, when they had the peace upon the table, disgrace both our suspicions and our politics? I am mortified however that Britain should distance us at last in the race of magnanimity, when we so long had the odds in our favour; and very sorry that we should have set so inedifying an example of the lubricity of popular love, by transferring it from pure, incorruptible chastity, to the embraces of acknowledged prostitution. People should remember that it is not till the last day, that 'this corruptible shall put on incorruption.'

" The excellent and abused Grattan was right in appealing to the final justice of the people; like death, this will come when it does come, and it is hard to say when; that other man, who demolished that other Hydra, what did he find? Invidiam suprema fine domari. One thing, however, is certain, he is not born to be hanged, or that hempen halter could not have been so long at his throat without doing him some mischief; that is a very vile and illegitimate pun. Lord, pardon it. How often have I thought of late of Spenser's red-cross knight[1] and errors:

'Cursed spawne of serpents small,
Deformed monsters, foule, and blacke as inke,
Which swarming all about his legs did crawl,
And him encombred sore, but could not hurt at all.' "

266.—COPLEY[2] to CHARLEMONT.

1783, March 22, London.—" Your known attachment to the polite arts has encouraged me to trouble your lordship with this letter, and

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[1] " The Faerie Queene," i., 1., xxii.

[2] John Singleton Copley, painter of the " Death of lord Chatham."

to hope I shall stand excused when I inform you I know no personage to whom I can apply on the present occasion with more propriety than to your lordship. The subject that now presents itself for the exercise of the pencil, and is one of the finest that modern times has given birth to, is the institution of the new order of St. Patrick,[1] a subject replete with every picturesque beauty, and invaluable from the portraits it will contain. I should feel much regret should I meet with any impediments that should deprive me of the honour of making it one of the monuments I am ambitious to leave behind me. It is this desire, my lord, that has so far superseded every consideration and has led me to presume on your lordship's goodness for the necessary means of information for that purpose. A near relation of mine, Mr. Letham, who has the honour of being known to your lordship, and who is well qualified to transmit to me sketches of the buildings where the scene lay, of the dresses, etc. is going to Ireland in a few days, and I shall feel myself impressed with a sense of your lordship's condescension if you will permit him to wait on you and explain more particularly my design."

267.—Haliday to Charlemont.

i.—1783, April 17, Larchfield.—"Your lordship might well be surprised at my tardiness in acknowledging the honour of your very kind letter of the 17th of February, and more so since, at my seeming neglect of your lordship's note of the 2nd instant, which demanded an immediate answer; but I have a twofold excuse to make for this double delinquency, that I am a Belfast man, and that I am not very consistent,—apologies in this age of paradoxes; however I must explain them, and begin, not unfashionably, at the wrong end. In fact I have been for these two months, an absolute stranger to leisure and my own town; using it for little more than a stage to bait, scarcely as one to sleep at; but yet I cannot deny that it is my native place, and what, by a figure of speech, I must own as my habitation; though in truth I am ashamed of what was once my pride; for our busy tribunes, who were arrant lurchers when they should have been alert, have taken such a lead, and ran such mad riot of late, have so far lost sight of all propriety, decency, and liberality of sentiment and conduct, that I am quite sick and ashamed of them, and of myself for being of their township, particularly so, when I am to address your lordship, who have been treated with so little delicacy by them. But, indeed, my lord, there are two vices, or rather one, in your character, which they can never forgive you for, principle and consistency; which are so directly the adverse of what they are conscious of and exhibit in their conduct, that they must hate, if not despise you for the provoking contrast, and very naturally withdraw their confidence from a Charlemont and a Grattan, to rest it on the tired shoulders of a Flood and a Beauchamp. It is hard to say, to what length these froward and petulant humours might not have gone, had they not been (as I am told) very properly checked and exposed, by a Mr. Black of Dromore, at the meeting of delegates on the 17th, the very day when you were participating of that honour, which your early and persisting efforts, had so large a share in procuring, with other more substantial benefits, to this rising nation. Your billet of the 2nd I had the honour of receiving just as I was setting off for Shane's Castle, and I thought I could not mention the thing with so much propriety to any one, as Mr. O'Neil, who had been chairman of the meeting; that gentleman you know wishes to be correct in his observances, and not to fail in point of politeness to anyone; and the

[1] *See* p. 151.

apprehension that he might unintentionally have been guilty in this respect to your lordship, seemed not only to pain, but shock him. He had imagined that it was the secretary's business to inform your lordship of the result of the meeting. On looking into Joy's paper[1] we found a resolution that this should be communicated, but no particular member charged to do it. Mr. O'Neil assured me that he would write to your lordship, by the next day's post, and relying on his not neglecting a business that he seemed anxious and unhappy about, I thought my writing no way essential. I have not heard whether you have accepted of the honour of reviewing the camp at Broughshane, but I think your lordship's regard to the Volunteer and the public interests, would lead you to do it, overlooking every impropriety of conduct in people who really deserve contempt. In the confidence then that you are yet to preside at our county review (I am vexed on many accounts, that it is no longer to be a Belfast one) . . ."

ii.—1783, May 23, Belfast.—"Though I have the honour of having had the last word with your lordship, an honour which of all others I am the least ambitious of, I do not choose to forget that I am one letter still in your debt, indeed I must always be in your debt for such favours, an equal bulk of lead or brass being no retribution for pure gold. We are all in gala here for my lord Donegal, and in fact he hath done, and purposes to do, so much for this town and vicinage as to entitle him to much compliment and attention. Were the immaculate and immeasurable Flood to come down at this instant, with a bill of rights in his hand, and a whole knapsack of 'renunciations' at his back, he would pass unnoticed; nay, even Davy, Walshe, or Buck English might be disregarded."

268.—Edmund Burke to Charlemont.

1783, August 5, Beconsfield.—"I am very sincerely to thank you for your kind remembrance of me by Mr. O'Brien. His views for his family were natural and laudable. I had formerly the honour of being known to him. I then esteemed and valued him very highly on his own account; and I am sure that his connection with your lordship, and your recommendation would, of themselves, ensure to him every sort of service in my power. His objects are in the military line, and all objects in that line are wholly with general Conway;[2] with whom it would be great presumption in me to boast the smallest degree of influence or credit. He never has done a single particle of service to any one friend on recommendation of mine, though I have made some attempts upon him. I informed Mr. O'Brien of my true situation in that respect; and I added in confidence what I conceived to be the best ways of approaching general Conway with effect, and who the persons were that had real influence with him. I have not since had the honour of seeing Mr. O'Brien. His pursuits probably led him another way, and the East India business, which took up every hour of my time whilst I stayed in town, hindered me from paying him those attentions he so well deserves, and to which my duty and inclination would naturally have led me. If I can prevail upon him to favour me with his company here, I shall endeavour to make myself the best amends in my power.

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[1] "Belfast Newsletter."

[2] Henry Seymour Conway.

"I see with concern that there are some remains of ferment in Ireland, though I think we have poured in to assuage it almost all the oil in our stores. To my astonishment I hear that one of the poorest attempts of the opposition of one of the most unprincipled men in the kingdom has had some effect; and that the very throwing out of a bill in a common parliamentary form, because the renewal of it by the carelessness of the bringers-in, according to its old mode, militated with the late ample grants to you in the colony trade, has been matter of offence to some people. On this it is impossible to say anything. I am sorry for it. Ireland is an independent kingdom to all intents and purposes. But there are circumstances in the situation of all countries, that no claims made or allowed can alter. We cannot reclaim, and I really believe no creature here wishes to reclaim, one iota of the concessions made. But you are too near us not to be affected more or less with the state of things here. If you quarrel with the present ministry it will embarrass them undoubtedly. But then you may have those who do not wish so sincerely for making the prosperity of Ireland a very principal part of the bond of union between the countries. Instead of treaty, to begin with quarrel about what may be thought fit to ask, is hardly the usage, even of those who are supposed in a sort of natural state of enmity. But I go beyond my mark. A little anxiety for the public in a very critical state has induced me to exceed the limits prescribed to one who has little natural weight, and no official duty that calls him to this particular affair, until it becomes matter of parliamentary discussion."

269.—O'Rourke to Charlemont.

1783, August 23, London.—"I was honoured with your obliging polite letter dated the 12th instant. The candour of your lordship's expression in the said letter does honour to the honesty of your heart. If your lordship would be kind enough, when time and leisure permit you, to read with attention the copy of the memorial which I had the honour of sending inclosed in my last letter, you will find that my request is for the harmony and happiness of the nation in general, which ought to be protected and supported by every generous-minded man, who is a real friend to his country. Your lordship's noble feelings to justice is too well known for me to say any encomiums of. There was a general report in this metropolis, but the letter your lordship was pleased to favour me with clears up that point. I am persuaded you never will join them but in a lawful good cause to support the constitution of your country. Eighty thousand Volunteers and your lordship at the head of them will prevent the enemies of Ireland to proceed to any bad designs against her further welfare, the detestable penal laws against the ancient gentlemen of Ireland is cruel beyond expression. The government will not give them bread at home, nor suffer them to go to foreign service to seek for that they cannot find at home, and never can return to their native land without a pardon, for which they must pay a deal of money, before it can be obtained. This I know by experience. My memorial explains the just claims I have to the feelings and humanity of my king and country; but, alas, while men are bought and sold there is but little hopes for an honest man to have any right done for him. Notwithstanding, I shall persist in the upright plan I have undertaken in hopes of meeting some generous men that are friends to equity and truth. My family have been robbed and plundered of a whole country within these 120 years. The period is not so long, as we often hear of men living to that age. Surely, my losses and attachment to my mother-country

MSS. OF THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

deserves more notice and recompense from government than general Paoli,[1] who gets a large pension from his majesty. His being a Catholic has not prevented him of being supported by our government. Why then should I not be treated at least like him? I know him well, and I will venture to say that he never had, or could have any power to serve England. He never was more than a lieutenant in the Neapolitan service. It was the rabble of the people in Corsica that called him general; but the people of England think him a great general, but there is not the least foundation for it. I beg pardon for this long letter, being convinced that a nobleman of your noble spirit will come to the assistance of the distressed when occasion offers."

270.—EARL NORTHINGTON, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to CHARLEMONT.

1783, September, 23, [Dublin], Phœnix Lodge.—"As you gave me leave to expect the favour of your lordship's company at dinner, when I could arrange a day with some of our friends to have some confidential conversation upon the present state of affairs, I hope to find your lordship disengaged for Thursday next, when I shall have the honour of receiving you at this place. I should not have desired to fix you at so short a notice, if I had not understood that other avocations were likely soon to call your lordship into the country, and that I might miss an opportunity which I am so desirous of."

271.—CHARLEMONT to HALIDAY.

1783, November 3rd, Dublin.—"The justice you do me in supposing my sufferings upon a late occasion renders it unnecessary for me to expatiate upon that subject. Your own feelings will sufficiently explain to you what mine must have been. The matter is, however, I hope, at an end. The gentlemen were both seized and brought before lord Annaly,[2] by whom they have been bound over, and since that period F[lood] has spoken in his justification; and his speech, which was in a high degree masterly, had no tendency to renew animosity. G[rattan] rose to answer, and would probably have spoken in the same manner, but the house foolishly interposed, and silenced him. I write this in the utmost hurry, but would not leave you a post without giving you all possible satisfaction."

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[1] Pasquale de Paoli.

[2] John Gore, baron Annaly, chief justice, king's bench, Ireland.

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